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TURKEY. No. 2 (1877).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

CONFERENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

ERRATUM.

363, line 28, for "Guaranteeing Governments," read "Governors-General."

1070-77.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

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Correspondence respecting the Conference at Constantinople and the Affairs of Turkey.

No. 1.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord. Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

THE Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint you to be Her Majesty's Special Ambassador to represent this country, conjointly with Sir Henry Elliot, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, in the Conference about to be held at that city, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the accompanying Full Powers and Credentials.

I am at the same time commanded by the Queen to convey to you the following general instructions for your Excellency's guidance.

As your Excellency is already acquainted with the course of the negotiations which have led to the proposal for a Conference, it is not necessary that I should enter into any statement of them. I accordingly merely inclose copies of the correspondence for reference when required.

Among these papers your Lordship will find the despatch addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador on the 4th instant, in which Her Majesty's Government state that they believe, from the communications which they have received from the Powers, that there is a general feeling that the only solution of the questions arising out of recent events in Turkey is to be found in a Conference, and that they have determined to renew the suggestion made by them on the 5th of October, and at once to propose that a Conference should be held forthwith at Constantinople, in which all the Guaranteeing Powers and the Porte should take part, and each Government should be at liberty to appoint two Plenipotentiaries to represent it.

Her Majesty's Government submitted, as the bases for the deliberations of the Conference:—

1. The independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2. A Declaration that the Powers do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for, any territorial advantage, any exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

Such a Declaration was made on the 17th of September, 1840, in the Protocol for the Pacification of the Levant, and again on the 3rd of August, 1860, in regard to the Pacification of Syria.

· 3. The basis of pacification proposed to the Porte on the 25th of September, viz.:—

(a.) The status quo, speaking roughly, both as regards Servia and Montenegro.
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(b.) That the Porte should simultaneously undertake, in a Protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the Representatives of the Mediating Powers, to grant to Bosnia and Herzegovina a system of local or administrative autonomy, by which is to be understood a system of local institutions which shall give the population some control over their own local affairs and guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority. There is to be no question of a tributary State.

Guarantees of a similar kind to be also provided against maladministration in

Bulgaria.

The reforms already agreed to by the Porte, in the note addressed to the Representatives of the Powers on the 13th of February last, to be included in the administrative arrangements for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and, so far as they may be applicable,

These bases have met with general acceptance by the other Powers, and may therefore be considered as regulating the deliberations of the Conference and marking the limits

within which its discussions should be confined.

Her Majesty's Government do not anticipate that there need be any great difficulty

in settling the terms of peace between Servia, Montenegro, and the Porte.

With regard to Servia the Ottoman Government originally made certain requirements stated in the Memorandum of the Porte of the 14th of September; but, these having been regarded as inadmissible by the Powers, the Porte has since, in taking act of the proposal of the Powers for the re-establishment of peace on the basis of the status quo ante, declared itself ready to submit to their decision. The Porte has therefore acquiesced in the status quo, at all events in principle. By the phrase used in the basis Her Majesty's Government have desired not to exclude from consideration any additional arrangement, as for instance the completion of the railway between Belgrade and Nisch, which may be of mutual advantage to both countries concerned.

The case of Montenegro is different. Her Majesty's Government have on several occasions expressed the opinion that it would be politic on the part of the Porte, and for the benefit of the Turkish Provinces adjoining Montenegro, as well as of the Principality, if some territorial concession were made to Montenegro which would have the effect of bringing under the rule of Prince Nicholas the adjacent population already allied to Montenegro and which is now only a source of weakness to Turkey.

Mr. Consul Holmes, who has an intimate knowledge of the country, has advised the cession to Montenegro of the districts of Piva, Drobniak, Baniani, and Zupci, and also the port of Spitza. He mentioned that the districts in question are of no sort of value to Turkey, but rather a cause of embarrassment; that they administer their own affairs without interference from the Ottoman authorities, and not only pay no taxes, but receive some small assistance from the Province to which they nominally belong.

The Austrian Government at one time seemed inclined to oppose any extension of Montenegro, but have since expressed an opinion that the demands and wishes of Prince Nicholas might be attended to when the question of the delimitation of the frontier was The Austrian Government, however, still retain the belief that it would brought forward. be inexpedient that any concession to Montenegro should include a seaport, and it is

understood that the Italian Government take a similar view.

Her Majesty's Government do not share these apprehensions, since it appears to them that the possession of lands in the plains, and access to the sea, would encourage the people of Montenegro to engage in agriculture and commerce, and thus attain a state of civilization, prosperity, and contentment, which would be the best security for the maintenance of peace and good relations with the Porte.

The Prince of Montenegro has recently said that the concession of Spitza would be almost valueless, as there is no port there, nor any possibility of making one, and the mountains debar access on that side into the interior, and that the whole of the Suturman district, with the port of Antivari, ought to be ceded to him if the cession were to be

Your Excellency will find in the correspondence, and will, no doubt, have an opportunity of learning also at Constantinople, what are the concessions desired by His

Highness.

Her Majesty's Government do not consider it necessary to express any opinion upon them at present further than that they would willingly see any satisfactory settlement of the question arrived at.

In the proposals for pacification which Sir Henry Elliot was instructed to make to the Porte on the 21st of September, and which form the third basis for the Conference, Her Majesty's Government coupled with the conclusion of peace between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro the proposition to which I have already referred for a Protocol to be simultaneously signed by the Porte with the Representatives of the mediating Powers.

The Turkish Government have made strong objections to signing a Protocol, alleging that, should they consent to do so, the prestige and authority of the Porte in all parts of the Empire would be impaired, and they have asked whether it would not be sufficient

that the promise should be made in identic notes to the foreign Representatives.

The Turkish Government have also remonstrated strongly against the proposal to grant any system of administrative autonomy to the Provinces. They have stated that the greatest inconvenience would be caused by the diplomatic discussion of questions of purely internal administration, and declared that they should consider any action, which had for its object the interposition of the Powers between the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their legitimate authority, to be an infringement of the rights of sovereignty and independence of the Porte, arguing further that an exceptional form of Government for the insurgent provinces would be an encouragement to fresh disorders in other parts of European Turkey, and would seriously disturb the general economy of the Empire.

Her Majesty's Government have been unable to agree in this view of the matter. They have replied that the mere announcement of reforms by the Porte cannot be accepted as sufficient, and that even if Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to accept such an announcement no other Power would do so: that a Protocol was signed with the Porte in regard to the Lebanon in 1860, and that as a matter of fact the Porte has been in correspondence with the Powers for the last two years with regard to the pacification of the Provinces, and both accepted, and urged on the acceptance of Her

Majesty's Government, the note of Count Andrassy.

The objection to the grant of reforms to Bosnia and Herzegovina because they might occasion discontent elsewhere seems to Her Majesty's Government to be equally

untenable.

The immediate necessity of the situation is to restore tranquility to the disturbed Provinces. The course of events has made it obvious that this can now only be done by concert with the Powers, and it is in vain for the Porte to expect that the Powers will be satisfied with the mere general assurances which have already been so often given, and have proved to be so imperfectly executed. If the Conference should decide upon a scheme of administration for these particular Provinces, which may be applicable and advantageous to other Provinces, it will be open to the Porte to extend it to them. No doubt the Conference will give due weight to the reforms already promulgated, which will properly form an important element for consideration, but pacification cannot be attained by Proclamations, and the Powers have a right to demand, in the interest of the peace of Europe, that they shall examine for themselves the measures required for the reform of the administration of the disturbed Provinces, and that adequate security shall be provided for carrying those measures into operation.

Her Majesty's Government have thought it desirable to refer to these objections advanced by the Porte as they will probably be again put forward at the Conference or on your Excellency's arrival at Constantinople, and it is therefore right that you should

be in a position to state positively that they cannot be entertained.

As the reforms recommended to the Porte by Count Andrassy have received the assent both of the Powers and the Porte, they may form a useful starting-point for the deliberations of the Conference.

These reforms were:-

"Religious liberty, full and entire;

"Abolition of the farming of taxes;

"A law to guarantee that the product of the direct taxation of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be employed for the immediate interests of the Province, under the control of bodies constituted in the sense of the Firman of December 12;

"The institution of a Special Commission, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, to superintend the execution of the reforms proposed by the Powers, as well as of those proclaimed in the Iradé of October 2 and Firman of December 12;

"Lastly, the amelioration of the condition of the rural populations."

In the despatch which I addressed to Count Andrassy on the 25th of January last I pointed out that most of these recommendations were already provided for either by the Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhané of 1839, the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, or the Iradé and Firman of October 2 and December 12, 1875, and the abolition of the system of tax-farming was already agreed to, but the question of the application of the direct taxes and [195]

the lease of land to the peasants, to which Count Andrassy also referred in his despatch,

required further consideration.

Her Majesty's Government have sought, in the basis which they have now proposed, to expand this scheme of reforms so as to give it a more immediately practical character. They believe that, so far as the laws of the Turkish Empire are concerned, religious liberty is already fully provided for, and that any reform required in this respect is to be secured, not by enacting fresh laws, but by providing for the faithful execution of those

already existing.

One of the grievances complained of in Bosnia has been the prohibition of the use of bells in the Christian Churches, but this has been, at all events partially, removed. The refusal of Christian evidence has likewise been reported, and, although the Hatti-Humayoun expressly provides that Christians shall be admitted as witnesses, it is too probable that in remote districts, or where the Mussulman population is predominant and under little control, gross injustice is often committed by its exclusion. The real difficulty, however, in establishing religious liberty is the difficulty which lies at the root of the whole question of administrative reforms, viz., the fact that the Mussulmans have for generations exercised authority as the principal owners of the land, and never failed to find Christians willing to be subservient to them in the administration of the country.

The expression "direct taxation" has been shown to be somewhat ambiguous, but a well-defined control over the local taxation would be one of the reforms which would properly be comprised under the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. The Firman of December 12, promised a general revision and unification of the taxation of the Empire to be distributed in just proportion over the various provinces, and provided that the collection of the taxes should no longer be left to the police, but be entrusted to Collectors of the Revenue elected by the whole population, Mussulman and non-

Mussulman, and acting under special instructions.

Her Majesty's Government are not aware that effect has yet been given to any measure of this kind, but it would be necessary that some steps should be taken to establish an equitable system of taxation before deciding on the distribution of the funds to be made applicable to local purposes. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that certain taxes have been hypothecated for the discharge of foreign loans, and that the withdrawal of the direct taxation of the Empire from the Treasury might have, as Her Majesty's Government remarked in their answer to Count Andrassy, the most serious effect in impeding the execution of those public works and other measures of general utility upon which the improvement of the condition of the population depends.

The system of local institutions contemplated by Her Majesty's Government to be granted to Bosnia and Herzegovina with the view of giving the population some control over their local affairs, would also imply a control over the application of local rates or

other similar imposts levied within the province for local purposes,

The note of the Porte of October last provided for an extension of the Law estab-

lishing vilayets throughout the Empire.

This Law originally applied to the province of the Danube, but was extended and made applicable to the Empire generally, by a Law passed in 1867; and provided for the division of the Empire into provinces called vilayets, placed under Governors-General (Valis) named by the Sultan.

Each vilayet is divided into sandjaks (arrondissements), under the administration of

a Mutessariff (Governor.)

The sandjak is divided into cazas (cantons) under the jurisdiction of a Kaimakam (Lieutenant-Governor).

The caza is divided into communes.

Groups of small villages, not of sufficient importance to form independent cazas, are incorporated with the nearest cazas under the name of "nahié,"

Each of these divisions has a separate system of administration subordinate to the Vali.

The Vali is assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of the Chief Magistrate, who is the head of the Cheri (Mussulman religious tribunals), the Director of Finance, the Director of Correspondence, the Director of External Affairs, and four other members, two elected by the Mussulman population and two by the non-Mussulman.

There is also a General Council for each vilayet, composed of four members for each sandjak, two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans. This Council is convoked once a year, at the principal town of the vilayet, and its session is not to last more than forty days. It is the duty of this Council-General to attend to local matters, and its resolutions are transmitted by the Vali to the Imperial Government.

The Mutessariff governing each sandjak is assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of the Cadi of the central caza, the Mufti of the chief town, the Spiritual chiefs of the non-Mussulman population, the Sub-Director of Finance, the Director of Correspondence of the sandjak, and four permanent members—two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans. This Council regulates the affairs of the sandjak.

The Kaimakam governing a caza has an elective Council, three Mussulman and

three non-Mussulman members.

In each commune there is also a Council called the "Conseil des Anciens," composed partly of Mussulman, partly of Christian members; the Imams and Spiritual Chiefs of the non-Mussulman population are ex officio members of the Council, which regulates the distribution of the taxes, and questions of public health and agriculture.

There have been other laws relating to the vilayets, but the foregoing account

will be sufficiently full for the purposes of this despatch.

The note of October last stated that the Porte intended to add to this scheme of administration an Assembly General, elected by the inhabitants of the vilayets and the capital to meet at Constantinople for annual sessions of three months, and to vote the budgets of the Empire, laws, and taxes. There is also to be another Assembly or Senate nominated by the Government.

Sir Henry Elliot has stated that he is strongly of opinion, in common, he believes, with most of those persons who have bestowed attention on the subject, that the extension and real application of the law of the vilayets will offer a better prospect than any other scheme that has been proposed of leading to a better provincial administration and to

the improvement of the condition of the people.

On the other hand, from reports received from Her Majesty's Consuls, it appears that the Medjlisses, or Provincial Councils, are constantly used as the means of local oppression and extortion by a certain number of the influential persons of the district who play into each other's hands, confine the elections to their own relatives or dependants, connive with the tax farmers, and are able, by bribery and intrigue, to defy the authority of any Governor-General who may seek to interfere with them.

Nothing would be gained by giving the control of the taxation to bodies such as these are described to be, and it is on the control of the local funds that the local

administration of affairs must naturally depend.

The improvement of the condition of the rural population forms the fifth point in Count Andrassy's note. The best means of effecting this will indisputably be by a general amelioration of the condition of the whole population, urban as well as rural, by the realization of practical reforms, and the establishment of such institutions as those which Her Majesty's Government have proposed in the Conference basis.

Count Andrassy suggested the execution of measures in imitation of those which he stated had been taken some years ago in Bulgaria, where the landlords' dues had been bought up by means of the issue of public obligations, and also that it might be possible to make some arrangement for the peasants to acquire on easy terms portions

of the waste lands which the State puts up for sale.

The question of the relations between landlord and tenant in these provinces is one of great difficulty, from the peculiar nature of the tenure of land, as the feudal system, which formerly existed in Turkey, and which was not abolished by law until the Tanzimat of 1839, appears to have continued in practice in Bosnia, to a great extent, up to the time when the insurrection of the Begs was suppressed by the Porte in 1850, and the feudal rights of the landlords compounded for by pensions and annuities.

Under this system the land was divided into three classes: (1.) Lands held by those who embraced Islamism (this is the case in Bosnia); (2.) Lands held by those tribes or provinces which had capitulated or submitted to Turkish rule; (3.) Lands taken by arms. The lands held by Mussulmans were subject to "uchur" (dîme, or tithe). Those held by others to "kharadj" (tribute). Lands taken by arms were subject to one or the other, as they might be granted for life, or in freehold, to Mussulmans or non-Mussulmans. The "uchur" was a fixed charge, the "kharadj" depended on the will of the Sultan. Both were levied on the produce, and depended on the harvest, &c. The Mussulman landlords undertook the defence of the country, and exercised seigneurial rights, levying fines and taxes on the peasantry, who were attached by prescription to the soil.

From this system a practice has grown up of paying rent, and even taxes, in kind, and no doubt many existing abuses are to be traced to it.

On the 21st of April, 1858, a new law was promulgated, providing that land in Turkey should be classed in five categories:—1. Land "mulk," freehold. 2. Land

"mirüè," property of the State. 3. Land "mevqoufè," mosque and charity lands, in mortmain. 4. Land "metrouké," common lands. 5. Land "mévât," waste lands.

The second comprises the lands for which the feudal lord could formerly grant leases. These are now granted by the Government authorities. The fourth consists of the highways and common pasturages, and the fifth of uncultivated mountains and rocky wastes. Any one is allowed to redeem the waste lands, but if cultivated they become

liable to a fine, upon payment of which a lease is granted.

Your Excellency will obtain full information with regard to the operations of this law, and any improvements required in it, from Mr. Consul Holmes, who has been desired to meet your Excellency at Constantinople. Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to do more than generally indicate, for your Excellency's information, the condition of this very important question of the tenure of land, which can only be dealt with after careful inquiry, and with due consideration for local necessities. Among the abuses which your Excellency will find the subject of complaint is the administration of the Mosque lands, which are granted by a system of "vakout" to favoured Mussulmans, and often allowed to remain in a neglected state, to the injury of the neighbourhood.

As Her Majesty's Government indicated in their reply to the proposals of Count Andrassy, the points which his Excellency recommended for adoption by the Porte are already covered in principle by the Hatti-Humayoun and other Decrees of the

Porte.

Besides these Decrees, which were for universal application to the whole Empire, the Porte has at various times granted special institutions to provinces where the necessity

for them has been proved.

On the 10th December, 1832, the Porte, by a note addressed to the Representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia, accorded certain concessions, including an amnesty, to the people of Samos, on condition of their submitting faithfully to the Ottoman rule. A Council of Notables was to exercise the Government of the island under a Prince of the same religion as the people, no troops were to be kept in the island, and privileges were granted in regard to navigation and port dues. The Samians were to pay an annual tribute of 400,000 piastres to the Porte.

At the Conferences held at Paris in 1860, relative to the armed intervention for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria, it was agreed that there should be a special Reglement for the administration of the Lebanon. This was not finally settled till the 5th September

1864.

It was provided that the Lebanon should be administered by a Christian Governor named by the Porte, with an Administrative Council composed of twelve members from the different communes, according to their religious distribution, Maronites and Druses, one Mussulman, two orthodox Greeks, and one Catholic Greek.

There were also to be three Tribunals composed in similar proportions; and the Porte decreed the equality of all before the law, and the abolition of all feudal privileges.

In 1867 the Porte issued an Imperial Firman for the reorganization of Crete after the insurrection there. For two years from the 1st March, 1868, the tithe (dime) was remitted entirely, and after that reduced for two years further to one-half.

The Island of Crete was divided into sandjaks, cazas, and communes under a Vali, assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of two Councillors, the Chief Magistrate, the Greek Metropolitan, the Director of the Finances, the Directors of Correspondence, and six other members, three Mussulmans, and three non-Mussulmans, elected by their respective communities. Similar provisions were made for the Councils of the sandjaks, with this provision, that in the sandjaks exclusively Christian the Councils should be composed, under the presidency of the Mutessarifs (Governors), of three officials, the Bishop, and six Christian members elected by the population.

The tribunals of the chief town and of the mixed sandjaks and cazas were to be composed of elective Mussulman and Christian members. In the sandjaks or cazas exclusively Christian the tribunals were to be composed entirely of Christians. There was also to be a general elective Council, composed of two Christian delegates from the Christian cazas, two Mussulman delegates from the Mussulman cazas, and one Mussulman

delegate from each mixed caza.

This scheme of administration for Crete has given rise to some dissatisfaction among the Christian population, owing to the manner in which the Porte has exercised its powers of appointing the Kaimakams and the Presidents of the Tribunals, by which a predominance has been given to the Mussulmans, incommensurate with their relative numbers. The Christian officials nominated are said to have been of so low a class as to

render the more respectable of the Christian inhabitants unwilling to serve or be associated

In the basis laid down for the Conference, a distinction has been drawn between the

case of Bosnia and the Herzegovina and that of Bulgaria.

The circumstances of the several districts are, indeed, so different as to make it difficult to propose any measures of reform which would in their details be suitable to all In Bosnia the population is reported to be nearly equally divided into Mussulmans and Christians, with a proportion among the latter of Roman Catholics. In the Herzegovina the majority of the population is Christian, but in both provinces the Mussulmans are, and have always been, the ruling race, and, in spite of the events of 1850 and 1858, still hold the greater part of the landed property. As the insurrection in these provinces has led to the existing state of affairs, their pacification is of immediate necessity. At the same time the cruelty with which the attempted rising in the Balkans was suppressed has aroused the indignation of the civilized world, and made it equally imperative that the recurrence of such outrages should be adequately guarded against.

Some confusion has been occasioned by the use of the generic name Bulgaria, in regard to the places where these outrages were committed. Tatar Bazardjik and the majority of the places where these atrocities were committed, are situated in mountainous districts, south of the Balkan range, in the vilayet of Adrianople, in Roumelia. Although there have been disturbances in the Northern Balkans, the vilayet of the Danube, commonly known as Bulgaria, extending from Widdin to the mouth of the river, has

remained tranquil.

It was in this province of the Danube that the system of vilayets was first introduced, under the able administration of Midhat Pasha, and care will have to be taken not to disturb unnecessarily institutions which may have proved to be efficiently organized.

It is all the more important to bear this distinction between the vilayets in mind, as the proposals of the Russian Government for the occupation of Bulgaria had in view the intervention of a foreign military force and the suppression of the local Government in the vilayet of the Danube, where such measures have, in reality, been the least called

In a despatch addressed to Sir H. Elliot on the 21st of September, Her Majesty's Government instructed his Excellency to recommend as a provisional measure, and without prejudice to such future arrangements as may be made in concert with the Powers, that the disturbed districts should be at once placed under an able and energetic Commissioner specially appointed for the purpose, who, if not himself a Christian, should have Christian counsellors in whom trust could be reposed by the Christian population.

Her Majesty's Government have not heard that any steps have been taken to carry this recommendation into effect, but it would have afforded a proof, unfortunately wanting,

of the determination of the Porte to act energetically without foreign pressure.

In the absence of any such effort on the part of the Porte to effectually repair the injuries which the apathy and misconduct of the local officials allowed to be inflicted on the Christian population, Her Majesty's Government have felt compelled to consider the means which may be best adapted for ensuring the reform of the administration in the districts affected, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it will probably be found that such measures, in order to be effectual, will have to be extended over the whole vilayet of Adrianople and possibly of the Danube also.

Besides giving the population some control over their own local affairs, the Conference basis provides that there shall be guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority in

Bosnia and Herzegovina and also against maladministration in Bulgaria.

The whole history of the Ottoman Empire since it was admitted into the European concert, under the engagements of the Treaty of Paris, has proved that the Porte is unable to guarantee the execution of reforms in the Provinces by Turkish officials, who accept them with reluctance, and neglect them with impunity.

It has, therefore, become requisite to aim, in the present crisis of affairs, at an agreement between the Powers and the Porte for the establishment of some system of reforms in the provinces whose administration will come under discussion, which shall combine the elective principle with external guarantees for efficient administration.

Her Majesty's Government do not desire to hamper your Excellency's discretion in the approaching discussions by any detailed plan for such a scheme of reforms, but it may be useful to indicate generally the points in which the existing system of administra-

tion in the provinces might be strengthened and improved.

The vilayets might be placed under Valis whose nomination by the Porte should, as a temporary arrangement, be subject to the approval of the Ambassadors of the Guaranteeing Powers, or a majority of them. The office of Vali to be tenable for a period of say seven years, and the Vali irremovable, except on conviction of crime, or proved corruption, or incapacity, and then only with the concurrence of the Ambassadors, or a

majority of them.

The Provincial Councils or Medjlisses, whose machinery seems unnecessarily cumbrous, might be supplemented or superseded by General Councils for each vilayet, to be elected by the votes of the population of each Caza: the number of members to be proportioned to the population, and to be divided into Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans in the same ratio. The last Firman has decreed a General Council for the whole Empire, and these General Provincial Councils might be elected by the same suffrage, and meet at the chief town or other locality which may be most convenient and accessible.

The Mutessarifs to be nominated by the Porte, subject for the present to veto by the Ambassadors, or a majority of them, who would be advised by the Consuls. The Mutes-

sarifs to hold office on a similar tenure to the Vali.

The Kaimakams to be selected by the Vali from members of the General Provincial Council, or some other security taken that they should be persons possessing the confidence of the population. In Cazas where the majority are non-Mussulmans, the Kaimakam to be a non-Mussulman, and vice versa.

The law of the Vilayets provided that-

At the chief town of every vilayet a High Court should be established, presided over by the chief Magistrate and composed of six members, three Mussulmans and three non-This High Court was to deal with all causes on appeal with the exception of suits between Mussulmans on appeal from the Cheri, or between non-Mussulmans on appeal from the special Courts of the non-Mussulman communities.

A High Court of Commerce was to be also established at each chief town.

Each sandjak was to have a Tribunal composed of the Cadi and six members, three Mussulmans and three non-Mussulmans, who are elective. Its jurisdiction to be restricted in the same manner as the Superior Court of the vilayet.

In each Caza there was to be a Court of First Instance, composed, under the presidence of the Cadi, of elective members, three Mussulmans and three non-Mussul-

mans, with similar restricted jurisdiction.

The Firman of October 12, 1875, introduced considerable alterations in these Provincial Tribunals. The Judges were made elective, the Presidents of the Tribunals were to be chosen from the most capable persons, and the principle of the Judges

being irremovable, was recognized with other reforms.

Her Majesty's Government doubt whether the plan of elective Judges, except in the case of the inferior Magistrates, is likely to be beneficial, and consider that it might be well to supplement it by establishing a Central Court at the chief town of the vilayets, the Judges of which should be irremovable and appointed for life, or for a fixed term of years, and should be selected by the Porte, subject, for the present, to the veto of the Ambassadors. Although the Magistrates of the minor Courts might continue to be elective, provision should be made that the Presidents should be Mussulman or non-Mussulman according to the population; and that neither the Judges of the Central Court nor the Presidents of the minor Courts should be selected except from persons possessing adequate judicial experience and legal training.

At the same time the jurisdiction over landed property should be removed from the Mussulman Courts, in cases in which non-Mussulmans are exclusively concerned, to non-Mussulman Courts; and in mixed cases to Mixed Courts, subject in both instances to appeal to the Central Provincial Court. The Codes of Law should also be

translated and published in the local languages.

If, moreover, a higher Court of Appeal could be constituted at Constantinople, in which the Porte would consent to employ a proportion of foreign Judges, the benefit to the whole Empire would presumably be great, and the means be provided for training

Turkish officials for employment in the provinces.

By the Hatti-Humayoun all the subjects of the Empire, without distinction, were to be received into the civil and military schools of the Government, if they otherwise satisfied the conditions as to age and examination which were specified in the Organic Regulations of the schools. Moreover, every community was authorized to establish public schools of Science, Art and Industry. Only the method of instruction and the choice of Professors in schools of this class were to be under the control of a Mixed Council of Public Instruction, the members of which were to be named by the Porte.

It is doubtful how far these provisions have been carried into actual execution, and the establishment of efficient schools for the Christian population would properly be included in the matters to be considered in regulating the reforms required in the

provinces.

Among the causes of disaffection in the provinces none has been more general than the arbitrary misconduct of the Mussulman zaptiehs or police, and it will be probably proved indispensable that a proportion of Christians should be employed for the future both as officers and men. The local police service may also require re-organization in other respects, as contemplated in the Hatti-Houmayoun, in addition to the reforms promised in the Instructions of Server Pasha of October 6, 1875. The chief officers should be made permanent, and their appointment subjected to some form of guarantee for their efficiency.

The Hatti-Humayoun likewise provided that the equality of taxes entails equality of burdens, as equality of duties entails that of rights. Christian subjects, it is stated, and those of other non-Mussulman sects, should, as well as Mussulman, be subject to the obligations of the Law of Recruitment. The principle of obtaining substitutes, or of purchasing exemption, was to be admitted, and a complete law was to be published, with as little delay as possible, respecting the admission into and service in the army of Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects.

An attempt was made to carry out this provision, but it was abandoned, and the capitation tax on Christians substituted. This has recently been made less onerous, but the opinion has generally been expressed by Sir H. Elliot and others that no real equality can be secured between the Mussulmans and Christians so long as the latter are excluded from bearing arms in the military service of the country.

The reasons of the Porte for feeling suspicious of non-Mussulman soldiers and police can easily be understood, as well as the reluctance of the Christians, in many cases, to be included in the conscription; but, nevertheless, it would be very desirable that some arrangement should be arrived at for constituting a system for the enrolment of non-Mussulmans in the army or local militia, either in separate regiments or battalions, or in some other way which should preserve them from being marked out for ill-usage oy their Mussulman comrades, and should admit of non-Mussulman officers attaining due rank and distinction in the service. The Mussulmans should be at the same time subjected to the same prohibitions in respect of carrying arms as are now imposed on the Christians.

The question of local taxation has already been referred to. In order to secure the control of the local finances a provincial Treasury might be established at the principal towns of the vilayets, into which the taxes and local rates should be paid. The 16th Article of the Reglement for the Lebanon provides that the cost of administration and expenses of public utility shall be a first charge on the taxation of that district, and a similar regulation might be made for these provinces. The Provincial General Councils, or Assemblies, might have the right of voting the local taxes, subject to the concurrence of the Vali, or Governor, in such a way that, after the balance of Imperial taxes had been paid over, the province should be financially independent of the Constantinople Ministry of Finance.

Her Majesty's Government have not endeavoured to offer more than the outline of a system of local self-government, in which they have aimed at the establishment of provincial administration under Governors whose ability and integrity would be vouched for by the guarantee of a diplomatic veto, acting with provincial elective assemblies having control over the local taxation, with permanent judges and other higher officials appointed under a similar guarantee, and with a reformed system of local militia and police, the removal of any remaining Christian disabilities, the improvement of the land laws, and the amelioration of the condition of the whole agricultural

Her Majesty's Government believe that if some such system of local self-government could be established, it would form the best guarantee for the well-being of these provinces, and open the way to the general adoption of reformed and constitutional Government throughout the Turkish Empire.

Having thus stated the nature of the guarantees which Her Majesty's Government consider may fairly be demanded of the Porte, it remains for me to state explicitly that Her Majesty's Government cannot countenance the introduction into the Conference of proposals, however plausible or well-intentioned, which would bring foreign armies into Turkish territory in violation of the engagements by which the Guaranteeing Powers are solemnly bound.

In authorizing your Excellency to declare this determination on the part of Her Majesty's Government at the Conference, should occasion require it, they desire at the same time that it should be understood by the Porte that Great Britain is resolved not to sanction misgovernment and oppression, and that if the Porte by obstinacy or apathy opposes the efforts which are now making to place the Ottoman Empire on a

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more secure basis, the responsibility of the consequences which may ensue will rest solely with the Sultan and his advisers.

The Queen relies upon this country being represented by your Excellency and Sir H. Elliot in the Conference with discretion, judgment, and firmness, and trusts that the result of its deliberations may be to secure the welfare of the population of Turkey and

the preservation of the peace of Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 2.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot,* requesting him to consider the instructions with which your Excellency has been furnished as equally addressed to himself, and explaining that the scheme of local self-government for the Turkish provinces concerned therein indicated is to be taken only as an outline, and subject to such alterations and amendments as may be suggested for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 3.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord,

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that the Queen has been pleased to signify her commands that Mr. Philip Currie, of this Office, should be appointed Secretary to your Excellency's Special Embassy, and that Mr. H. S. Northcote, Mr. H. A. Lee, and Mr. J. H. C. Hozier, of this Office, should be officially attached to your Excellency in your character of Special Ambassador. Your Excellency will accordingly consider these gentlemen as forming part of your Diplomatic Establishment, and you will employ them in the business of the Embassy in whatever way you may deem most beneficial for Her Majesty's service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 4.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that the travelling and other expenses of your Excellency's Embassy will be paid by the public, and that Mr. Currie has been instructed to keep and render the accounts in accordance with the usual forms.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 5.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Mr. Marwood Tucker has been appointed additional Private Secretary to your Excellency in your character of Special Ambassador

about to proceed to Constantinople. Mr. Tucker will be considered as attached to the Embassy, but he will receive no remuneration and his expenses will not be borne by the public.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 6.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to correspond with this office, while employed on the service of your Special Embassy, in a series of despatches, numbered and docketted, and addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 7.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord,
I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Sir H. Elliot was instructed on the 9th instant to inform Mr. Consul Holmes and Mr. Consul Blunt, and any other Consuls of experience whom it may be desirable to consult, that they would probably be required to meet your Excellency at Constantinople. Definite instructions will now be sent to that effect.

Mr. White, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Belgrade, will also be instructed to proceed to Constantinople, in order that your Excellency and Sir H. Elliot may have the benefit of consulting him on the state of the Slavonic Provinces, of which he has made a special study.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 8.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I INFORMED your Excellency in my despatch of the 8th instant, that the Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint the Marquis of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, to represent Her Majesty, conjointly with your Excellency, at the proposed Conference.

I now inclose a copy of the instructions which, by the Queen's command, I have had the honour to address to the Marquis of Salisbury,* and it is the desire of Her Majesty and of the Cabinet that your Excellency should consider these instructions equally addressed to yourself.

At the same time Her Majesty's Government wish it to be understood that the scheme for the local self-government of the Turkish Provinces concerned which is indicated in outline in those instructions is not to be taken as a plan to be rigidly proposed to the Conference or absolutely adhered to in it. They will be prepared to receive with the sincerest anxiety to arrive at a general agreement any other proposals which may be advanced by the Representatives of the Governments of the other Treaty Powers.

It is not improbable that many important variations of the project may be found necessary to insure its practical operation, and that some plan may present itself for insuring the appointment of able, energetic, and trustworthy Administrators preferable to that of a diplomatic veto. An International Commission, for instance, somewhat similar to that which was employed in the affairs of the Lebanon, might be named

* No. 1.

to work out the details of a scheme of which the general principles might be laid down in the Conference, and the duty of securing the appointment of proper Local

Authorities subsequently entrusted to it.

Her Majesty's Government do not seek to impose any particular scheme of their own on the Porte or the Conference. Their only object is to effect a practical settlement, and secure for the population of the provinces institutions which shall give them an adequate control over their local affairs, and provide guarantees against maladministration.

Any plan which will effect this purpose will receive the ready assent of Her Majesty's Government, and they are confident that your Excellency will use your best efforts to assist the Marquis of Salisbury in attaining it, and bringing the deliberations of the Conference to a satisfactory issue.

I am, &c. (Signed)

DERBY.

No. 9.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

YOUR telegraphic despatch stating that the Porte had agreed, after the assembling of a General Council on the 18th instant, to the proposed Conference having been received, the Marquis of Salisbury left England this morning, with the members of the Special Embassy, to proceed to Constantinople.

As your Excellency is already aware, the proposals made by Her Majesty's Government on the 4th instant have already been accepted by the Governments of the

other Powers.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 10.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copies of despatches which have been addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot,† containing Her Majesty's instructions for their guidance in the approaching Conference at Constantinople on the Eastern question.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 11.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20.)

(Telegraphic.) Pesth, November 20, 1876. COUNT ANDRASSY will go to Vienna to-morrow to await Lord Salisbury's arrival.

No. 12.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 22, 1876, 5.8 p.m.

HER Majesty's Government think it as well that you should go to Rome on your way.

^{*} A similar despatch was addressed to Her Majesty's Embassies at St. Petersburgh, Rome, Berlin, and Vienna.

[†] Nos. 1, 2, and 8.

No. 13.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.*

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, November 22, 1876, 5.35 P.M. LORD SALISBURY will go to Rome on his way to Brindisi.

No. 14.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, November 22, 1876, 6 P.M. THE Constitution will probably be promulgated within a few days.

No. 15.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23.)

My Lord, Paris, November 22, 1876.

THE Marquis of Salisbury arrived at Paris on the evening before last, and set out for Berlin last evening. He had interviews yesterday with Marshal MacMahon and the Duc Decazes.

The two Ambassadors appointed to represent France at the Conference at Constantinople, the Comte de Bourgoing and the Comte de Chaudordy, have left Paris for Brindisi, whither a French Government steam-vessel has been sent to convey them to Constantinople.

The inclosed article, dated yesterday, which appears in the "Journal des Débats" of this morning, contains, I believe, a correct account of their movements and of the composition of the special staff of Secretaries attached to them.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Extract from the "Journal des Débats" of November 22, 1876.

DEUX Ambassadeurs de France, M. le Comte de Bourgoing et M. le Comte de Chaudordy, l'un Ambassadeur en Turquie, l'autre en Espagne, doivent représenter conjointement le Gouvernement de la République Française à la Conférence Internationale de Constantinople.

M. Victor Tiby, Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de France près le Roi d'Italie; M. Paul Desprez, fils de l'éminent Directeur des Affaires Politiques au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; et M. de Voize, attaché à la Direction Politique, ont été adjoints à la mission extraordinaire des deux Ambassadeurs.

Hier Lundi, le Compte de Bourgoing, M. Victor Tiby et M. Desprez fils, ont quitté Paris par le train d'Italie (Mont Cenis). Ce soir doivent partir le Comte de Chaudordy et M. de Voize.

Les Ambassadeurs, les secrétaires, et les attachés à leur mission, se rendent directement par la voie de terre à Brindisi (Adriatique), où ils doivent se réunir, et d'où un bâtiment de l'Etat, le "Desaix," les transportera tout d'une traite à Constantinople.

L'Ambassade de France est en ce moment représentée, dans la capitale de la Turquie, par M. de Moüy, Premier Secrétaire, Chargé d'Affaires. On sait que le Comte de Bourgoing, qui retourne à Constantinople, avait été appelé récemment à Paris pour y recevoir les instructions directes de M. le Duc Decazes, avec lequel il a eu de nombreuses Conférences.

(Translation.)

THE French Ambassadors, M. le Comte de Bourgoing and M. le Comte de Chaudordy, the former Ambassador in Turkey, the latter in Spain, are to represent con-

* A similar telegram was sent to Sir A. Paget.

jointly the Government of the French Republic in the International Conference at

Constantinople.

M. Victor Tiby, First Secretary of the French Embassy to the King of Italy; M. Paul Desprez, son of the eminent Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and M. de Voize, of the Foreign Office, are to accompany this Special Mission of the two Ambassadors.

Yesterday, Monday, the Comte de Bourgoing, M. Victor Tiby, and M. Deprez, junior, left Paris by the Italian train (Mont Cenis). Comte de Chaudordy and M. de Voize are

to start this evening.

The Ambassadors, Secretaries, and Attachés belonging to their Mission will go overland direct to Brindisi (Adriatic), where they are to meet, and from thence a national vessel, the "Desaix," will convey them without stopping to Constantinople.

The French Embassy is at present represented in the Turkish capital by M. de Moüy, First Secretary, Chargé d'Affaires. It is well known that Comte de Bourgoing, who returns to Constantinople, was recently summoned to Paris in order to receive direct instructions from the Duc Decazes, with whom he has frequently conferred.

No. 16.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23, 2.51 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, November 23, 1876, 2.40 P.M.

The announcement of Lord Salisbury's intended visit to Rome gives great satisfaction to Italian Government.

No. 17.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received November 23, 2.53 p.m.)

(Telegraphic.) Therapia, November 23, 1876, 1.45 P.M. EDHEM PASHA, Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, will be the second Turkish Plenipotentiary at the Conference.

No. 18.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

IT is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government that your Excellency should in any way interfere with the ordinary business of Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, but they cannot let the occasion of your Excellency's special Embassy pass without requesting you, as a member of Her Majesty's Government, to convey to the Porte a further and very serious warning with regard to the manner in which the outrages committed on the population in Bulgaria are being allowed by the Turkish Government to remain without adequate redress.

In the despatch addressed to Sir H. Elliot on the 21st September, his Excellency was instructed to demand an audience of the Sultan, and to communicate to His Majesty the result of Mr. Baring's inquiries, mentioning by name Chefket Pasha, Achmet Agha, and other officials, whose conduct he had denounced. His Excellency was also, in the name of the Queen and Her Majesty's Government, to call for reparation and justice, and to urge that the rebuilding of the houses and churches should be begun at once, and necessary assistance given for the restoration of the woollen and other industries, as well as provision made for the relief of those who have been reduced to poverty; and, above all, to point out that it was a matter of absolute necessity that the eighty women carried off to Mussulman villages should be found and restored to their families.

Furthermore, his Excellency was instructed to urge that striking examples should be made on the spot of those who had connived at or taken part in the atrocities, and that the persons who had been decorated or promoted under a false impression of their conduct should be tried and degraded where this had not been done already, and every effort made to restore public confidence.

With this view, the instruction to Sir H. Elliot continued, it would seem advisable, as a provisional measure, and without prejudice to such future arrangements as might be made in concert with the Powers, that the disturbed districts should be at once placed under an able and energetic Commissioner specially appointed for the purpose, who, if not himself a Christian, should have Christian counsellors in whom trust could be reposed by the Christian population.

Sir H. Elliot executed these instructions on the 7th of October, and received from the Sultan every assurance that the measures called for by Her Majesty's Government, both for the relief of distress and for the punishment of the guilty, should be

accomplished.

It is with regret that Her Majesty's Government have learnt from the subsequent reports of Mr. Baring and Her Majesty's Consular Officers how little has been done to give effect to these assurances of the Sultan.

Chefket Pasha has been retained in posts of honour, and although Achmet Aga has been at last arrested, his son, who is accused of being equally culpable, has been

allowed to escape, and is in concealment among the Mussulmans.

The Turkish authorities have only sent a sum of 7,000*l*. for the rebuilding and repair of the villages, although the Turks themselves have estimated the amount required at 30,000*l*., and at one place Ali Bey, a notorious fanatic and a participator in

the outrages, has been appointed to superintend the works.

Nothing whatever appears to have been done to restore the industries of the Christian population. From the reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government, it is doubtful how many of the eighty women have been restored to their homes. Sixty-eight women and children are stated to have been brought back to Batak, but others still remain in the hands of their captors, or are otherwise retained; and the efforts of the Pasha of Salonica to recover those who had been taken to that Province have been impeded by the Mutessarif of Drama, and other subordinates.

Instead of examples having been made on the spot, the inquiries of the Commission under Sadoullah Bey have been conducted at a distance from the scene of the principal outrages, and witnesses have had consequently to be summoned from a considerable distance, the proceedings being thus delayed, the effect of examples lost,

and the ends of justice to a great extent frustrated.

The conduct of the Commission has also been in many other respects most unsatisfactory; the few members of it who have shown any capacity for judicial investigation have been checked and hindered by the interruptions of their colleagues, and months after the massacre of hundreds of women and children, and of unarmed men, the Commissioners are still considering whether such murders are crimes.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that public confidence should have been so little restored; that there should be a feeling among the people that the Commissioners are seeking to excuse rather than to judge the perpetrators of these misdeeds, and that a contrast should be drawn between the activity displayed by the Porte in punishing the Christians concerned in the insurrection and the laxity in bringing to justice the Mussulmans implicated in the outrages.

Moreover, the Provinces have been left with an insufficient number of police and regular troops, so that little security is felt that fresh outbreaks may not occur among

the Mussulman villagers, Pomaks and Circassians.

Her Majesty's Government have not received any answer to Sir H. Elliot's suggestion for the appointment of a Special Commissioner, nor are they aware that any notice has been taken of it. I have referred in my despatch of the 20th instant, to the serious effect that the disregard of this suggestion, and the neglect to provide for the effectual control and regulation of the Mussulman population in the Balkan Provinces is likely to have in the approaching discussions at Constantinople; and indeed the danger of leaving the country in the state in which it is now represented to be is so apparent, that Her Majesty's Government are unable to understand how the Porte can be blind to it. Even if the dictates of humanity may have no influence with the Government at Constantinople, the most ordinary considerations of policy would counsel the Porte to establish at once a firm administration over the disturbed districts, execute speedy and impartial justice, and redress the wrongs of the Christian population.

Sir H. Elliot has used his utmost efforts to impress upon the Porte the necessity of listening to the representations respecting the state of these districts, which Her Majesty's Government and the Governments of the other Powers have been constantly

urging on their attention; and it is the wish of the Queen and of Her Majesty's Government that, after conferring with his Excellency and obtaining the most accurate information procurable, your Excellency should take an early opportunity on your arrival at Constantinople of again addressing the Sultan, pointing out to His Majesty how ineffectually his assurances have been accomplished by the responsible authorities, and pressing for their immediate execution.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 19.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25, morning.)

Belgrade, November 24, 1876, 10 P.M. (Telegraphic.) I PROPOSE to leave this on Sunday morning next direct for Constantinople, and shall leave the affairs of this Consulate provisionally in the hands of Mr. Cumberbatch, who was sent to assist me by Sir H. Elliot.

No. 20.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

Berlin, November 25, 1876. My Lord. THE Marquis of Salisbury arrived in Berlin on Wednesday night, 22nd instant, and left for Vienna on the morning of the 24th, after having seen the Emperor, the Crown Prince, the Chancellor Prince Bismarck, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Bülow, Herr von Radowitz, &c.

His Lordship has reported to Her Majesty's Government the impressions received from his visit to Berlin, but it is my pleasing duty to report the impression it has produced.

Lord Salisbury's reception by the German Court and Government was most cordial, and everything was done to show that his visit was welcome and gave

The Emperor has expressed his high appreciation of the motives which actuated Her Majesty's Government in authorizing Lord Salisbury's Mission to Berlin, and of

the language held by his Lordship at the audience of the 23rd instant.

In like manner, Prince Bismarck has acknowledged the value and importance of the Marquis's visit in the warmest terms, and has in conversation with leading men paid the highest tribute to his Lordship's great qualities as a statesman and as a negotiator.

Public opinion has been favourably impressed by the measure, and Lord Salisbury's passage through Berlin will leave beneficial traces that must lead to good in the future

as well.

I have, &c. (Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 21.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, November 30, 1876. Sir, I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the Marquis of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Special Ambassador, with the members of his Excellency's Special Embassy, will embark at Brindisi for Constantinople on Friday night, the 1st proximo, on board the Austrian Lloyd's vessel "Aurora." The "Aurora" will fly the Ambassador's flag, and I am to suggest that instructions may be sent by telegraph to Admiral Drummond to render such honours as may be usual and proper to the Ambassador should the vessel be sighted by the fleet off the Dardanelles, and also that the stationary gun-boats at Constantinople may be sent to meet and escort the "Aurora" on her approaching that city.

I am, &c. (Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 22.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

My Lord,

Berlin, November 23, 1876.

I HAD the honour of being received by the Emperor of Germany at an audience

His Imperial Majesty expressed earnest hopes for the preservation of peace, and said that he had used and would continue to use his utmost personal influence with the Emperor of Russia for that purpose.

His Majesty stated his opinion that the course taken by the Emperor Alexander was imposed upon him by circumstances, and by the oppression to which those of his own

religion had been subjected under Turkish rule.

He trusted, however, that by the concession of reasonable reforms in the administration of the Turkish Provinces, combined with guarantees for their execution, the necessity for an occupation of Turkish territory might be avoided.

His Majesty considered that it was impossible for Europe any longer to accept the mere promises of the Porte, and that it was indispensable that satisfactory guarantees against the continuance of the evils under which the Christians in Turkey were suffering

should be arranged.

I stated to His Majesty that it was the full intention of Her Majesty's Government to insist on the provision of adequate guarantees, but at the same time I said that I feared that an occupation of Turkish territory would lead to war, and that the limits of such a war could not be foreseen.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 23.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(Extract.) Vienna, November 29, 1876.

BARON CALICE will, I understand, leave this evening, as Second Plenipotentiary to the Conference at Constantinople.

No. 24.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Marquis of Salisbury arrived in Rome the day before yesterday at half-past 4 in the afternoon, and left for

Brindisi by special train at 8 this morning.

His Lordship had an interview with M. Melegari yesterday morning, and was received in the afternoon by His Majesty the King and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Piedmont.

Before the interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I informed his Lordship that I believed the principles of Italian policy to be:—

1. The maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey.

2. Liberal measures of reform for the insurgent Provinces under an international guarantee or engagement, which would give the Powers the right of seeing to their application. This as an act of justice to the population, and as a satisfaction to Russia.

3. Neutrality in the event of war, but diplomatic opposition to military occupation

of the Provinces by any foreign Powers whatever.

After the interview with M. Melegari, Lord Salisbury told me that his Excellency's language had been in conformity with these principles, and he therefore looked for the support of the Italian Minister during the Conference.

M. Melegari, who dined here last night, informed me that he had been much gratified by Lord Salisbury's language, and that there had been a perfect understanding

between them.

I have, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 25.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 4.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 3 Décembre, 1876.

LES journaux de l'Europe ont donné la nouvelle d'un dissentiment qui serait survenu entre leurs Altesses le Grand Vézir et le Président du Conseil d'Etat au sujet des réformes. Vous pouvez démentir cette nouvelle, qui n'a aucun fondement. L'élaboration des réformes a touché à sa fin, et la plus complète entente à cet égard n'a cessé d'exister entre les membres du Cabinet Impérial.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, December 3, 1876.

EUROPEAN newspapers have spread a report that a disagreement has taken place on the subject of reforms between their Highnesses the Grand Vizier and the President of the Council of State.

You may contradict this report, which is without foundation. The elaboration of the reforms is approaching its termination, and the most perfect understanding has never ceased to prevail amongst the members of the Imperial Cabinet on this subject.

No. 26.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(Extract.) Foreign Office, December 4, 1876.

THE Italian Ambassador, in a conversation this afternoon, expressed to me the satisfaction which had been felt by his Government at the visit of Lord Salisbury to Rome. His Excellency said that he hoped, after the explanation which had been given to Lord Salisbury, that no doubt would be entertained by Her Majesty's Government as to the pacific dispositions of Italy.

No. 27.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord, Rome, November 29, 1876.

I ARRIVED at Vienna on the evening of the 24th instant, and saw Count Andrassy

on the following day for several hours, and again on the morning of the 26th.

His Excellency spoke to me at considerable length on the position of the Eastern question, and examined the various plans which have been suggested for its settlement. I was gratified to find that his views were, in many respects, identical with those entertained by Her Majesty's Government. He appeared to be strongly averse to the formation by the Conference of any new tributary States, as he believed that such an arrangement would not, under existing circumstances, secure either political stability or the good government of the populations.

His Excellency was also much opposed to the idea of a Russian occupation, and

expressed a hope that England would not sanction it.

I assured him that in these respects Her Majesty's Government entirely shared the opinions of the Austrian Government. At the same time, I observed that the inability of the Turks to fulfil the promises which they had made on various occasions, and the grievous sufferings which, in consequence, had befallen the Christian populations, had imposed upon Europe the duty of making every exertion to secure not only the enactment of any further reforms that might be necessary, but also guarantees for the efficacious execution of those which had already been sanctioned.

In this view Count Andrassy very cordially concurred, and, indeed, earnestly

reiterated it more than once before the termination of the interviews.

I then explained to his Excellency the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to the appointment of Governors, Judges, and other executive officers in the Turkish Provinces, and the securities with which it is proposed to surround the appointment and tenure of office of those authorities.

He concurred generally in the tenor of those opinions, without pledging himself to details. At the same time he strongly urged the necessity of fiscal reforms, and especially

dwelt upou the misery caused to the peasantry by the illegal maintenance of the tax-farming system. I assured his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were keenly alive to the evils caused by this system, and would offer their most cordial assistance in procuring its effectual abolition.

The question of disarming the Mussulmans was discussed, but I agreed with his Excellency that it would be difficult to discover any practical and permanent machinery

for carrying into effect what was in itself a salutary measure.

Count Andrassy readily promised that Austria would co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in their endeavours to maintain peace, but it was evident that he looked upon the present state of affairs with no little anxiety.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 28.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord, Rome, November 29, 1876.

THE Emperor of Austria did me the honour to grant me an audience on the 25th instant, at which I expressed to His Majesty the strong hope entertained by the Queen and Her Majesty's Government that events might permit England and Austria to act together in the Conference at Constantinople. His Imperial Majesty was pleased to reciprocate this hope, and to give his opinion that the interests of the two countries in regard to the present phase of the Eastern question were identical.

His Majesty discussed the position of affairs in the revolted Provinces of Turkey, and entered into an examination of the various proposals that have been made with regard to them, but he seemed to fear that the difficulties of arriving at a settlement which would

be acceptable to all the Powers were almost insuperable.

I assured His Majesty that it was the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that peace might be maintained, and I stated my belief that it would only be seriously menaced if an occupation of Turkish territory were insisted upon.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 29.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

(Extract.) Rome, November 30, 1876.

I HAD an interview this morning with Signor Melegari, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and discussed with him the present grave state of affairs in the East.

His Excellency began by emphatically expressing the opinion that the conscience of Christendom would not be satisfied unless effective guarantees were provided for the better government of the Christian populations of Turkey.

At the same time he stated that the Italian Government was strongly opposed to

any military occupation of any portion of the Turkish Empire.

His Excellency went on to express the opinion, upon which he insisted with much force, that the action of the Powers ought not to be derived from or limited by the Treaty of Paris, but that their functions were rather those of mediators, deriving their title simply from the events of the war and the acceptance of the Conference by the Porte. They ought, he considered, to be unrestricted in their search for a solution of the questions to be submitted to the Conference by any obligations imposed by that Treaty, and he was not prepared to admit that the Porte would be at liberty to reject any decision to which the Conference might come.

His Excellency expressed himself adversely to the project of providing a port for Montenegro upon the Adriatic, as he doubted whether she would have the power to prevent its being employed for purposes other than those to which the Powers would

wish to confine it.

Signor Melegari expressed, throughout the conversation, the most earnest desire to

cooperate with England at the Conference.

I said that Her Majesty's Government would hear with sincere gratification of the friendly feelings of the Italian Government; and I added that, in insisting upon the [195]

necessity of providing effective guarantees for a reform in the government of the revolted Provinces, and in strenuously objecting to a Russian occupation of any part of the Ottoman Empire, the Italian Government were entirely in accord with the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

No. 30.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

AT a Parliamentary dinner given on Friday by the Chancellor, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and all the leading Members of Reichstag were present, Prince Bismarck took occasion, it is said, spontaneously to refer to the Eastern question.

His Highness, after renewing the assurances already given as to the absolute neutrality which would be observed by Germany in the event of war breaking out on the Continent, laid special stress upon the importance he attached to the relations with

Austria.

Alluding to that passage of the Emperor's speech on opening the Reichstag which referred to foreign affairs, Prince Bismarck expressed his astonishment that the distinct allusion to England intended by the words "historical friendship," had been completely overlooked and misinterpreted.

I have, &c. (Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 31.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5, 2.10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 5, 1876, 12.30 P.M. LORD SALISBURY arrived at 9 this morning after a good passage.

No. 32.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 6, 1876.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and read to me a despatch

from Safvet Pasha, dated the 23rd ultimo, to the following effect:-

The Porte sincerely deplored the events in Bulgaria, which, however, they considered had been much exaggerated in Mr. Baring's reports. As soon as the acts occasioned by the Bulgarian insurrection had become known, the Porte had done all in their power not only to put a stop to them but also to repair their consequences as much as possible. Several Commissions appointed to ascertain the facts and discover the guilty had been sent to Bulgaria, and finally the Ottoman Government had confided to a Commission, composed of functionaries belonging to all the communities, the duty of providing forthwith for the reconstruction of the houses, the greater part of which had been destroyed by the Bulgarians themselves, and to relieve the sufferings of the inhabitants of the districts which had been principally affected. At the commencement of winter this was necessarily the most pressing object the Porte had in view. This task is now being accomplished, and the Commissioners, in accordance with their instructions, are about to proceed to a rigorous inquiry to discover and punish the persons chiefly concerned in these acts, which had been committed in excess of and contrary to the desires of the Ottoman authorities.

The despatch instructed the Turkish Ambassador to point out that the English and Turkish Governments professed the same principles and were animated by the same desire to see the punishment of the guilty executed in the most complete manner, but the Porte did not doubt that Her Majesty's Government would recognize among those who had been indicated by public sentiment—often too prompt in accusation—as guilty, there might be some who could establish their innocence, and that, even

among those who should be held to be guilty, all would not prove to be guilty in the same degree, and that it was consequently just that an impartial inquiry should be held to ascertain the guilt or innocence of all those of every rank who were accused of having taken part in the events in question.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 33.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(Extract.)

M. MELEGARI, whom I saw this morning, referred to his conversation with Lord Salisbury, with which he again said he had been greatly satisfied, as it showed that there was a complete agreement in the policy of the two countries.

I said that Lord Salisbury had learnt the policy of the Italian Government with pleasure, and counted on the support of the Italian Representative at Constan-

tinople.

M. Melegari replied that he might do so thoroughly.

No. 34.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 8, 1876.

I HAVE had several interviews with General Ignatiew which have resulted in the

following proposals being made by him:-

Bulgaria to form one province; covers nearly all coloured yellow in Kiepert's map, except Varna, Adrianople, Wodena. Christian Governors holding office five years to be named by Porte with assent of Powers. Provincial Councils to be elected by Cantonal Councils. Governor appoints Prefects of Departments, Christian or Mussulman, according to predominant creed. Cantonal Councils elected by people. Mayors named by Governor from three elected candidates. Cantons to contain about 10,000 people, grouped, if possible, by creeds. Mayors to be small-cause Judges: larger Tribunals in each department: Court of Appeal in province. Judges partly elected, partly appointed, three years on probation, then for life. Religious causes to go to Ecclesiastical Courts of several creeds. Militia and police to contain Christians proportionately to population. Governor appoints officers. Functionaries, if Mussulmans, must be natives. Local language to be employed in Tribunals and administration. Tithes to be fixed sums paid by Canton, which distributes burden.

Punishment of those guilty of atrocities; irregular troops to be disbanded. Amnesty of Christians. Turkish troops to remain in fortified places, unless required by Governor. Importation by Porte of Circassians to cease; those already imported to be induced, where possible, to return to Asia. Porte to engage for all reforms in Protocol. Mussulmans to be disarmed. International Commission to arrange all details and supervise execution, and to have sufficient material force to make

decisions respected and preserve tranquillity.

These last demands are the greatest difficulty. It is now proposed that the force should be 6,000 Belgians or Italians. Have promised to report the proposition, but have not encouraged it.*

No. 35.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 11, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held in your conversations with Count Andrassy on the 24th and 26th ultimo, respecting the position of the Eastern Question, as reported in your despatch of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

^{*} These proposals are given more fully in Inclosure in No. 80.

No. 36.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 11, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held in your conversation with the Emperor of Austria on the 25th ultimo, as reported in your despatch of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 37.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 30th ultimo, reporting your conversation with Signor Melegari on the subject of the present state of affairs in the East, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held on that occasion.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 38.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE had conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day respecting General Ignatiew's proposals. He considers that their adoption would be the first step towards the decomposition of Turkey without affording even the probability of a short respite from the anxiety at present prevailing as to the future. Besides, the geographical partiality of the scheme is not only seriously objectionable on account of this, but also because it is directed against the future independence and development of Greek population, and is merely intended to promote Panslavist and Russian interests. Dividing the Mussulmans and the Christians into separate cantons could only be effected by force and by violating the rightful property, and shutting up the Turkish garrisons in fortresses would increase the animosity of the Turks and Christians. As to the employment of a foreign force, while he considers 6,000 men insufficient for the purpose proposed, he asks who is to pay their expenses or those of a larger one.

The whole scheme, in his opinion, goes too far, as an attempt to create out of Eastern elements a perfect system of administration on a European model must end in failure, whereas a more modest plan, accepting what exists and merely reforming abuses and providing for the protection of the Christians and securing them equal rights with the Mussulmans, but leaving the Central Power sufficient authority to maintain order, would gradually bring about the civilization of the country.

No. 39.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 12.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, Constantinople, le 30 Novembre, 1876.

SON Excellence le Général Ignatiew m'a donné lecture et laissé copie d'une dépêche Circulaire de son Altesse le Prince Gortchakow en date du \(\frac{1}{13}\) de ce mois, et que je vous communique ci-près.

J'ai à peine besoin de dire que cette communication a produit sur la Sublime Porte une impression des plus pénibles. Nous comprenons que le Prince Chancelier ait éprouvé le besoin de justifier aux yeux de l'Europe les armements de la Russie et la mobilisation d'une partie de l'armée Russe; mais ce que nous ne pouvons pas aussi

facilement nous expliquer, c'est que son Altesse s'applique à faire retomber sur nous

la responsabilité tout entière de la situation.

Il ne saurait entrer dans mon intention de m'engager dans la voie des récriminations en relevant une à une les assertions de son Altesse le Prince Chancelier. Je me bornerai à relever ce fait que, si l'administration du Gouvernement Ottoman eût été aussi incorrigible qu'on cherche à le faire croire, l'Empire se serait trouvé aux prises avec une insurrection permanente, tandis qu'en jetant les yeux sur la période de vingt années qui s'est écoulée depuis la paix de Paris, on ne trouve à signaler qu'un très petit nombre de mouvements insurrectionnels dont les mobiles et le caractère spécial sont trop connus pour que j'aie besoin d'insister ici même pour faire voir qu'ils ne sauraient nullement servir de confirmation aux assertions de la Circulaire de son Altesse.

Personne n'ignore aussi ce qu'était à l'origine cette lutte devenue si sanglante et dont parle le Prince Gortchakow. Les événements qui se sont déroulés depuis et dont je crois superflu de faire ici l'historique sont encore présents à la mémoire de tout le monde.

Obligé de recourir à la force pour rétablir l'ordre public profondément troublé par des conspirations criminelles, pour accorder à ses sujets paisibles menacés dans leur existence et dans leurs foyers la protection qui leur était due, pour repousser des attaques à main armée que rien ne justifiait, le Gouvernement Ottoman ne pouvait, à moins de laisser l'Empire à la merci des agitateurs, que recourir aux moyens légaux dont il disposait pour se mettre en état de légitime défense. Il est naturel que les désordres qu'on a cherché à provoquer, et auxquels les passions révolutionnaires se sont efforcées de donner dès le principe le caractère d'une lutte de race et de religion, n'aient pu être réprimés sans de douloureux sacrifices. Aussitôt pourtant que l'ordre a été matériellement établi, le premier soin du Gouvernement a consisté à réparer dans la mesure du possible les effets immédiats de ces événements, à subvenir aux besoins des populations que l'on avait réduits à la misère pour se faire une arme de leur désespoir, à accorder de larges amnisties à ses sujets égarés et enfin à accomplir Ainsi donc, pénétrés de la conviction d'avoir strictement rempli l'œuvre de la justice. notre devoir, nous repoussons avec toute la force de notre conscience la responsabilité du sang versé. Toujours et partout, nous avons épuisé tous les moyens de conciliation avant d'arriver à des extrémités fâcheuses, et nous pouvons ajouter sans crainte d'être démentis que nous avons constamment donné à l'Éurope des preuves manifestes de notre désir sincère de voir se rétablir la paix.

Tout dernièrement encore, en signant un armistice pur et simple de deux mois, et en acceptant la proposition de la Conférence, nous avons donné un nouveau gage de

notre désir d'arriver à la solution pacifique des difficultés du jour.

Ces circonstances sont si bien connues qu'on ne saurait, croyons-nous, imputer à crime au Gouvernement de n'avoir pas abdiqué sur-le-champ, et en se dérobant à tous ses devoirs, entre les mains de la révolution, le principe d'autorité qui leur était confié

et qu'il était tenu de défendre.

Le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie assure toute l'Europe qu'il n'a d'autre but en Orient que d'y voir l'amélieration du sort des populations Chrétiennes. En pareil cas, l'inutilité des armements extraordinaires que la Circulaire du Prince Gortchakow est destinée à justifier devient évidente. Plus que toute autre Puissance, la Sublime Porte est animée du désir exprimé au nom de la Russie par son Altesse, et c'est précisément à l'accomplissement de cette œuvre qu'elle ne demande pas mieux que de consacrer ses soins et toute sa sollicitude. La Turquie, avant de pouvoir au but de ses efforts, et d'aplanir les obstacles de toute nature qui s'opposaient à chacun de ses pas en avant dans la voie du progrès, a eu à traverser une période qui n'a été marquée, il faut bien le reconnaître, que par une succession non-interrompue d'événements malheureux et de circonstances dont elle a eu à subir la mauvaise influence.

Néanmoins, et en dépit de toutes les causes qui se sont liguées contre l'accomplissement de ses destinées, elle est graduellement arrivée et sans subir aucune de ces profondes commotions politiques qui ont marqué de sang l'histoire des plus grandes nations de l'Europe, à atteindre la limite où la transformation de ses institutions doit

naturellement s'accomplir, et lui créer une existence nouvelle.

Le Gouvernement Impérial n'a rien de plus à cœur que de donner au sentiment général une ample satisfaction, en élargissant de beaucoup le cercle des concessions qu'on avait eues en vue lors de la signature du Traité de Paris. Ces réformes que nous avons promises nous les exécuterons sans le moindre retard pour tout l'Empire, et nous sommes prêts à faire à cet égard tout ce qui dépend de nous.

Il nous est impossible de croire que tant d'efforts pour défendre les droits de notre

Souverain et l'indépendance de l'Empire, consacrés par des actes internationaux, et tant de preuves solennelles de l'empressement du Gouvernement Impérial à réprendre à l'attente légitime des Puissances amies, puissent être méconnus ou mal interprétés.

C'est dans cette conviction que je vous autorise, M. l'Ambassadeur, à donner lecture et à laisser copie de la présente dépêche à son Excellence le Principal Secré-

taire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) SAFVET.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Constantinople, November 30, 1876.

HIS Excellency General Ignatiew has read and left with me a copy of a circular despatch of His Highness Prince Gortchakow, dated the 1sth of this month, which I com-

municate to you herewith.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that this communication has produced a most painful impression on the Sublime Porte. We understand that the Prince Chancellor has felt the need of justifying, in the eyes of Europe, the armaments of Russia and the mobilization of a part of the Russian army; but what we cannot as easily explain to ourselves is the endeavour of his Highness to throw upon us the whole responsibility of the situation.

It is certainly not my wish to resort to recrimination, by examining singly the assertions of his Highness the Prince Chancellor. I will limit myself to drawing attention to this fact, that, if the administration of the Ottoman Government had been as incorrigible as they would have one believe, the Empire would have found itself face to face with a permanent insurrection, whereas, in a retrospect of the last twenty years which have elapsed since the Peace of Paris, one can only point to a very small number of insurrectionary movements, of which the motives and special character are too well known to necessitate my dwelling upon them here, even with the view of showing that they would in no degree serve as confirmation of the assertions contained in the Circular of his Highness.

Moreover, no one is ignorant what this struggle, which has since become so bloody, and of which Prince Gortchakow speaks, was in the beginning. The events which have subsequently occurred, the history of which I deem it superfluous for me to narrate, are in

everybody's recollection.

Compelled to have recourse to force to re-establish public order, deeply disturbed by criminal conspiracies, compelled to afford to its peaceable subjects, menaced in their existence and homes, the protection due to them, and to repel armed attacks which nothing justified, the Ottoman Government, unless it left the Empire to the mercy of agitators, could not but have recourse to the legal measures at its disposal, to put itself in a condition of legitimate defence. It is natural that the disorders which it was sought to provoke, and to which revolutionary passions have from the beginning striven to give the character of a struggle of races and religion, could not be suppressed without grievous sacrifices. Nevertheless, as soon as order was materially established, the first care of the Government consisted in repairing, as far as possible, the immediate effects of these events, in relieving the necessities of the populations, which had been reduced to misery by persons who made use of their despair, in granting ample amnesties to its misled subjects, and, finally, in accomplishing the work of justice. Thus, with the firm conviction that we have strictly fulfilled our duty, we reject, with the whole force of our conscience, the responsibility of the bloodshed.

Always and everywhere we have exhausted all conciliatory means before resorting to harsh extremities, and, we can add, without fear of contradiction, that we have constantly

given Europe manifest proofs of our sincere desire to see peace re-established.

Quite recently, too, by signing an unconditional armistice of two months, and by accepting the proposal of the Conference, we have given a new pledge of our desire to arrive at a peaceable solution of the present difficulties.

These circumstances are so well known, that it seems to us that no one can blame the Government for not having, by a neglect of its imperative duty, surrendered into the hands of the revolution the principle of authority entrusted to them, and which it was

their duty to defend.

The Imperial Government of Russia assures the whole of Europe that it has no other aim in view in the East but to see an amelioration in the lot of the Christian populations. In such a case, the uselessness of the extraordinary armaments which the Circular of Prince Gortchakow is meant to justify, becomes evident. More than any other Power, the Sublime Porte is animated by the desire expressed in the name of Russia by his Highness; and it is precisely to accomplish this work that she is so anxious to give all her

attention and care. Turkey, before arriving at the object she is striving for, and in her endeavour to overcome all sorts of obstacles, which met her at every step in her forward progress, has had to undergo a period chiefly remarkable, it must be allowed, for an uninterrupted succession of unfortunate events and circumstances, from the bad influences of which she has had to suffer.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all the causes which have been combined against the accomplishment of her destiny, she has gradually, and without undergoing any of those deep political disturbances which have marked in blood the history of the greatest nations of Europe, reached the point where the change in its institutions will naturally take place, and when she will enter on a new existence.

The Imperial Government has nothing more at heart than to satisfy most amply public opinion, by enlarging the circle of the concessions which were contemplated at the time of the signature of the Treaty of Paris. We will execute the reforms which we have promised, with the least possible delay, throughout the whole Empire; and we are ready to do all that depends upon us on this head.

We cannot believe that so many efforts to defend the rights of our Sovereign, and the independence of the Empire, established by international acts, and so many solemn proofs of the desire of the Imperial Government to respond to the legitimate expectation

of the friendly Powers, can be misunderstood, or misinterpreted.

In this conviction I authorize you, M. l'Ambassadeur, to read and to leave a copy of this despatch with his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty.

I have, &c. (Signed) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Circular addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, November 13, 1876.

[See "Turkey No. 1 (1877)," No. 1011.]

No. 40.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby. - (Received December 12.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburgh, December 5, 1876.

HAVING observed that in the press and elsewhere an opinion has been expressed
assuming that the speech of His Majorty the Emparer of Manage I. I. I.

assuming that the speech of His Majesty the Emperor at Moscow had been made as a rejoinder to the speech delivered by the Earl of Beaconsfield at Guildhall, I think it right to inform your Lordship that from information which has reached me from a reliable source, I am assured that his Imperial Majesty had no cognizance of the Earl of Beaconsfield's speech at the time when he addressed the deputations in that capital.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

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No. 41.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(Extract.) St. Petersburgh, December 6, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship, a leading article from the "Agence Russe" on the Eastern complications, which is undoubtedly of official inspiration, and from the moderation of its tone is worthy of attention.

It commences by referring to a previous declaration that while considering an occupation as one of the guarantees the most efficacious and practical, Russia did not intend to impose her view on the other Powers, nor to consider this as the only means of obtaining the desired aim; and that consequently Russia would willingly adhere to any other means equally efficacious which might be proposed.

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It states that there is reason to believe that the Foreign Cabinets have been officially informed of this loyal and frank declaration of the Imperial policy, which leaves no doubt of the rectitude of its intentions.

The article then proceeds to say that, after the assurances given by the Emperor, no advantage can be derived by, but rather a heavy charge imposed on, Russia, by a provisional occupation of the Christian provinces of the Balkan, and as for military glory Russia does not require it.

The English and Russian Governments, it proceeds to say, are agreed both on the

necessity of reforms, and on the necessity for some guarantee for their execution.

The only point of divergence between them is the modus agendi; and the article then seeks to prove that the spirit of the Treaty of 1856 requires the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as an European necessity,—whilst the letter of the Treaty on the one hand requires the independence of the Porte, on the other hand the welfare of the Christian population is placed under the protectorate of the Guaranteeing Powers.

I believe that the article gives a very correct idea of the views of the Imperial Government, and of the course which they will take in the approaching Conference at Constantinople, and it appears to me as intended to prepare the public mind for a

renunciation of the idea of occupying Bulgaria.

Although there continues to be much excitement in the public mind, and a warlike feeling in general, there is an apparent desire on the part of the Imperial Government to moderate and appease the national feeling, as is evinced by the annexed article, and I am disposed to hope that the attitude of the Russian Plenipotentiary in the Conference will be of a more conciliatory and yielding character than is generally expected.

No. 42.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, December 12, 1876.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 8th instant, reference is only made to Bulgaria by General Ignatiew; but Her Majestv's Government are desirous to learn what is proposed for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and what the other Plenipotentiaries think of the scheme.

Your Excellency will remember it was agreed between Her Majesty's Government and the Austrian Government that all propositions should be made ad referendum.

Nc. 43.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir, Foreign Office, December 13, 1876.

AMONG the grievances of which the population of European Turkey have cause to complain the manner of collecting the tithe, and the necessity of affording gratuitous entertainment to zaptiehs and other subordinate Government officials have, as your Excellencies are aware, been frequently and prominently put forward.

Your Excellencies will have every opportunity of ascertaining the best methods of

remedying these abuses from those who have studied the question on the spot.

It has been suggested that the taxpayers might be allowed to deduct from the quota levied from them the expense assignable according to a fixed tariff for the entertainment of any messengers or zaptiehs, who had, during the course of the year, been compulsorily quartered upon them; and that much of the hardship caused by the levying of the tithe, supposing that impost to be still retained, might be obviated if the time of payment could be deferred until two or three months after harvest time. A period would then be allowed to the farmers and peasants to dispose of their crops at the fair market value, and they could be spared the necessity of borrowing at exorbitant usury, which has hitherto made the tax so onerous.

I have thought it well to bring these suggestions to your Excellencies' notice, as worthy of consideration when the matters in question come to be discussed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 44.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 13, 1876.

IN reply to your telegram of the 12th instant, propositions as to Bosnia will be

analogous to Bulgarian, but have not been made in a distinct form.

With reference to what you say about taking proposals ad referendum, nothing will be formally determined without reference to you. But except Belgian force all the proposals are within my instructions.

No. 45.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, December 13, 1876, 5.5 p.m.

DOES General Ignatiew's scheme for Bulgaria include the parts marked in yellow and pink, and yellow and green stripes in the map, or only the yellow?

No. 46.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 14.)

(Telegraphic.)

Pera, December 13, 1876, 11.50 p.m.

PROPOSAL includes northern part (red and yellow stripes); eastern part (yellow and green); that is to say, Vilayet of the Danube, Vilayet of Sophia, Sandjaks of Slivnia, Philippopolis, Uskup, and parts of Sandjaks of Seres and Bitolia.

No. 47.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 14, 1876. WITH reference to your telegram of the 13th instant, I have to request your Excellency to report what are the divisions of the so-called Bulgaria which are now proposed.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 48.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, November 29, 1876.

I TOOK the opportunity of my audience of the Sultan to inform His Majesty that the accounts received of the proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli were far

from satisfactory.

A disposition was shown by some of the members to shield the culprits, and I warned His Majesty of the effect which would be produced in England if the inquiry

should prove delusive.

The Sultan said that his intention was that justice should be done, and he would communicate on the subject with his Ministers.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 49.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby .— (Received December 15.)

Constantinople, November 29, 1876.

AT my audience of the Sultan, after Sir James Drummond had withdrawn, and when I had presented the Queen's letter, His Majesty invited me to remain to have some conversation upon the present position of affairs.

He did not doubt the friendly disposition of Her Majesty's Government, but he exhibited some apprehension lest, at the ensuing Conference, resolutions should be adopted tending to impair his independence and authority, and he hoped Her Majesty's

Government would not countenance any such proposals.

I replied that His Majesty might be satisfied that, in proposing a Conference, Her Majesty's Government were animated by a sincere interest in the Ottoman Empire, and by a wish to bring to a satisfactory conclusion a state of things which was menacing

not only to itself, but to the general peace of Europe.

This critical position had been caused by the Porte's neglect during the last twenty years to improve the administration of the country, and to remove the grievances weighing upon a large class of His Majesty's subjects, and it had become a duty for the European Governments to see that the engagements taken by the Porte were now carried out, so as to put an end to the prevailing discontent, and to prevent the danger of future disturbances.

The Sultan answered that he could not attempt to deny that the Hatts promulgated in preceding reigns had been allowed to remain dead letters, or that the engagements taken had been unexecuted, but he repeated his own irrevocable resolution of giving a

thorough effect to them.

He could not himself be reproached for what had been done or left undone by his His Ministers were working day and night in elaborating measures for giving practical effect to the principles formerly accepted; and His Majesty hinted, though in very mild terms, that there would be an injustice on the part of the European Powers in interfering in the internal administration of the Empire upon the assumption of his not putting those measures into operation.

His Majesty, upon my taking leave, said that he would at all times be glad to

receive me whenever I wished to see him.

No. 50.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

Constantinople, December 4, 1876. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Baring covering a project of administration for Bulgaria, given to him by Prince Tzeretelew, a Secretary of the Russian Embassy, which had been concerted by him and Mr. Schuyler, together with a Memorandum upon it by Mr. Baring himself.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopolis, December 1, 1876. BEFORE leaving Philippopoli Mr. Schuyler allowed me to take a copy of a project for the future government of "Bulgaria," which he had drawn up in conjunction with Prince Tzeretelew.

Not knowing whether this document has been already communicated to your Excellency, I have the honour to inclose a copy of it, together with a memorandum I had drawn up embodying a few remarks on its contents.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Project of Government for Bulgaria, by Mr. Schuyler and Prince Tchertelew.

LA Bulgarie constituera une province autonome de l'Empire Ottoman formée des Vilayets du Danube et de Sofia, des Sandjaks de Philippoplis et de Slivne, et des

districts Bulgares de la Macédoine.

L'unité administrative sera le canton (Mudirlik) avec une moyenne de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants. En conservant autant que possible les divisions territoriales existantes, on en fera de nouvelles lorsque les Mudirliks seront trop petits et on

tachera de grouper les Chrétiens et les Musulmans en cantons distincts.

Les cantons posséderont un large "self Government," ils s'administreront euxmêmes et s'occuperont sans aucune ingérence des autorités supérieures, de la répartition des impôts, de la construction, et de l'entretien des voies de communication, de la police, &c. A cet effet les habitants sans distinction des cultes formeront par voie d'élection un Conseil Cantonal, composé de délégués de chaque commune (Mahallé). A la tête de ce Conseil et du canton sera placé le Maire (Mudir) désigné pour un an par le Gouverneur-Genéral entre deux candidats élus par le Conseil Cantonal.

Le Maire sera le représentant du canton et l'organe de l'autorité.

Les cantons seront réunis en gouvernements (Sandjaks) confiés à des Gouverneurs (Mutessarifs) nommés pour un certain laps de temps par la Porte avec le consentement des Puissances.

Les fonctionnaires seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans selon la majorité de la population du Gouvernement, ils ne seront que les représentants du Gouverneur-Général, leur tâche sera de maintenir l'ordre et de surveiller l'activité des Maires et des Conseils Cantonaux. Chaque Gouverneur aura une Chancellerie, et un Conseil de quatre membres, désignés pour un an par le Gouverneur-Général, entre les candidats présentés par les cantons et des chefs des communautés.

La police sera formée par les autorités cantonales des gens du pays de façon à ce que le nombre des Chrétiens et Musulmans corresponde à la population des

cantons.

Enfin, à la tête de la Bulgarie sera placé un Gouverneur-Général Chrétien connaissant la langue du pays, et nommé pour cinq ans par un accord entre la Porte et les Puissances garantes. Il sera le représentant du pouvoir souverain, et l'intermédiaire entre la province et le Gouvernement central, il aura le droit de requérir

la force militaire pour maintenir l'ordre.

A côté du Gouverneur-Général se trouvera une Assemblée composée de députés élus dans les cantons selon le nombre des habitants. Cette Assemblée siégera un mois par an dans la ville désignée comme résidence du Gouverneur-Général, elle s'occupera de toutes les questions qui touchent les intérêts de la province et nommera une Commission de permanence qui, avec les chefs des différents cultes, servira de Conseil Administratif au Gouverneur-Général. L'Assemblée pourra proposer des modifications du règlement qui devront être sanctionnées par les Puissances Garantes et la Porte.

La justice de paix sera faite provisoirement par le Maire et son Conseil; les Tribunaux de Première Instance serviront dans ce cas de Cours d'Appel. Les causes spéciales des différentes religions continueront à être du ressort des cours ecclésiastiques; toutes les autres seront de la compétence des tribunaux communs, où siégeront indistinctement des juges Chrétiens et Musulmans qui appliqueront le Code Ottoman.

Dans les chefs-lieux des gouvernements et dans d'autres villes, s'il est nécessaire, il y aura des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels de Première Instance. Ces Tribunaux seront formés de juges, dont la moitié aura été prise par le Gouverneur-Général entre les candidats présentés par les cantons, et l'autre élue par l'Assemblée entre les candidats présentés par le Gouverneur-Général. Les juges seront provisoirement nommés pour un an et pourront ensuite être confirmés pour trois ans.

Pour toute la Province il y aura une Cour d'Appel subdivisée en deux Départements et dont le Président et les membres seront nommés par la Porte avec le

consentement des Puissances.

Les cours civils des gouvernements tiendront les registres des propriétés foncières.

La langue officielle de la province sera le Bulgare. Dans les cantons mixtes, dans les tribunaux d'administration les deux langues auront les mêmes droits.

Les églises, mosquées, écoles, hopitaux, &c., continueront comme par le passé à

être du ressort des communautés qui fourniront l'entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux. Il y aura parfaite liberté des cultes et de l'instruction publique.

Les revenus que le Gouvernement Ottoman perçoit en Bulgarie au moyen de la dîme et d'autres impôts seront fixés pour un terme de cinq ans sur la moyenne des dix dernières années. L'Assemblée de la Province établira certains règlements généraux relatifs à l'assiette des impôts et la quote-part des cantons qui aviseront de leur côté à la répartition et aux modes de perception. Les impôts seront versés, déduction faite des dépenses cantonales et des frais de l'administration et de la justice, aux comptoirs de la Banque Ottomane, et pourront être affectés au service de la dette de l'Empire.

L'Assemblée Provinciale et les Conseils Cantonaux auront le droit de voter des

impôts additionnels pour les besoins de la province ou des cantons.

Les troupes Ottomanes ne cantonneront que dans les forteresses et certaines villes déterminées par les Puissances et la Porte. Pour garantir la sécurité du pays une Garde Nationale sera formée, les Chrétiens auront des officiers Chrétiens et les Musulmans des officiers Musulmans. Le Gouverneur-Général aura le commandement en chef de la Garde Nationale. Les Chrétiens seront autorisés de servir dans l'armée avec les mêmes droits que les Musulmans.

Ce projet d'organisation, comme toute autre réforme, ne serait exécutable qu'avec une force suffisante pour prévenir et arrêter tout désordre; un contrôle effectif devrait être confié à une Commission Internationale dont les membres assisteraient aux élections et surveilleraient l'activité de l'Administration et de la justice durant un an au moins.

(Translation).

BULGARIA will form an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire, composed of the vilayets of the Danube and Sofia, the Sandjaks of Philippopolis and Slivno, and the Bulgarian districts of Macedonia.

The unit for administrative purposes will be the canton (mudirlik), with an average of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. Whilst keeping existing territorial divisions as far as possible, new divisions will have to be made when the mudirliks are too small; and endeavours will be made to group the Christians and Mussulmans in distinct cantons.

The cantons will possess a large "self-Government;" they will carry on their own administration, and without any interference of the superior authorities will undertake the assessment of taxes, the construction and maintenance of roads, the police, &c. With this object the inhabitants, without distinction of religion, will by means of election form a Cantonal Council composed of delegates from each commune (mahallé). At the head of this Council and of the canton will be placed the Mayor (Mudir), appointed for a year, and selected by the Governor-General from two candidates elected by the Cantonal Council. The Mayor will be the representative of the canton, and the organ of authority. The cantons will be grouped in governments (sandjaks) entrusted to Governors (Mutessarifs), nominated for a certain period by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers.

The functionaries will be Christians or Mussulmans, according to the majority of the population of the Government; they will only be the representatives of the Governor-General, and their business will be to keep order, and to see that the dutie of the Mayor and the Cantonal Councils are actively carried out. Each Governor will have a Chancery and a Council of four members appointed for a year by the Governor-General from the candidates proposed by the cantons and the heads of communities.

The police will be composed by the cantonal authorities from the inhabitants of the district, care being taken that the number of Christians and Mussulmans correspond

to the population of the cantons.

Finally, over Bulgaria will be placed a Christian Governor-General acquainted with the language of the country, and nominated for five years by an agreement between the Porte and the Guaranteeing Powers. He will be the representative of the sovereign power, and the intermediary between the province and the Central Government; he will have the right to call out the military force for the maintenance of order. Besides the Governor-General, there will be an Assembly composed of deputies elected in the cantons according to the number of inhabitants. This Assembly will sit for a month each year in the town designated as the residence of the Governor-General; it will undertake all questions relating to the interests of the province, and will appoint a permanent Commission which, with the heads of the different religions, will serve as an Administrative Council to the Governor-General. The Assembly will have the power of

proposing modifications in the regulations which must be sanctioned by the Guaranteeing

Powers and the Porte.

The Mayor and his Council will provisionally adjudicate on police cases; the Tribunals of First Instance will act in this case as a Court of Appeal. Special cases belonging to the different religions will continue to be brought before Ecclesiastical Courts; all other cases will be under the jurisdiction of the common Tribunals, presided over without distinction by Christian and Mussulman Judges, who will use the Ottoman Code.

At the seats of the Governments, and in other towns, if necessary, there will be Civil and Criminal Tribunals of First Instance. These Tribunals will be composed of Judges, half of whom will have been taken by the Governor-General from the candidates proposed by the cantons, and the other half elected by the Assembly from the candidates proposed by the Governor-General. The judges will be provisionally appointed for one year, and can be afterwards confirmed for three years.

For the whole of the province there will be a Court of Appeal subdivided into two departments, the President and members of which will be appointed by the Porte with

the consent of the Powers.

The Civil Courts of the Governments will keep the registers of landed property.

The official language of the province will be Bulgarian. In the mixed cantons the two languages will have equal rights in the administrative tribunals.

Churches, mosques, schools, hospitals, &c., will, as before, continue to belong to the communities, who will provide for the maintenance of the clergy and religious establish-

ments. There will be perfect liberty in religion and public education.

The revenues which the Ottoman Government collects in Bulgaria by the tithe and other taxes, will be fixed for a term of five years, according to the average of the last ten

years.

The Assembly of the province will lay down certain general rules for the assessment of the taxes and for the share due from the cantons, which will on their side deliberate as to the distribution and manner of collecting them. After deducting the cantonal expenses, and the expenses of administration and of justice, the taxes will be paid into the branches of the Ottoman Bank, and may be applied to the payment of the debt of the Empire.

The Provincial Assembly and the Cantonal Councils will have the right to vote addi-

tional taxes for the requirements of the province or of the cantons.

Ottoman troops will only be quartered in the fortresses and certain towns settled by the Powers and the Porte. To secure the safety of the country a National Guard will be formed, the Christians will have Christian officers, and the Mussulmans will have Mussulman officers. The Governor-General will have the chief command of the National Guard. The Christians will be allowed to serve in the army with the same rights as the Mussulmans.

This project of organization, as well as all other reforms, will only be put into execution, assisted by a force sufficient to prevent and stop all disorder; effective control should be entrusted to an International Commission, whose members would, for a year at least, preside over the elections, and see that the duties of the administration and the functions of justice were actively carried out.

Inclosure 3 in No. 50.

Memorandum.

WHATEVER may be the diversity of opinion respecting the means to be adopted to better the condition of the Christian population of European Turkey, whether by granting them complete independence or administrative autonomy, or by reforms such as have been or may be promulgated by the Porte, no one, probably, who has in any way studied the subject will deny that something must be done to give a better administration to the Rayahs, and to prevent the recurrence of such fiery outbursts of ferocity as took place in Bulgaria in May last.

It does not require a long residence in this province to discover that the condition of the Christians is well nigh intolerable, the greatest wrong of which they have to complain being, of course, the abominable administration of justice by the local

tribunals.

Since the special Commission has been sitting in this town, two cases have come before it, which would sufficiently prove, if fresh proof were needed, what little chance a Christian has of obtaining justice against a Mussulman.

In the first of these cases, the local Court gave a decision which practically legalized forced labour, and in the second, the plaintiff was ordered to call a perfectly unnecessary witness, who the Court well knew could not possibly be produced. Commission reversed both of these, but there is not always a special Commission

If a Christian be accused of crime, he is held guilty till he can prove his innocence; if, on the other hand, a Mussulman be accused of crime, he is held innocent

till he is proved guilty.

All the other wrongs of which the Christians complain, such as the unfair collection of taxes, the exactions of Zaptieh and other officials, sink into insignificance when compared to this great evil, for without a proper administration of justice, how can there be the smallest security for life or property?

To remedy these evils and to give to the Christians a share in the Government of this province, which is at present exclusively in Mussulman hands, Prince Tzeretelew and Mr. Schuyler have proposed a scheme which certainly deserves serious considera-

tion.

They propose to unite the vilayets of the Danube and of Sofia, the Sandjaks of Philippopoli and Slimnia, and the Bulgarian districts of Macedonia, into one autonomous province, under the name of Bulgaria.

The present "Mudirliks" would be preserved as far as possible, and would administer their own affairs, in all matters concerning taxation, construction, and

maintenance of roads, police, &c., by means of a council.

These "Mudirliks" would be under the immediate government of Mutessarifs

chosen by the Porte, with the sanction of the Powers.

The police force would be chosen by the cantonal authorities from among the natives, Mussulmans or Christians being chosen according to the population of the Mudirlik.

A Christian Governor-General, knowing the language of the country, would be appointed for five years by the Porte, with the sanction of the Powers and an Assembly, the members of which would be elected by the different Mudirliks, would sit for one month in the year at the capital of the province. This Assembly would name a permanent Committee to act as an Administrative Council for the Governor-General.

The Judges of all the inferior Courts of Justice would be named either by the Governor-General, by the Assembly, or by the Mudirliks; but the members of the

Supreme Court of Appeal would be appointed by the Porte.

The official language of the Province would be Bulgarian, but in the Tribunals of

the mixed Mudirliks the Turkish would have equal rights.

The revenues which the Turkish Government receive in Bulgaria from the tithe and other taxes would be fixed for a space of five years, the average of the last ten years being taken as the basis of calculation.

The Turkish troops would only garrison the fortresses and certain towns, but a

national guard would be formed to keep order.

Christians would be admitted into the army.

A sufficient force (by which is meant a foreign force) would be required to put down any attempt at disorder which the promulgation of this scheme might give rise to, and an International Commission for one year at least would see that the scheme was properly executed.

As a copy of the project in question is annexed to this Memorandum, it is not

necessary to give its details at greater length.

Taken upon its merits as a scheme for the future government of a province, but few objections can be brought forward against it. It gives a larger share of the administration into the hands of the people, while preserving to the Porte the right of nominating the superior functionaries.

Except in two of its clauses it is as moderate as any scheme of the sort can be which is intended to be a reality, the exception being the almost complete exclusion of the Turkish troops from the provinces, and the last paragraph respecting the foreign

The first of these stipulations does not seem in any way necessary for the actual working of the scheme, more particularly if the principle of admitting Christians to the army is established, and a national guard is decidedly a dangerous element in anything but a highly civilized community.

As regards the occupation, setting aside the numerous political difficulties which beset it, it is doubtful whether the presence of foreign troops would not rather be a source of danger than a protection; and moreover the present scheme, or any other,

if once accepted by the Porte and guaranteed by the Powers, could be carried out without recourse being had to so violent a measure.

The same objections, however, cannot be raised to the appointment of an International Commission, for without some foreign supervision and assistance no reforms

would ever be carried through.

There is but little to be said against the remaining proposals respecting the future administration. It would, perhaps, be more fair to give the Porte greater freedom in the matter of taxation, and the clause respecting the nomination of the Governor-General might be modified by striking out the passage insisting upon his knowing the language, as this stipulation would so greatly limit the numbers of persons from whom this functionary could be chosen.

As regards the official language, as the Ottoman Code is in Turkish, it would be better to say that the two languages should have equal rights all over the

Province.

The clause which stipulates that the revenues should be paid into the Ottoman Bank to meet the interest on the debt should be struck out, as it is a matter which in no way concerns the administration of these provinces.

If few objections can be made to the proposals for administrative reforms, the

same cannot be said of the geographical limits of the Province.

It is proposed to include the Sandjaks of Philippopolis and Slimnia, and the Bulgarian portions of Macedonia, as well as the Vilayets of the Danube and Sofia, in this new Bulgaria, the consequence of which would be that a frontier line would have to be drawn from the Black Sea to the north of Adrianople through a country where no natural boundaries exist.

The way to obviate this result would be to create a province of Bulgaria out of the Sofia and Danube Vilayets, under one Governor-General, and to form another province of the Vilayet of Adrianople and a portion of Macedonia under another Governor, with the same administrative privileges as might be granted to Bulgaria.

Moreover, the creation of this second province would obviate any agitation which might arise if the Bulgarians alone were to have self-government granted to them, while the Greeks, whose claims are just as strong, were passed over.

(Signed) W. BARING.

Philippopolis, December 1, 1876.

No. 51.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 6, 1876.

THE inclosed despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert offers a highly satisfactory contrast to his previous reports upon the ravaged districts in the neighbourhood of Philippopoli.

Mr Calvert's statement is confirmed by an account given to me by a gentleman who has just returned from that district, who says that he was greatly surprised to find how much had been done for the people since his last visit.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 51.

Acting Consul Calvert to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

SINCE I last had the honour to report to your Excellency, a gradual but continuous improvement has been observable in the condition of the late insurgent

The successive military reinforcements that have been brought to Philippopoli and the other chief centres of the disturbed districts, and the punishment dealt out for various recent outrages, have tended to suppress the terrorism which since the insurrection had been exercised by Mussulman towards Christian; and I am inclined to credit with a share in leading to this result the judicious course pursued by the agents entrusted with the distribution of English relief. To this day the Mussulman

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population believe that the Bulgarian Christians intended to exterminate them, and do not consider that they inflicted more cruel repression than was necessary for self-defence. At the outset of the distribution of relief they consequently felt indignant that succour should—as they imagined would be the case—be given to the Christians only, who were the first to shed blood.

A few acts of charity towards sufferers of their own faith have produced a revulsion of feeling which appears in a kindlier demeanour towards the Christians.

Threats of massacre, so frequent but a few weeks ago, have entirely ceased.

Although great privations are in store for the inhabitants of the burnt villages during the present winter, the prospect is new not by any means so fearful as it appeared at first. I believe that all the distressed population are under shelter, the peasants having contrived straw huts, which are said to be so warm that the inmates prefer to stay in them until the newly-built dwellings of wood and mud have had time to dry.

Three days ago I visited Peroushtizza, and ascertained the following facts:

Eighty houses have been wholly or nearly built, and the work, favoured by fine weather, was still proceeding. The people are obliged to feed the workmen, but, on the other hand, every family has received from the Government from 150 to 500 piastres, for which no bond has been demanded. The village has, besides, received as a loan 30,000 piastres, for cattle, with which sum 38 head have been bought; and 2,500 kilehs of grain. Peroushtizza was a hot-bed of illness two months ago; the sickness has since greatly diminished.

A doctor, paid by Government, has been appointed to reside there, and there are

only 40 patients on his list out of a population of some 1,500.

The number of people killed at Peroushtizza, which, by Mr. Schuyler, was given as 1,000, and by Mr. Baring as 750, is now stated by the head man of the village at 313.

The Commission under Pertew Effendi for the trial of alleged rebels is working slowly, but is under an injunction, I understand, to show the greatest possible The President has assured me privately that all the prisoners-now reduced to 53-except convicted ringleaders of the insurrection, will be set free.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

F. R. J. CALVERT.

No. 52.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord.

Constantinople, December 7, 1876. THE Armenian Patriarch called upon me yesterday.

His object was to express, on behalf of the large Christian community of which he is the head, the hope that the Conference will not insist upon the Porte conceding to the provinces which had risen against the Government privileges which would be denied to those which had remained quiet, but which were entitled to equal consideration.

I answered with reserve, saying that the object of the Conference was to restore tranquillity to the provinces where an insurrection threatened the general peace, but that it would not, I imagined, go into the whole question of the administration of the entire Ottoman Empire.

The Patriarch replied that his people were much excited, and said that if, in order to secure the sympathy of the European Powers, it was necessary to rise in insurrection, there would be no difficulty in getting up such a movement.

He also protested against a proposal which had been made to inflict absolute injury upon the Armenians for the benefit of the Slavs, by transporting into Asia the

Circassians now located in Europe.

With the exception of the distant parts of Arabia, to which it would be impossible to banish people accustomed to a Northern climate, there was no part of Asia in which there were not numerous Armenians, and the Patriarch hoped that it would not be proposed to expose them to the maltreatment of Circassians smarting under their expulsion from their European homes.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 53.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of four further Reports from Mr. Baring, respecting the proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 53.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) Philippopoli, November 19, 1876.

IT was not without some feeling of regret that I heard to-day that the President of the Commission had telegraphed to Ismail Bey to return at once.

Since he left, things have certainly been going on somewhat more smoothly, and at one time I really was inclined to think that justice would be done in some cases.

I mentioned to your Excellency, in my despatch of the 6th instant, that Ismaïl Bey had been to Bazardjik, and that the result of his journey was the production of certain documents in Bulgarian, denying, or at least extenuating, the crimes of the Bashi-Bazouks at Batak. The other day, the persons who were supposed to have signed these papers appeared before the Commission; they were four in number; only one of them could read and write.

Two of them were from Rahitovo, a mixed village near Batak, and the paper to which their names were affixed set forth that, having been at the latter place at the time of its destruction, they could certify that it was not the Bashi-Bazouks who killed the people in and about the church, and that, moreover, the Tchorbddji Triandaphyl was not roasted.

When they were examined, it was discovered that one of them had never been inside the village at all, and that the other had not been there until everything was over; one of them had seen dead bodies, but neither of them could give any information about the massacre or about Triandaphyl's death. The story, however, told by them as to how the paper was got up, was instructive to the extreme. They said that one day they were called from their work, and went before an "Effendi," a stranger to the place, who asked them questions, to which they replied, exactly as they had done before the Commission; they were never called upon to sign or put their mark to any paper at all.

The third witness was from Kamehitza. He had been summoned to the Turkish village of Bania, and on the way he met two Turks, who told him that if he were asked any questions, he should say that the people in the church of Batak died from want of water, and that the Bulgarians themselves killed their women, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks. Accordingly, when he arrived at Bania, he was taken to the house of one Mollah Hussein, where he met an Effendi [whose appearance he described], and who asked him questions, to which, through fear, he replied as he had been ordered to do.

The fourth witness, an old man of Batak, said that he had never been questioned by anybody except by the Commission itself at Peshtera, and that he had never signed any paper, though one was produced with his name affixed to it.

One of the worst features in this impudent attempt at fraud is, that it is evidently the act of some one who is more or less cognizant with the proceedings of the Commission, as all the points touched upon in these forged documents have been gone into before it.

When the frauds were discovered, I spoke most strongly on the matter, and insisted that the author of it should be brought up. Of course I received every assurance and promise, but I feel convinced that the Turks will do everything in their power to prevent the matter being made the subject of inquiry.

Yesterday the summary of the evidence taken about the Batak case was read; there were many omissions in it, which, however, will be supplied. When this docu-

ment is corrected the Commission can proceed to judge the whole case.

As yet the Commission does not seem to intend to punish anybody for the plundering, i.e., they legalize it. I do not say that it would be possible to punish all the

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persons who took part in the pillage, but still it would be perfectly possible to issue an order calling on the Turkish villagers to give up what they had taken. After a reasonable delay, those who failed to comply with this order might be punished.

From what I have stated above, your Excellency will perceive that the Mussulman members of the Commission have firmly resolved that the smallest amount of punishment shall be measured out to the guilty Bashi-Bazouks, and that, unless peremptory instructions are sent from the Porte, the result of all this long inquiry and of all the high-sounding promises of impartial justice, will be that two or three individuals will be punished, and others, who are not less guilty, will be allowed to return quietly to their homes to live on the property they amassed at the expense of their neighbours.

Putting aside the question of the bad effect such a failure of justice would have on European public opinion, it is also perfectly clear that the Turks, seeing they could despoil their Christian fellow-countrymen with almost perfect impunity, would become ten times more arrogant and oppressive than they were before, whereas the Rayahs would completely lose what little confidence they now possess in Turkish

justice.

I shall, of course, use all my endeavours to persuade the Commission to punish the men I have mentioned, but I would respectfully suggest to your Excellency that, in case I should fail, I should be allowed to withdraw from the Commission, so as not to be associated, even indirectly, in a gross miscarriage of justice.

I need hardly say that this course would be resorted to only as a last expedient.

A case came before the Commission some days ago which shows how abominably

justice is administered by the local courts.

Some Bulgarians of Karadja-Halil complained that forced labour had been imposed

upon them by certain Turks.

A list given me by Mr. Calvert shows the names of thirty-four Turks who have been guilty of this offence; four were tried. Two were condemned to six weeks' imprisonment for having beaten some men who refused to work for them, and three have to pay 97 piastres, the value, according to the "Mazbata" of the Court, of the labour imposed.

The reason given for this latter inadequate penalty is that no force was used to make the men work, but that they were only influenced by fear. It requires the subtle intellect of a Turkish Cadi to follow out the train of reasoning by which this marvellous

decision is arrived at.

A number of men are called upon to do forced labour; those that object are beaten, and yet because the others, on account of their non-resistance, were not driven to the fields with blows, it is said that no force has been used.

I could not help remarking to the Commission that the decision seemed to me to be the legalization of forced labour; for in future a Turk might make a Christian work for him whenever he chose, and the only satisfaction the latter would get at law would be a small payment, calculated as if he had worked for regular wages, which would certainly not compensate him for his loss of time during the seven or eight weeks or more he would have to attend at the Court, in some town, possibly, many days' journey from his home.

Hamdi Bey declared the decision to be perfectly regular, but I am glad to say that eventually the "Mazbata" was sent back to the Court for revision.

Inclosure 2 in No. 53.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Philippopoli, November 21, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Commission has given orders to Edhem Agha, a Yuzbashi, to proceed to the Turkish villages about Batak, and to call upon the inhabitants to give up at once whatever stolen property they may have in their possession; any person retaining any after this summons to be severely punished.

This order, if properly carried out, should have a good effect, and as it is impossible to punish all the plunderers it is as good a plan as could, under the circumstances,

be suggested.

Mr. Stoney, who has lately visited Tcheumlek Yenikeui and Zindjirli, informs me that the building undertaken there by the Commission is being carried on satisfac-

torily, and he speaks in high terms of the two "Meemours" sent to the latter village to superintend it.

Mr. Clarke also tells me that very fair progress is being made at Batak.

The Commission has decided to repair some of the saw-mills in the latter village, which will greatly facilitate the work of rebuilding.

The son of Achmet Agha is, I regret to say, still at large, and I see little chance

of his being arrested.

Another man, also implicated in the Batak affair, a zaptié named Halil, cannot be found, but peremptory orders have been sent to the "Ihtiyar Medjlessi" of his village, Baratoun, to deliver him within a week.

I have, &c. WALTER BARING. (Signed)

Inclosure 3 in No. 53.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, November 24, 1876. (Extract.)

ON hearing that Ismail Bey had been appointed President of the Commission which is to inquire into the conduct of Shevket Pasha in the district of Slimnia, I considered it my duty to address to your Excellency my telegram of yesterday, pointing out how undesirable this appointment was.

I have already informed your Excellency of the attitude assumed by Ismaïl Bey and of his opinions on the subject of the inquiries now instituted, and it is therefore

not necessary for me to enter more fully into the subject.

In my despatch of the 19th instant I mentioned certain documents in Bulgarian which were supposed to throw light on the circumstances attending the Batak massacre.

On the 22nd instant Hodjazadé Mehmed Effendi came before the Commission, and

on being questioned, said he had given those papers to Ismail Bey.

This man, who does not bear a good reputation here, has been charged by the Commission to purchase timber for the reconstruction of the burnt villages, and for that purpose he visited Rakitova, Kamenitza, and Bania.

He says that while at the first-named place he inquired whether there were any Christians who knew anything about Batak. He was told there were two, and having sent for them, had their depositions taken down by a person knowing Bulgarian.

When at Bania he heard that there was a young man of Kamenitza who could

give information. He accordingly sent for and examined him.

He declared that the deponents stated exactly what was put down in the papers, which were read over to them after their depositions had been made.

The paper purporting to contain the depositions of the man from Batak (Slatan)

was, he said, taken at Bazardjik by one Osman Effendi.

When asked whether he had been ordered by Ismaïl Bey to get this information he replied in the negative, and added that he had been merely prompted by patriotic motives.

He then proceeded to deliver a long discourse on the insurrection in general, in which he declared that the Bulgarians, having been unable to attain their end by force, were now trying what could be done by calumniating the Mussulmans.

He alluded to his having used exactly the same language to me when I met him

more than two months ago at Bazardjik.

At the close of his sermon, Ikiades Effendi proposed to ask him whether he entertained any feelings of animosity towards the Bulgarians, but the President would not allow the question, saying that it would be improper to wound the man's patriotic Ikiades Effendi maintained his point, and a discussion arose.

At last it was decided that Mehmed Effendi's examination should be continued, but on the following day the Commission was occupied with other important business.

and he could not consequently be called.

I see no reason for disbelieving the sworn evidence of the Bulgarians;—had they really deposed what was put down in the documents, there was no reason why they should have subsequently denied it. Only one man said that, having been intimidated by the Turks, he made a deposition in accordance with the orders he had received, the others declared that they had told the "Effendi" exactly the same story as they had told the Commission.

Mehmed Effendi is known to be one of the most fanatical Turks of Philippopoli. He was a member of Salim Effendi's Special Commission, and disagreeable stories are told Unfortunately he possesses very considerable about his doings at that time. influence.

The whole of this affair is bad, and does little credit to those who had a hand in it. If Mehmed Effendi's patriotism urged him to do his best for his fellow-countrymen now in prison, he should have gone openly to the Commission, and should have stated

that such and such men could give important information.

When the question arose about awaiting Ismail Bey's return before examining the matter at all, the President said that it was necessary to find out from him who gave him the papers. This plan was resisted, and immediately afterwards Mehmet Effendi appeared and gave the above-mentioned account of what had taken place. When he came, none of the Christian members certainly knew what his business was, how had it therefore become suddenly known that he was the person incriminated? Either, therefore, Ismail Bey had not stated before leaving who had given him the paper, or he had only told the President, who kept the information from his

I yesterday had a long conversation with Saadoullah Bey, in which I urged him as strongly as I could to bring the Batak and Dervent cases to an end, if possible, by the time the Conference commenced its sittings. I likewise dwelt upon the necessity

of punishing the persons chiefly compromised.

I hope by the middle of next week to be able to give your Excellency some idea of when the Batak case may be brought to a close. The summary of it has been made, but, not having been well drawn up by the Secretary charged with that duty, many alterations have to be made.

As regards my going to Slimnia, to attend the Commission there, I venture to think that, for the present, my presence is, perhaps, more useful here, as it is just at the close of the inquiry, when it really becomes necessary to watch the proceedings most carefully. I consequently beg most respectfully to suggest to your Excellency that Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy would be perfectly competent to attend the sittings at Slimnia, as he is well up in all the details of the Boyadji-Keui case.

Should your Excellency, however, still deem it expedient that I should go to

Slimnia, I would suggest that some one should take my place here.

I cannot as yet speak with certainty, but I have reason to believe, from what Saadoullah Bey told me, that a good many of the Bulgarians still in prison will very shortly be released.

Inclosure 4 in No. 53.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Philippopolis, November 24, 1876. THREE girls, natives of Batak, were brought before the Commission a few days

ago from Nevrokop, where they had been converted to Islamism and married.

They were the "yashmak," and when asked their names gave the Turkish ones they had adopted, and declared they did not know what their former names had been; they said they had gone to Nevrokop of their own free will and wished to remain

Some discussion arose about the course which should be pursued, and there was considerable difference of opinion on the subject of the law, or rather regulation, by which these matters of conversion are settled.

On the one hand it was stated that the rule observed at the Porte was that the convert should be lodged in the house of an Imam, where she could be visited by her relations and by the priest, in the presence, however, of a Mussulman woman, and on the other, that she should be placed in a neutral house for a period of forty

Finally, the Mutessarif was asked his opinion, and he sent a Vizirial letter of Fuad Pasha, in which it was stated that the convert should be summoned before the "Medjliss-i-Idare," and could hold communication with her relations and the Bishop

in a room assigned by the Council for the purpose.

The case is of course a peculiar one, and unlike the ones which are usually dealt with by the Porte, as though the girls positively assert that they went to Nevrokop of their own free will, their story cannot for a moment be accepted as true.

When Batak was sacked, it is perfectly well known that a number of girls were carried off, and it is not to be supposed that at that time these three, being animated with a sudden desire to become Mussulmans, went a four days' journey to Nevrokop to effect their purpose.

I suggested that the act of carrying the girls off was in itself an illegal one, but I was told that by Turkish law a man could not be punished for carrying off a woman,

provided he married her.

I then suggested that the Bulgarian Bishop should be consulted, and to this the Commission assented. Yovantcho Effendi had an interview with him, and the day after the Bishop wrote to the Commission demanding that the girls should be handed over to him as they were Christians; this proposal was declined, and the Bishop was invited to attend at the Commission on the following day, when he would have an apportunity of seeing the girls.

Yesterday the Bishop attended the Commission, and the girls having been called up, gave the same answers as they had done before, to the effect that they wished to remain Mussulmans. They were placed in a room apart for the Bishop to speak in private with them, and the latter asked that their "yashmaks" should be taken off; for, said he, "if they are veiled they are necessarily Mussulmans, and I have no right

to interfere with them."

The point in itself appears trivial at first sight, but in reality it is an important one, as the veil has a signification, and actually implies that the wearer has adopted the Mussulman faith.

After much discussion the Mutessarif was sent for. He told the Commission the case was one which properly ought to have been left to the Medjliss, but that as regards the veils, under similar circumstances, he should have no hesitation in ordering them to be removed.

The final settlement of the case was adjourned to give the girls' few remaining

relatives time to come down from Batak.

My impression is that the girls will now remain Mussulmans, but whether they do or not, there is no doubt that a good deal of bad feeling will be created by the case.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 54.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

THIS morning two Greek gentlemen called upon me and put into my hands the accompanying address to your Lordship from the Greek community of Philippopolis, protesting against any part of the country to the south of the Balkans being included in a scheme of autonomy, and stating that any such attempt must lead to a civil war.

The town of Philippopolis is chiefly Greek, but the surrounding district is principally Bulgarian, and it having been there where the excesses of the Turks were the greatest, its exclusion from the operation of any measure intended to prevent their recurrence would

be difficult.

Persons wholly unconnected with either party, who have recently returned from Philippopolis, inform me that the excitement of the Greeks and their irritation against the Bulgarians is intense, and there can be no doubt of the accompanying Memorial being the expression of the feelings not only of the Greeks of that place, but of those of the whole Empire.

The dangers which many months ago I stated to your Lordship as likely to arise from the grant of exceptional privileges to a particular race appear to be becoming so

manifest as to merit very serious consideration.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

Address from the Greek Community at Philippopolis to the Earl of Derby.

Excellence,

Philippopoli, le $\frac{2}{14}$ Novembre, 1876.

LES événements regrettables dont une partie de notre Province a été dernièrement le théâtre, ayant ému profondément l'Europe, ont amené les Cabinets à croire que l'autonomie administrative de la Bulgarie et des autres provinces insurgées serait le meilleur moyen d'éviter des désordres à l'avenir.

Comme les meneurs de l'insurrection Bulgare ont choisi de préférence la Thrace pour théâtre de la révolte; afin de représenter cette province aux yeux de l'Europe comme pays Slave, il est à craindre que la diplomatie Européenne, se trouvant encore sous l'impression fâcheuse des récents massacres, voudra surtout favoriser les Bulgares révoltés et comprendre dans la Bulgarie la Province de Philippopoli, qui fait partie intégrante de la Thrace.

En prévision d'une pareille éventualité, nous soussignés Grecs, habitants du district de Philippopoli, protestons de la manière la plus formelle, au nom de tous nos concitoyens, contre toute délimitation qui placerait notre province sous l'administration Bulgare et déclarons que pareille délimitation aurait des conséquences fâcheuses, en ce sens, qu'elle provoquerait une nouvelle guerre civile, cette fois entre Grecs et Bulgares.

La politique pleine de prévoyance que le Cabinet de Sa Gracieuse Majesté la Reine de la Grande Brétagne a suivi depuis le commencement de la crise Orientale nous fait espérer que l'attitude pacifique que nous avons observée jusqu'ici n'aboutira pas à notre humiliation, et que nos droits seront respectés.

Nous avons, &c.

(Signé)

Les Habitants de Philippopoli.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Philippopolis, November $\frac{2}{14}$, 1876.

AS the deplorable events, of which a part of our province has lately been the scene, have deeply moved Europe, they have led the Cabinets to believe that the administrative autonomy of Bulgaria and of the other insurgent provinces would be the best means of avoiding future disorders.

Since the leaders of the Bulgarian insurrection have chosen Thrace as the theatre of the revolt, so as to represent this province to the eyes of Europe as a Slavonic country, it is to be feared that European diplomacy, still under the sad impression caused by the recent massacres, will specially favour the revolted Bulgarians, and include in Bulgaria the province of Philippopolis, which forms an integral part of Thrace.

In view of such a possibility we, the undersigned Greeks, inhabitants of the district of Philippopolis, protest in the most formal manner, in the name of all our fellow-citizens, against any delimitation of boundary which could place our province under Bulgarian administration, and we declare that such delimitation would have serious consequences,

inasmuch as it would provoke a new civil war, this time between Greeks and Bulgarians.

The far-seeing policy that the Cabinet of her Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain has followed since the beginning of the Oriental crisis, leads us to hope that the peaceful attitude that we have hitherto observed will not lead to our humiliation, and that our rights will be respected.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

The Inhabitants of Philippopolis.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

The Greek Metropolitan of Philippopolis to Messrs. Antonaki Bey Psychari and Basilaki Bey Sarakioti.

Honorés Messieurs,

Philippopoli, le $\frac{12}{24}$ Novembre, 1876.

VOUS n'ignorez pas que l'insurrection Bulgare a éclaté dans notre province, à seule fin de représenter cette partie essentielle de la Thrace comme pays Slave et de comprendre la ville Grecque de Philippopoli avec les villages environnants dans le Royaume Bulgare que les meneurs rêvent de fonder en Orient.

Vous n'ignorez pas non plus que nous avons hésité à nous départir du rôle de simples spectateurs des manœuvres Slaves, que nous nous sommes assigné, convaincus que le monde civilisé flétrirait, comme elles le méritent, ces velléités Panslavistes.

En présence toutefois de la récente tournure que viennent de prendre les événements et de l'incertitude dans laquelle nous sommes par rapport aux vues de l'Europe, nous avons cru devoir adresser aux Grandes Puissances garantes une protestation, qui, tout en éclairant l'Europe sur les véritables dispositions des esprits dans notre province, puisse sauvegarder nos droits et nos intérêts nationaux contre toute atteinte et prévenir des complications et des dangers qui ne manqueraient pas de naître d'une interprétation erronnée de notre abstention et de notre silence.

Confiants dans les sentiments patriotiques qui vous animent, nous avons pris la liberté de vous nommer, comme nous vous nommons par la présente, nos représentants permanents à Constantinople et de vous charger du soin de remettre, personnellement, aux Représentants d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de Grande Bretagne, d'Italie et de Russie la protestation que nous avons l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-incluse, en les priant de notre part de vouloir bien la soumettre à la haute appréciation de leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

Dans l'espoir que vous saisirez toute occasion favorable pour soutenir nos droits, auprès de la diplomatie Européenne et pour lui donner tous les renseignements qu'elle

pourrait vous demander sur l'état de notre province, nous vous prions, &c.

(Pour les Habitants de la Province de Philippopoli),

(Signé) Le Métropolitain Grec de Philippopolis.

(Translation.)

Honoured Sirs, Philippopolis, November $\frac{12}{24}$, 1876.

YOU are aware that the Bulgarian insurrection broke out in our province, with the sole object of representing this essential part of Thrace as a Slavonic country, and including the Greek town of Philippopolis with the surrounding villages in the Bulgarian Kingdom which the leaders dream of founding in the East.

You are further aware that we have hesitated to depart from the position of simple spectators of the Slavonic plans, which we adopted, convinced that the civilized world

would check, as they deserve, these Panslavist fancies.

Considering, however, the turn that events have recently taken, and the uncertainty in which we are with respect to the views of Europe, we have thought it our duty to address to the Great Guaranteeing Powers a protest, which whilst enlightening Europe on the true tone of mind in our province, may protect our rights and our national interests against all attack, and guard against the complications and dangers which would be sure to arise from an erroneous interpretation of our holding aloof, and our silence.

Trusting in the patriotic sentiments which animate you, we have taken the liberty to nominate you, as we hereby nominate you, our permanent Representatives at Constantinople, and to charge you with the delivery in person to the Representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, of the protest which we have the honour to send you herewith, and to beg them on our part to be kind enough to submit it to the high appreciation of their respective Governments.

Hoping that you will seize every favourable opportunity of upholding our rights before European diplomacy, and of giving it all the information which it may ask on the

state of our province, we beg you, &c.

(For the Inhabitants of the Province of Philippopolis),
(Signed) The Greek Metropolitan of Philippopolis.

No. 55.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

I HAVE had several interviews since my arrival here with General Ignatiew.

His Excellency took an early opportunity of stating that the occupation of Turkish territory was not put forward as a sine qud non by the Russian Government, but that they merely suggested it as the only measure that appeared to them calculated to meet the

pressing necessity which they foresaw.

He said that he had no doubt that the Conference would be able to arrange institutions that would furnish a sufficient guarantee for the reforms which the Porte had promised or might be asked to enact, as well as sufficient protection for the lives and properties of the Christian population in the future. But the present danger was that which pressed upon his mind. The discussions and resolutions of the Conference could only have a future value, as several months must elapse before any organization which

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might be decided upon could be brought into active operation. During that time the Christians, who had been absolutely disarmed, would be living in the midst of a considerable population of armed and infuriated Mussulmans, whose fanaticism had been stimulated

to a very high point, and was increasing every day.

It seemed to him more than possible that, when terms distasteful to the Mussulmans were suggested by the Conference and pressed by it upon the Porte, there would be, either with or without the instigation of the central authority, an outbreak of religious passion, which might be followed by terrible results. According to his information, deplorable acts of violence were, even now, day by day, committed upon the Christians in the districts which had recently been disturbed; and there was every ground for fearing that, if any measures were insisted on injurious to the religious prejudices of the Mahommedans, another massacre would ensue.

I expressed a strong hope that the language in which the Conference would communicate its decisions to the Porte would leave no doubt in the minds of the Turkish Ministers as to the expediency of compliance, and that they would be unable to disguise from themselves the extreme danger in which any renewed outbreak of fanatical cruelty

would involve the Ottoman Empire.

General Ignatiew said that he doubted whether any conviction that might be forced upon the Ministers of the Porte or any efforts on their part would furnish the requisite guarantees against the dangers of the moment; and he urged the adoption of some sort of military occupation, as the only means of obtaining a trustworthy security. At the same time, he said, he would not insist upon it, if the Powers could discover any other means of meeting the immediate exigency.

I stated that my instructions were to refuse my assent to schemes of military occupation, which, in their results, would be far from answering to the benevolent spirit in which they were conceived, and would incur the risk of calamities as terrible in their

character and much wider in their extent than those which he apprehended.

I added that I would report his observations to Her Majesty's Government, and that I was convinced that they would earnestly co-operate with him in the effort to devise securities against any, even the most inconsiderable, renewal of the horrible events of last summer.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 56.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, December 8, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of two documents propounding a scheme of administrative autonomy for the province of Bulgaria, which have been confidentially communicated to me by General Ignatiew.

Your Lordship will observe that, although this scheme, which bears the names of Mr. Schuyler and Prince Tzérételew, Second Secretary of the Russian Embassy, coincides generally with the plan attributed to the Russian Government by the "Cologne Gazette," it differs from the latter in some respects, especially in the omission of any reference to the support to be given by the armed force of one of the military Powers to the execution of the reforms.

General Ignatiew read to me yesterday another scheme, less encumbered with details, and which, in some parts, seemed to me, as far as I could judge, preferable to that of Mr. Schuyler. His Excellency has promised to give me a copy of it, but has not yet done so.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 56.

Project of Administrative Autonomy for Bulgaria, proposed by Mr. Schuyler and the Prince Tzérételew.

Limites et Etendu.

Limites et étendu.—La Bulgarie constituera une province autonome de l'Empire Ottoman.

Elle sera formée: Du Vilayet du Danube, du Vilayet actuel de Sofia, du Sandjak de Slivno, du Sandjak de Philippopolis (excepté les Cazas de Sultan-Yéri et d'Ahir-Tchélébi*), des Sandjak d'Uskup et de Bitoli (Monastir) et des districts nord du Sandjak de Serès (Nevrokop, Melnik, et Stroumnitza).

Les limites définitives seront fixées par la Commission Internationale d'exécution qui pourra y ajouter quelques districts limitrophes peuplés exclusivement des Bulgares, ou

retrancher et éliminer ceux où il n'y a que des Musulmans.

Administration.

Le Canton.—L'unité administrative sera le canton, comprenant un territoire de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants. En conservant autant que possible les divisions territoriales existantes (nahiés, mudirliks) on tâchera de grouper les villages Chrétiens et Musulmans en cantons distincts.†

Chaque canton sera administré par le Maire et le Conseil.

Le Conseil Cantonal sera composé des membres élus pour deux ans par la population sans distinction de culte; chaque commune, paroisse, ou quartier élira un représantant.

Seront électeurs tous les habitants mâles de la commune âgés de vingt-un ans, et y payant des contributions directes, ainsi que les membres du clergé de différents rites et les professeurs et les maîtres d'écoles fixés dans la commune, même s'ils n'y payent pas de contributions directes. Tout électeur sera éligible.

Les élections auront lieu dans les communes les derniers Dimanches du mois

d'Octobre.‡

A la première réunion les membres du Conseil Cantonal choisiront parmi eux trois personnes, Chrétiennes ou Musulmanes, dont les noms, par l'entremise du Préfet, seront transmis au Gouverneur-Général. Celui-ci nommera l'un des trois Maires pour le terme de deux ans, et les deux autres seront membres permanents du Conseil Cantonal, et siégeront dans le chef-lieu du canton. Ils aideront le Maire dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. L'un d'eux, sur la désignation du Préfet, pourra remplacer le Maire en cas de mort, d'absence, ou de maladie; ils seront en outre investis, comme il sera dit plus bas, des attributions judiciaires.

Le Conseil Cantonal se réunira une fois par mois ou plus souvent en cas de nécessité. Il administrera le canton sans aucune ingérence des autorités supérieures; il repartira et percevra les mpôts, construira et entretiendra les voies de communication (sous le contrôle du Conseil Administratif Provincial) veillera à la police rurale, s'occupera de l'instruction et de santé publiques, et en général de toutes les questions qui touchent aux intérêts et au bien-être des habitants du canton.

Les décisions seront prises à la majorité de voix et l'exécution en sera confiée au Maire, qui sera ainsi le représentant du canton vis-à-vis de l'administration supérieure, et l'organe de l'autorité vis-à-vis de la population.

Le Maire et les membres permanents auront un traitement fixe, les autres membres du Conseil Cantonal recevront des indemnités pour les séances auxquelles ils auront pris

Le Maire et le Conseil Cantonal auront des sceaux et un greffier qui tiendra les protocoles de leurs décisions.

Les villes et les bourgs avec plus de 10,000 habitants seront assimilés aux cantons; ils auront comme ces derniers une administration composée d'un Maire et d'un Conseil Municipal, dont la compétence sera la même que des autorités cantonales.

Les Départements.—Les cantons seront grouppés en départements.

A la tête des départements seront placés des Préfets, nommés par la Gouverneur-Général sauf opposition motivée du Conseil Provincial Administratif; on évitera autant que possible le changement et le déplacement des Préfets sans raisons suffisantes.

- * Les habitants des districts de Sultan-Yéri et d'Ahir-Tchélébi sont en grande majorité des Musulmans. Ces districts sont montagneux et diffèrent complètement par leur caractère de la plaine Maritza. Au sud la meilleure frontière serait la Rivière Arda ou même la chaîne des montagnes au nord de cette rivière, ce qui excluerait les districts Musulmans du Caza de Hass-Keui.
- † Ce sera possible dans beaucoup de cas, mais naturellement quelques cantons auront une population mixte. La délimitation des cantons doit être laissée à la Commission Internationale d'exécution, car les dimensions des nahiés et des mudirliks sont extrèmement variables, ainsi dans le Caza de Philibé il y a cinq nahiés comptant 26,000, 44,000, 46.000, 50,000 et 61,000 d'habitants. Des parties de ces nahiés sont administrées par des mudirs, le reste par des Kir-Aghassi ou Chefs de la Police rurale. Ainsi dans le Caza de Philibé on formerait une vingtaine de cantons sans compter la ville même de l'hilippopolis.

† Cette époque est désignée comme la plus commode, car la moisson et le vendange sont finis et les routes ne sont pas abimées. Le règlement détaillé des élections devrait provisoirement être confié à la Commission

d'exécution et puis à l'Assemblée Générale de la Province.

§ Le département sera à peu près le caza actuel, car le sandjak est généralement trop vaste pour répondre aux besoins d'un bon et vigilant contrôle administratif.

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Les Préfets seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans selon la majorité de la population du département.

Les Préfets seront les représentants du Gouverneur-Général; leur tâche sera de maintenir l'ordre, de surveiller l'activité des Maires et des Conseils Cantonaux et d'exa-

miner des plaintes qui se produiraient à cette occasion.

Le Préfet aura une Chancellerie et un Conseil. A cet effet chaque canton élira deux candidats (qui peuvent ne pas être habitants du canton). De la liste de ces candidats, qui sera dressée ainsi pour tout le département, le Gouverneur-Général désignera six Conseillers effectifs et deux suppléants. Au bout de chaque année la moitié des Conseillers se retirera. Les sortants seront désignés au sort et à leur place, le Gouverneur-Général nommera d'autres personnes prises sur la même liste. Au bout de deux ans les listes seront renouvellées de la même manière.

Le nombre des Conseillers Chrétiens ou Musulmans sera en proportion avec le chiffre

de la population.

En cas d'absence ou de maladie du Préset, ses fonctions seront remplies par l'un des

Conseillers désigné par le Gouverneur-Général.

Le Conseil Départemental sera chargé des mesures d'exécution relatives à l'administration civile, aux finances, à la police, aux travaux publics; il aura les affaires confiées actuellement aux Conseils des Sandjaks et des Cazas en tant qu'elles n'auront pas passé aux Conseils Cantonaux. Il appliquera les décisions de l'Assemblée Générale et servira d'intermédiaire entre l'administration supérieure et celle des cantons.

Toutes les questions de la validité des élections communales et cantonales seront

résolues par les Tribunaux de Première Instance.

La Province.—A la tête de l'Administration Autonome sera placé un Gouverneur-Général Chrétien connaissant le Bulgare et le Turc et nommé pour le terme de cinq ans par un accord entre la Porte et les Représentants des Puissances Garantes à Constantinople. Trois mois avant l'expiration de ce terme le Gouvernement Ottoman devra s'entendre avec les Puissances Garantes sur la désignation de son successeur.

En cas de mort ou de démission du Gouverneur-Général, ses fonctions seront pro-

visoirement remplies par l'un des Présets Chrétiens désignés à cet effet par la Porte.

Le Governeur-Général représentera le pouvoir souverain et sera l'intermédiaire entre la province et le Gouvernement central. Il maintiendra l'ordre intérieur au moyen de la police et de la milice qui dépendront de lui, et en cas de nécessité pourra requérir, du consentement de la Sublime Porte, l'assistance des troupes régulières.

Le Gouverneur-Général aura un Conseil et une Chancellerie.

Assemblée Provinciale.

A côté du Gouverneur-Général se trouvera une Assemblée Provinciale, dont les membres Chrétiens on Musulmans seront élus par les Conseils Cantonaux. Dans ce but les cantons seront réunis en arrondissements électoraux de 20,000 à 30,000 habitants environ; chaque arrondissement nommera un député.

Les Conseils des Cantons formant l'arrondissement électoral se réuniront dans le cheflieu du département et procéderont en commun sous la présidence du Préfet, à l'élection

des députés par la voie de scrutin.

Les députés seront élus pour deux ans. Seront éligibles tous les habitants de la province possédant des propriétés foncières ou payant 200 piastres et plus d'impôts directs par an, ainsi que les membres de différents clergés et les professeurs et maîtres des différentes communautés.

Les questions de la validité des élections seront résolues par l'Assemblée elle-même.

L'Assemblée Générale siégera une fois par an durant un mois ou plus au besoin dans la ville désignée comme résidence du Gouverneur-Général.

Elle s'occupera de la répartition des impôts et du contrôle des dépenses, ainsi que de outes les questions qui touchent directement ou indirectement le bien-être et les intérêts de la province telles que l'instruction publique, les questions d'industrie, de commerce, et d'agriculture, les voies de communication, &c. Elle pourra proposer des modifications dans le règlement organique qui devront être sanctionnées par la Porte, sauf opposition des Puissances. Elle prendra part, comme il sera dit plus bas, à la nomination des Juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels. L'Assemblée élira elle-même son président et son bureau. Les délibérations seront publiques et entièrement libres.

L'Assemblée nommera pour le terme de deux ans, de son sein, une Commission Administrative de permanence. Le nombre de ses membres sera la moitié de celui des départements. De ce nombre les dix qui auront recueilli le plus de suffrages deviendront membres effectifs du Conseil Provincial et recevront un traitement fixe, et les autres

suppléants, et pourront être appelés à les remplacer en cas de démission ou de mort. Les chefs des différentes communautés religieuses seront de droit membres du Conseil Provincial.

Le Conseil sera responsable devant l'Assemblée de l'application de ses décisions et contrôlera l'activité de l'administration.

Ainsi, dans tous les cas où il ne s'agira pas d'une exécution pure et simple d'une disposition légale ou règlementaire, mais de mesure à être examinée et arrêtée, le Gouverneur-Général devra s'en rapporter à l'avis du Conseil. Ce n'est que du consentement du Conseil que pourront être prises des mesures administratives qui peuvent avoir une certaine durée, concernant par exemple les établissements de correction, les marchés, les foires, l'achat ou la vente des propriétés publiques, &c.

Il élaborera et soumettra à l'Assemblée les règlements sur la perception et la répartition des impôts et devra justifier devant elle le budget de l'année passée et prochaine

pour les dépenses, recettes et frais extraordinaires de la Province.

Pour l'examen des questions spéciales, le Conseil pourra former des Commissions en y invitant des experts.

Armée, Milice Locale et Police.

Tout en conservant le droit acquis par les anciens Hatts de servir dans l'armée régulière Ottomane à l'égal des Musulmans, les Chrétiens formeront, par voie de conscription, une milice locale avec des officiers Chrétiens.

Le service dans la milice sera de trois à quatre ans.

La milice sera employée à maintenir dans les limites de la province la sécurité publique et à tenir les garnisons. Elle sera armée par le Gouvernement Ottoman. Elle sera sous les ordres du Gouverneur-Général, dont dépendra le choix des officiers. Comme de cette façon les Chrétiens de la province prendront part à la défense du pays et que le charge de l'entretien de la milice retombera sur la province, l'impôt "bédéli-askerié" sera aboli.

Le Gouvernement Ottoman pourra maintenir ses troupes régulières dans les forteresses. L'entretien de ces troupes sera à la charge du Gouvernement Ottoman.

Police.—La police sera enrolée par les Conseils des Départements des gens du pays de façon à ce que le nombre des agents Chrétiens et des Musulmans soit proportionné à la population.

Les Chrétiens seront de préférence choisis dans les cadres de la milice.

Le nombre et la distribution des agents de la police seront laissés à la décision au Gouverneur-Général et du Conseil Provincial.

Les officiers de police Chrétiens et Musulmans seront nommé par le Gouverneur-Général et tenus responsables des exactions de leurs subordonnés. Les agents de la police recevront une retribution suffisante qui sera augmentée progressivement selon le nombre des années de service.*

Dans les départements et dans les cantons, les agents de la police seront soumis à l'autorité du préset et du maire, mais constitueront le même corps, auront la même uniforme et dépendront pour les affaires de la discipline des Chess nommés par le Gouverneur-Général.

(Translation.)

Extent and Limits.

Extent and limits.—Bulgaria will form an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire.

It will be composed:—Of the Vilayet of the Danube, of the present Vilayet of Sofia, of the Sandjak of Slivno, of the Sandjak of Philippopolis (except the Cazas of Sultan-Yeri and of Ahir-Tchélébi†), of the Sandjaks of Uskup and Bitoli (Monastir), and of the northern districts of the Sandjak of Sérès (Nevrokop, Melnik, and Stroumnitza).

The final boundaries will be fixed by the International Executive Commission, which can add some contiguous districts exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians, or remove and strike out those where there are none but Mussulmans.

- * La question des traitements, retributions et indemnités fera l'objet d'un tableau spécial. Cette question est d'une importance majeure, car l'insuffisancedes traitements des employés inférieurs est l'une des causes de leurs
- † The inhabitants of the districts of Sultan-Yéri and of Ahir-Tchélébi are mostly Mussulmans. These districts are mountainous, and differ completely in character from the plain of Maritza. To the south the best frontier-line would be the River Arda, or even the chain of mountains to the north of this stream, which would exclude the Mussulman districts of the Caza of Hass-Keui.

Administration.

The Canton.—The administrative unit shall be the canton, comprising a district of 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. While preserving as much as possible existing territorial divisions (nahiés, mudirliks), the attempt will be made to arrange the Christians and Mussulmans into distinct cantons.*

Each canton will be administered by the Mayor and Council.

The Cantonal Council will be composed of members elected for two years by the inhabitants, without distinction of religion; each commune, parish, or quarter will elect

a representative.

The electors will be the whole of the male inhabitants of the commune over twentyone years of age, and who pay direct taxes, as well as the members of the clergy of different rites and the professors and schoolmasters settled in the commune, even if they do not pay direct taxes there. Every elector shall be eligible.

The elections shall take place in the communes on the last Sundays in the month

of October.†

On their first assembling, the members of the Cantonal Council shall choose from among themselves three persons, Christians or Mussulmans, whose names shall be transmitted, through the Prefect, to the Governor-General. This latter shall nominate one of the three Mayors for the term of two years, while the two others shall be permanent members of the Cantonal Council, and shall sit at the chief town of the canton. They shall assist the Mayor in the exercise of his functions. One of them, on the nomination of the Prefect, can replace the Mayor in case of death, absence, or illness; they will, in addition, be invested, as it will be stated further on, with judicial functions.

The Cantonal Council shall meet once a month or oftener when necessary.

It will conduct the affairs of the Canton without any interference by the superior authorities, it will distribute and levy the taxes, construct and maintain the routes of communication (under the control of the Provincial Administrative Council), superintend the country police, shall give attention to the public instruction and health, and in general to all the questions which concern the interests or the well-being of the inhabitants of the Canton.

Decisions shall be taken by the majority of votes, and their execution shall be entrusted to the Mayor, who will thus be the representative of the Canton towards the higher administration and the organ of authority towards the people.

The Mayor and the permament members shall have fixed salaries; the other members of the Cantonal Council shall be paid according to the meetings in which they have taken

part.

The Mayor and the Cantonal Council shall have seals and a Registrer, who shall keep minutes of their decisions.

The towns and boroughs with over 10,000 inhabitants shall be assimilated to the Cantons; like these last they shall have an administration composed of a Mayor and a Municipal Council, whose powers shall be the same as those of the Cantonal authorities.

The Departments.—The Cantons shall be grouped into departments.‡

At the head of these departments shall be placed Prefects, nominated by the Governor-General, except in case of opposition on assigned grounds by the Provincial Administrative Council. As far as possible the change and removal of the Prefects without sufficient reasons is to be avoided.

The Prefects shall be Christian or Mussulman, according to the majority of the

population of the department.

The Prefects shall be the representatives of the Governor-General. Their duty shall be to maintain order, to superintend the action of the Mayors and Cantonal Councils, and to inquire into the complaints which arise in this respect.

The Prefect shall have a Chancery and a Council. With this object each canton shall elect two candidates (who must not be inhabitants of the canton). From the list of these candidates, which shall be in like manner drawn up for the whole department, the

- * This will be possible in many cases, but of course some cantons will have a mixed population. The delimitation of the cantons must be left to the International Executive Commission, for the dimensions of the nahiés and mudirliks are extremely variable; thus in the Caza of Philipié there are five nahiés having 26,000, 44,000, 46,000, 50,000, and 61,000 inhabitants. Portions of these nahiés are administered by Mudirs, the remainder by Kir-Aghassi or heads of country police. Thus, in the Caza of Philipié twenty cantons would be created, without counting the town of Philippopolis itself.
- remainder by Kin-Zaginass of Reads of Country poince. Thus, in the Caza of Philipper autous would be created, without counting the town of Philippopolis itself.

 † This date is fixed as being the most convenient, for the harvest and vintage are over, while the roads are not yet ruined. The regulation in detail of the elections should be provisionally intrusted to the Executive Commission, and then to the General Assembly of the Province.
- † The department shall be almost the same as the present caza, for the sandjak is generally too large to correspond to the wants of a good and vigilant administrative control.

Governor-General shall choose six acting Councillors and two supplementary ones. At the end of each year half the Councillors shall retire. Those who retire shall be chosen by lot, and in their place the Governor-General shall nominate other persons taken from the same list. At the end of two years the lists shall be renewed in the same manner.

The number of Christian or Mussulman Councillors shall be in proportion to the number of the population.

In case of the absence or illness of the Prefect his functions shall be performed by

one of the Councillors, chosen by the Governor-General.

The Departmental Council shall be charged with executive measures relating to the civil administration, finances, police, and public works. It will undertake matters at present entrusted to the Councils of the Sandjaks and Cazas, in so far as they have not passed into the hands of the Cantonal Councils. It will carry out the decisions of the Assembly General, and will serve as intermediary between the higher administration and that of the Cantons.

All questions respecting the validity of the communal and cantonal elections shall be decided by the Courts of First Instance.

The Province.—At the head of the Autonomous Administration shall be placed a Christian Governor-General acquainted with Bulgarian and Turkish, and nominated for a term of five years by an agreement between the Porte and the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers at Constantinople. Three months before the expiration of this term the Ottoman Government should come to an understanding with the Guaranteeing Powers on the nomination of a successor.

In case of the death or resignation of the Governor-General, his functions shall be provisionally performed by one of the Christian Prefects nominated by the Porte for this

purpose.

The Governor-General shall represent the sovereign power, and shall be the intermediary between the province and the central Government. He shall maintain internal order by means of the police and the militia which shall be attached to him, and in case of necessity may ask for the Porte's consent for the aid of regular troops.

The Governor-General shall have a Council and a Chancery.

The Provincial Assembly.

The Provincial Assembly.—Besides the Governor-General there shall be a Provincial Assembly, the Christian or Mussulman members of which shall be elected by the Cantonal Councils. With this object the cantons shall be combined into electoral districts of from 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. Each division shall nominate one deputy.

The Councils of the cantons composing the electoral districts shall assemble in the chief town of the department, and proceed in common under the presidency of the Prefect

to elect deputies by means of the ballot.

The deputies shall be elected for two years. All the inhabitants of the province shall be eligible who possess landed property or pay 200 piastres and upwards of direct taxes yearly, as well as the members of the different clergies and the professors and schoolmasters of the different communities.

Questions respecting the validity of the elections shall be decided by the Assembly itself.

The Assembly-General shall sit once a year during a month or more, as may be necessary, at the town which is designated as the residence of the Governor-General.

It will undertake the distribution of taxes and the control of expenditure, as well as all questions touching directly or indirectly the well-being and interests of the province, such as public instruction, industrial, commercial, and agricultural questions, the means of communication, &c. It can propose modifications in the organic regulation which shall be sanctioned unless the Powers oppose. It will take part, as it will be hereafter stated, in the nomination of the Judges of the Civil and Criminal Courts. The Assembly shall itself elect its president and its officials. The deliberations shall be public, and entirely free.

The Assembly shall nominate, for the term of two years, from its own members, a permanent Administrative Commission. The number of its members shall be half that of the departments. Out of this number the ten who have received the greatest number of votes shall become effective members of the Provincial Council, and shall receive a fixed salary, the rest being supplementary, and may be called to replace them in case resignation or death. The chiefs of the different religious communities shall be member of the Provincial Council by right.

The Council shall be responsible to the Assembly for the carrying out of its decisions, and shall control the action of the administration.

Thus, in all cases where it is not a question of the strict and literal execution of a provision of law or procedure, but of a measure to be examined and decided on, the Governor-General should have recourse to the advice of the Council.

It is only with the consent of the Council that administrative measures having a certain duration can be taken; for instance, those concerning correctional establishments,

markets, fairs, the purchase and sale of public properties, &c.

It will draw up and submit to the Assembly the regulations respecting the levy and distribution of the taxes, and should justify before it the budget of the year past and coming, in respect of the expenditure, receipts, and extraordinary charges of the province.

For the examination of special questions, the Council can create Commissions, inviting

experts to attend them.

Army, Local Militia, and Police.

While preserving the right acquired from ancient Hatts to serve in the army equally with the Mussulmans, the Christians shall form, by means of conscription, a local militia with Christian officers.

Service in the militia shall be from three to four years.

The militia shall be employed in maintaining public order within the limits of the province, and in furnishing the garrisons. It shall be armed by the Ottoman Government. It shall be at the orders of the Governor-General, with whom the choice of officers shall As the Christians of the province will thus take part in the defence of their country, and the charge of maintaining the militia will fall on the province, the tax (Bédéli-Askerié) shall be abolished.

The Ottoman Government can maintain its regular troops within the fortresses. The

maintenance of these troops will be at the charge of the Ottoman Government.

Police.—The police shall be enrolled by the Councils of Departments from the people of the country, so that the number of Christian and Mussulman agents is proportioned to the population.

Christians shall by preference be chosen for the ranks of the militia.

The number and distribution of the police agents shall be left to the decision of the

Governor-General and of the provincial Council.

The Christian and Mussulman police officers shall be nominated by the Governor-General, and held responsible for the exactions of their subordinates. The police agents shall receive a sufficient salary, which shall be progressively increased according to the number of years of service.*

In the departments and cantons, the police agents shall be subject to the authority of the Prefect and of the Mayor, but shall form the same body, have the same uniform, and, as regards matters of discipline, shall obey chiefs nominated by the Governor-General.

Inclosure 2 in No. 56.

Memorandum respecting Scheme for Finances, communicated by General Ignatiew.

LA moyenne des revenus que le Gouvernement Ottoman reçoit de la Bulgarie tant par les impôts directs qu'indirects sera établie sur les bases des recettes de dix ans, en exceptant les deux dernières années.+

Il ne sera point tenu compte dans ce calcul des contributions, taxes, et secours

provisoires.

Cette moyenne sera fixée pour cinq ans comme la somme normale des charges qui incombent à la province.

Le Gouvernement Central aura droit à 30 pour cent de cette somme pour les besoins généraux de l'Empire. Le reste sera affecté aux besoins de la province sur les décisions et sous le contrôle de l'Assemblée Provinciale.

L'Assemblée Provinciale, sur les propositions du Conseil Provincial, après avoir

- * The question of wages, salaries and rewards will form the subject of a special table. This question is of great importance, as the insufficient wages of the inferior employés is one of the causes of the abuses they commit.
- † Vu les circonstances politiques, des augmentations considérables d'impôts et de taxes, sous des noms différents, ont eu lieu en 1874-75. Des contributions extraordinaires ont été legalisés et ont amené des charges trop lourdes pour la population—ce qui a causé des arriérés. La dîme avait été précédemment augmentée de $2\frac{1}{2}$ pour cent, et l'impôt foncier a été appliqué d'une façon injuste et arbitraire.

éliminé le produit de ceux des impôts indirects qu'elle jugera nécessaire de maintenir ou d'établir, repartira le reste de la somme sur les cantons; elle fixera la quote-part de chacun d'eux, en tenant compte de la population et des ressources de la contrée.* Les Conseils feront la repartition des impôts entre les communes, et aux époques déterminées réuniront les sommes et les verseront dans les caisses des départements, après en avoir déduit le montant des dépenses cantonales: ce versement fait, le canton sera délié de toute obligation financière.

Le mode de perception des impôts sera laissé au Conseil Cantonal.†

L'Assemblée Générale fixera les termes pour les payements des impôts, abolira, maintiendra ou introduira des taxes indirectes, établira certains règlements généraux relatifs à l'assiette des impôts, et élaborera sur les données reunies et l'expérience des premières années un système d'imposition et d'administration financière, conforme aux intérêts de la province.

Les caisses departementales dépendront entièrement de la Direction des Finances établie dans le chef-lieu de la Province. C'est elle qui surveillera et répondra de l'activité

des sous-directions dans les Départements.

Le directeur et les sous-directeurs des finances seront nommés par le Gouverneur-Général du consentement du Conseil Provincial. Ils devront fournir des cautions et des

Les caisses départementales transmettront le produit des impôts à la caisse provinciale qui, aux époques fixes, versera à la Banque Impériale Ottomane, pour le compte du Gouvernement central, les sommes qui lui reviendront pour les frais généraux de l'Empire.

Après ce payement annuel, la Province n'aura plus d'obligations financières vis-à-vis

du Gouvernement central et ne pourra plus être soumise à de nouvelles impositions.

L'administration des douanes dans la province dépendra du Gouverneur-Général et du Conseil. Leurs revenus entreront dans le total des revenus de la Province, mais on continuera naturellement à se conformer aux Tarifs existants.

Une partie de la somme payée par la province au Gouvernement central pourrait être

spécialement affectée au service de la dette de l'Empire.

L'assemblée provinciale et les conseils cantonaux auront le droit d'établir des taxes additionnelles pour les besoins de la province ou des cantons, mais ne pourront en aucun cas autoriser des dépenses en taveur d'une communauté religieuse quelconque ou des établissements religieux (exclusivement) de ces communautés; tous les frais de ce genre retomberont sur les communautés mêmes.

Des commissions spéciales formées de membres élus par l'assemblée et d'autres désignés par le Gouverneur-Général seront chargées d'étudier la question des propriétés de l'Etat, et d'organiser leur administration.

Un règlement spécial de l'administration des finances sera élaboré sur les bases sus-

indiquées par la Commission d'exécution avec le concours d'experts.

(Translation.)

THE average of the revenues which the Ottoman Government receives from Bulgaria both by direct and indirect taxes shall be fixed on the bases of the receipts of ten years, the two last years being excepted.;

No account shall be taken in this calculation of provisional contributions, taxes, and

reliefs.

This average shall be fixed for five years as the normal total of the charges which fall on the province.

The Central Government shall be entitled to 30 per cent. on this sum for the wants of the Empire. The remainder shall be applied to the wants of the province on the decisions and under the control of the Provincial Assembly.

The Provincial Assembly, on the proposal of the Provincial Council, after having eliminated the produce of those of the indirect taxes which it thinks necessary to maintain or to create, will distribute the rest of the total among the cantons. It shall fix the quota

Provisoirement la repartition pourrait être confié à la Commission d'exécution, qui s'adjoindrait pour ce cas des experts.

† Les conseils se conformeront probablement en partie aux usages et habitudes existentes, mais une certaine latitude leur est nécessaire pour choisir le mode de taxation et de perception le plus adaptable et le plus

avantageux. Having regard to the political events, the considerable augmentations of dues and taxes, under different names, which have taken place in 1874-75. Extraordinary contributions have become legalized, and have produced charges too heavy for the population—which has caused the arrears. The tithe had previously been increased 21 per cent.. and the land tax has been applied in an unjust and arbitrary manner.

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of each of them, taking into account the population and resources of the country.* The Councils shall make the distribution of the taxes among the communes, and at the fixed periods collect the totals and pay them into the Treasuries of the Departments, after having deducted the amount of the cantonal expenses. This payment made, the canton shall be freed from all financial obligation.

The manner of levying the taxes shall be left to the Cantonal Council.

The Assembly-General shall fix the periods for the payment of the imposts, shall abolish, maintain, or introduce indirect taxes; shall establish certain general regulations relating to the assessment of the taxes, and shall draw up on the combined data and the experience of former years, a system of financial taxation and administration suitable to the interests of the province.

The Departmental Treasuries shall be entirely dependent on the Finance Department established in the chief town of the province. It shall control and be responsible for the

action of the branch offices in the departments.

The Director and Sub-directors of Finance shall be nominated by the Governor-General with the consent of the Provincial Council. They will have to give securities and

guarantees.

The Departmental Treasuries shall hand over the produce of the taxes to the Provincial Treasury, which, at fixed intervals, will pay into the Imperial Ottoman Bank, to the account of the Central Government, the sums due to it for the general expenses of the Empire.

After this annual payment the province will have no further financial obligations

towards the Central Government, and cannot be further subject to fresh charges.

The administration of customs in the province will depend on the Governor-General and the Council. Their revenues will enter into the total of the revenues of the province, but of course conformity with the existing tariffs will be continued.

A portion of the sum paid by the province to the Central Government might be

specially assigned to the service of the debt of the Empire.

The Provincial Assembly and the Cantonal Councils will have the right to create additional taxes for the needs of the province or of the cantons, but cannot in any case authorise expenditure in favour of any one religious community, or of the religious establishments (exclusively) of these communities. All charges of this nature shall fall on the communities themselves.

Special Commissions formed of members elected by the Assembly, and of others chosen by the Governor-General, shall be charged with studying the question of the State domains, and of organizing their administration.

A special regulation for the administration of finance will be drawn up on the bases indicated above by the Executive Commission, with the assistance of experts.

No. 57.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 14, 1876, 7.25 p.m.

TO-DAY in preliminary Conference question of the guarantees was considered. General Ignatiew, unconditionally dwelling upon prevalence of insincerity and danger of massacre, stated immovable determination of his Government to have some sufficient material force as security for Christians during the introduction of the reforms, and for the Commission itself. Russia would furnish this force if no other was forthcoming, but did not (wish for?) it.

We stated that our Consuls did not believe in the danger; whereupon the Ambassadors of each of the four other Powers stated that the reports from their

Consuls were in the opposite sense.

We then urged upon the Conference that Turkish regular troops would be sufficient, and Sir H. Elliot pressed the point upon them. They objected, however, that the regulars took part in the massacres, and could not be trusted. The question of employing Roumanian troops was raised; but it was thought that this would be intolerable to the Porte, and their efficiency was doubtful. I stated that our instructions formally forbid us to accept any military occupation; that any employment

* Provisionally the distribution might be entrusted to the Executive Commission, who would add experts to their numbers for this purpose.

† The Councils will probably in part conform to existing customs and usages, but a certain latitude is necessary to them, in order to choose the most adaptable and most advantageous mode of taxation and levy.

of Russian soldiers was so likely to lead to bloodshed that it was absolutely out of the question; but that if the Conference would accept English soldiers, I would recommend that solution.

To this the Russian Ambassador took strong objection; and the German Ambassador said that no troops belonging to Guaranteeing Powers could be accepted. At the same time all protested against the idea of occupation; but said that an escort of 3,000 to 5,000 men, as a nucleus for a gendarmerie, could not be considered an occupation.

A Belgian force of this size was then proposed, and it was stated that the proposal

had the assent of the Belgian Government.

I stated that we could give no opinion on the part of England, as suggestion was not contemplated in our instructions.

It was then taken ad referendum.

I recommend adoption earnestly, because I do not believe they will give way on this, and because no possible political danger can result.

Turks will probably oppose, but this objection applies to all suggestions of

reform.

A speedy answer is very necessary, as further continuance of negotiations depends upon this point. I crave, therefore, decision from Cabinet, which I hope may be summoned as early as possible for this purpose.

No. 58.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(Telegraphic.)

IN reply to your telegram of to-day, the principle of the division provisionally approved is intended, as far as possible, to group religions; but no details are settled yet. If General Ignatiew would agree to diminish Bulgaria considerably, I would give up division; but he will not.

No. 59.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15, 6.15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE seen Blunt and Holmes this morning. Blunt tells me arms are being left behind at Salonica by soldiers moving to the front, he believes for the purpose of arming the Mussulmans. Holmes says that he thinks that Mussulmans would rise if disarmament were attempted. Some kind of disarmament will certainly be pressed in the Conference. Statement therefore made by us in Conference, that our Consuls disbelieve the danger of massacre must be somewhat qualified.

No. 60.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 15, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that you are fully authorized to discuss the project which has been brought forward of employing a Belgian armed force for police purposes.

As a compromise between Russian occupation and the employment of a purely Turkish force, the project has obvious advantages; but with the knowledge which Her

Majesty's Government now possess, I cannot pledge them to its adoption.

The question is about to be considered in Cabinet.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 61.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government

entirely approve the language which you held at the preliminary Conference as reported in your telegram of the 14th instant.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 62.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the appointment of Ismaïl Bey to proceed to Boyadjikeui to inquire into the conduct of Chefket Pasha at that village, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your having intimated to Safvet Pasha that they would not be satisfied with an inquiry in which no Christian took part.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 63.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 17, 12.20 p.m.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 17, 1876, 1.20 A.M.

TO-DAY provisional discussion terminated. Following arrangement agreed to provisionally for two Bulgarian vilayets:—Eastern consists of Sandjaks Roustchuk, Tirnova, Toultcha, Varna, Slivno, and Cazas Kirkkilisse, Mustapha, and Kiriss Agatch, and Sandjak Philippopolis except Sultan-Yeri and Ashir-Tchelebi. Western consists of Sandjaks Widdin, Nisch, Sophia, Uskup, and Cazas Kourousch, Dorian, Strounitza, Tiksitch, Velessa, Bitolia, Kastoria, and three Northern Cazas of Sandjak Seres.

Powers. He is charged to execute laws of the Empire, and may be foreigner or Ottoman subject. He can only be displaced by Supreme Court of Appeal.

Provincial Assembly, elected for four years by the Cantonal Councils, without distinction of race or creed, will control finance and provincial concerns, and deliberate publicly. They will elect Administrative Council of ten, which Vali must consult, but may overrule.

Cantons consisting of from 5,000 to 10,000, administered by a Mayor and two assistants, who will act as magistrates, and will be chosen by Cantonal Council, consisting of representatives from each commune, elected by taxpayers of twenty-five years, without distinction of creed.

Cantonal Council will deal with roads, schools, collection of certain taxes to be fixed by a Commission of Supervision.

Porte will name Mutessarifs on proposition of Vali. Two Councillors for them named by Vali and Assembly. Judges of criminal and civil tribunals to be named half by Vali and Assembly, half at first by Commission of Supervision; and afterwards according to scheme to be arranged by them. These may be taken outside Province, and must be sufficient lawyers. Judges named on probation for three years, and then for life. May be removed by Court of Appeal; this latter named by Porte with consent of Powers with similar tenure of office.

Language of country to be used together with Turkish.

Customs, post-office, telegraphs, tobacco, spirits, and régie to remain in hands of

Porte. Direct revenue to be levied and applied by Councils.

A sum, to be fixed by Commission, not exceeding third of average revenue of Province, to be paid over to Porte for public debt and general expenses, annually for five years; then new settlement by Vali and Council together, taking increased prosperity into account.

Military tax to be confined to men of military age who are not in militia.

Cantons to keep up schools, and may tax themselves for that purpose. Tithes to be abolished and some other form of direct tax substituted.

Relief measures of Andrassy Note. Regular army to be stationed in fortresses

and great towns, except in war or when wanted by Vali.

Christian militia, with officers of all creeds, appointed by Vali. Police formed by Mutessarifs of Christians and Mahommedans, proportionate to population, with officers

appointed by Vali of any creed or nationality.

Punishment of atrocity criminals; otherwise amnesty. No arrears of this year to be demanded. Carriage of arms to be prohibited. Arms lent by Government to Mussulmans to be restored; subject to be mentioned in instructions to Commission, but not in Protocol.

Bosnian arrangements similar, drawn up under presidency of Calice. Governor

may be a Turk, and his Assembly has less power.

Terms of peace—Servia and Montenegro as previously telegraphed; International

Commission of Supervision to be for one year, with force as before telegraphed.

Please send me decision of Cabinet on the whole. Conference will probably open on Thursday.

Above proposals to be subject to modifications in detail after Turks have been heard.

Lastly, six Powers propose to adhere to general principles, and, if Turks refuse, will apply to their Governments to be allowed to announce that they will leave in a body.

No. 64.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir, Foreign Office, December 18, 1876.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 11th instant, stating that, at the first preliminary meeting of the Plenipotentiaries held that day, it had been agreed to take the Valley of the Drina as the boundary of Servia, Her Majesty's Government wish to know if it is to be understood that the existing boundary of Servia in that direction is unaltered, and that no change is proposed with regard to Little Zvornik.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 65.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 18, 1876.

1 HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are ready to assent in principle to the plan proposed by the preliminary Conference, viz., local reforms, as stated in your telegram of the 17th instant, with a Commission of Supervision for one year, such Commission to be supported by an escort not exceeding 6,000 men at the utmost, to be drawn from some minor State, such as Belgium.

It must be understood that the scheme is open to modifications of detail.

Her Majesty's Government reserve absolutely the question of steps to be taken in the event of refusal by the Porte.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 66.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 18, 1876.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of to-day's date, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government consider that it would be desirable, if possible, that the introduction of the Belgian force should appear to be made at the request of the

Porte, and that it should be accompanied by some withdrawal of Russian troops from the fontier as a counter-balance.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 67.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19, 2.40 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE effect of taking the thalweg of the Drina will be to give Little Zvornik to the Servians, but no cession will be mentioned.

No. 68.

The Earl of Derby to Marquis of Salisbury.*

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have been asked by the Austrian Government for their opinion whether the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople should sign a Protocol recording the result of the preliminary

I said, in reply, that I understood that the proposal in your telegram of the 8th instant referred to the Protocol to be eventually signed with the Porte.

I have to request your Excellency to inform me whether any other Protocol has been proposed.

I have, &c. (Signed DERBY.

No. 69.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21, 1.20 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 21, 1876, 11·20 A.M. WITH reference to your telegram of yesterday, no other Protocol than one with the Turks has yet been proposed.

No. 70.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language held by you to General Ignatiew on the subject of a military occupation of the Turkish Provinces as reported in your despatch of the 7th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 71.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, December 21, 1876.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 6th ultimo, inclosing Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert's report of the 30th of November last, and I have to express the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have heard of the improvement

* Substance telegraphed.

that has taken place in the condition of the lately-ravaged districts in the neighbourhood of Philippopoli.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 72.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, December 21, 1876. HER Majesty's Government approve the communication which your Excellency made to the Sultan respecting the unsatisfactory proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli, as reported in your despatch of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 73.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 21, 1876. HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held in conversation with the Sultan respecting the ensuing Conference, and the present position of affairs as reported in your despatch of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 74.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 21, 1876. I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to shew to Lord Salisbury the inclosed copy of the address from the Greek community of Philippopoli, which was forwarded to me in your despatch of the 7th instant, protesting against any part of the country to the south

of the Balkans being included in a scheme of autonomy. Your Excellency will likewise inform the Memorialists that their Memorial has reached Her Majesty's Government, and will receive the attention of Her Majesty's

Representatives at the Conference.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 75.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 21, 1876.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me of the reception which was likely to be given by the Turkish Government to the proposals of the Powers, which he seemed to think was not likely to be favourable.

Count Schouvaloff expressed his earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would not give to that of the Porte any encouragement to hope that, in the event of their rejecting these proposals, Turkey would receive support from England, or be protected from the possible consequences of such refusal.

I told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had already held language to this effect on previous occasions, and that they would undoubtedly be prepared to do so again.

I am, &c. DERBY.

(Signed)

No. 76.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 21, 1876.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and spoke to me of the progress of the negotiations at Constantinople, and of the turn that events would probably take.

He said that there was reason to apprehend that the Turkish Government would object to the proposals which would be placed before them in Conference by the Representatives of the other Powers; that in such a case much would depend on the attitude assumed by England; and that the Duc Decazes was anxious to learn what course Her Majesty's Government were prepared to pursue in case of the refusal of the Porte to accede to the demands of the Powers.

I told the Marquis d'Harcourt in reply, that we should undoubtedly support to the utmost of our power the proposals which had been agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople, and to which Her Majesty's Government had in principle given their assent. As regards, however, the exact extent to which we were prepared to exert pressure upon Turkey in case of her refusal to accept those proposals, I was not in a position to give him a definite reply.

For this I said there were two reasons.

In the first place, in considering the eventuality in question, it must be borne in mind that there were different kinds of refusal. A proposal or scheme might be rejected positively and in its entirety, or objections might only be raised to certain parts of it, and these might be made in such a manner as to invite further discussion. The course to be

pursued must be guided by the nature of the case.

In the second place, I could only speak to him at present in my individual capacity, and not as conveying the decision of the Government as a whole. The Cabinet would meet to-morrow, and it was possible that I might afterwards be able to speak more decidedly. I thought, however, I could say this much, as my personal view of the matter, that, on the one hand, Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared themselves to employ measures of active coercion in order to extort the consent of Turkey to the proposals which had been drawn up at Constantinople; while, on the other hand, they would not hold out to the Porte any hope of assistance or protection in the event of war ensuing on the refusal to entertain these proposals.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 77.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, December 21, 1876, 6:15 P.M.

THE Belgian force will be first charge on the revenue of the Provinces, before any other payment. No money is, however, available till sheep-tax is due in the spring, and an advance is wanted of 40,000 pounds.

Are Her Majesty's Government inclined, in case agreement is concluded, to make

advance, as early repayment seems well secured?

Other Powers plead want of funds or heavy charges already incurred for Turkey.

No. 78.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 22, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have decided that England will not assent to, or assist in, coercive measures, military or naval, against the Porte.

The Porte must on the other hand be made to understand, as it has from the first

been informed, that it can expect no assistance from England in the event of war.

In the event of the Porte persisting in refusal, and the Conference failing, your Excellency will of course come away: and it will be desirable in that case that Sir Henry

Elliot should also come to England to report upon the situation, leaving a Secretary in charge of the Embassy.

These are the views of Her Majesty's Government, and your Excellency may use

your own discretion as to the language which you shall hold.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 79.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 23, 1876, 7·15 P.M.

IF the Belgian scheme is adopted and adhered to, no difficulty will be made about the money advanced.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 80.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord, Pera, December 9, 1876.

"SINCE the date of my despatch of the 7th instant I have had several interviews with General Ignatiew, and I have the honour to inclose a Memorandum of the provisional propositions now put forward by his Excellency.

The points which appear to be most difficult of solution are the establishment of an International Commission to arrange all the details of the reforms and to supervise their execution, and the employment of a sufficient material force to enforce the decisions of the Commission and to maintain order.

General Ignatiew proposes that the force should consist of 6,000 Belgians or Italians. I have promised to report the proposition, but have given no encouragement to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 80.

Memorandum of General Ignatiew's Provisional Propositions.

BULGARIA would form one Province composed of-

(1.) The present Vilayets of the Danube (excepting the Sandjak of Varna) and Sofia;

(2.) Of the Sandjaks of Philippopoli (except the Cazas of Sultan-Yeri and Ahir Tchelebi) and Slivno in the Vilayet of Adrianople;

(3.) Of the Sandjaks of Uscup and a portion of the Sandjak of Bitoli in the Vilayet of Monastir (excepting Wodena); and,

(4.) Of the districts of Strumitza, Melnik, and Nevrokop, in the Sandjak of Seres, Vilayet of Salonica.

The Province shall be placed under the rule of a Cnristian Governor to be appointed by the Porte with the assent of the Powers, and to hold office for five years.

The Province shall be divided into cantons, each containing about 10,000 souls of, as far as possible, the same creed.

In each canton should be a Council, to be elected by the people, and a "Maire," to be selected by the Governor from three elected candidates.

In each Province there would be a Provincial Council, to be elected by the Cantonal

In each Department Tribunals would be constituted for the trial of small and higher causes, and in the Province a Court of Appeal. The Judges would be partly elected and partly appointed, and would hold office for three years on probation, and then for life.

Religious suits would be tried before Ecclesiastical Courts appointed for the respective

creeds.

The militia and police would contain Christians and Mussulmans in proportion to their numbers.

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The officers of these forces would be appointed by the Governor.

Mussulman functionaries must be natives.

The local language would be used both before the Tribunals and by the Administration.

The tithes are to be fixed at a definite sum, which the canton would assess and levy.

The perpetrators of atrocities are to be punished, the troops disbanded, and an amnesty granted to the Christians.

The Turkish troops would remain in the fortified places, unless their services were

required by the Governor elsewhere.

The importation of Circassians by the Porte is to cease, and those already established in European Turkey are to be induced, where possible, to return to Asia.

The Porte is to engage to carry into effect the reforms laid down in the Protocol.

The Mussulman population is to be disarmed.

All details are to be settled by an International Commission, which would also supervise their execution, and have at its disposal a material force sufficient to enforce its decisions and to preserve order.

No. 81.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord, Pera, December 11, 1876.

COUNT CHAUDORDY informed me to-day that he has ascertained confidentially that if the King of the Belgians were invited to furnish two or three Belgian regiments as a provisional body-guard for the Commission of Supervision proposed to be established in Bulgaria, and to serve as a nucleus for a body of gendarmerie to be hereafter raised from the local population, His Majesty would not refuse his consent to the arrangement. It appears that the proposal will be seriously submitted to the Conference, and I should be

glad to learn the view which Her Majesty's Government take of it.

My own opinion is that it will be advisable to adopt some such scheme, as General Ignatiew intends to put in, for record in the Protocols, a statement that massacres of the Christians are probable, with his reasons for the belief, and because the French and Belgian Representatives here inform me that their Consuls report a very excited state of Mussulman feeling in Bulgaria. It is probable that this view may be erroneous, but there is at least a fair chance that it may be true, and if massacres should occur in consequence of the measures adopted by the Conference, it might be difficult for Her Majesty's Government to justify their refusal of the proposed introduction of a Belgian force, while occupation by Russian troops would become inevitable.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 82.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby .- (Received December 24.)

My Lord, Pera, December 11, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the first preliminary meeting of

the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers took place to-day at the Russian Embassy.

It was agreed that the Valley of the Drina should be taken as the boundary of Servia, which will permit the Servians to retain Little Zvornik, of which they are now in occupation, according to agreement of 1833, and that some small territorial concessions should be made to Montenegro, which, in consequence of the objections raised by the Austrian and Italian Plenipotentiaries, will not include the Port of Spitz.

The Plenipotentiaries will, for the present, meet every day, and their deliberations

will be confidential.

It has been arranged that M. de Moüy, the first Secretary of the French Embassy, should be present at the meetings, and should prepare a *compte-rendu* of the proceedings, which will simply record the course of the discussions that take place, without naming the Plenipotentiaries who take part in them.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 83.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 10, 1876.

I PERCEIVE in the English newspapers the prevalence of a conviction that, provided the Marquis of Salisbury and General Ignatiew can come to an understanding upon the measures to be expected from the Porte, no further difficulty need be apprehended, as the acquiescence of the Imperial Government will be a matter of course.

This I believe to be an entire delusion.

The united action of Great Britain and Russia must have immense weight with the Porte, but the influence of Her Majesty's Government as a friendly adviser is not what it was a short time ago.

The declaration of important personages that the Turks must be driven out of Europe causes a feeling of distrust against anything we may recommend in concert with

 ${f Russia}$

Convinced that Russia intends to attack it, the whole nation has resolved to offer the best resistance in its power, and that resistance will certainly be stubborn, though probably futile; but the Turks say that there would be less discredit in being driven by force from their territories than in being cajoled out of them.

The Christian populations are as unanimously opposed to the threatened Russian aggression as the Turks, for they know it to be undertaken in the interest of a particular

nationality, which they dread and at the same time despise.

Although the Marquis of Salisbury will report to your Lordship everything connected with the progress of the proceedings of the Conference, I think it my duty to keep Her Majesty's Government informed of the temper of the nation, which must be taken into account if a successful issue is to be hoped for, and a knowledge of which cannot well be ascertained in a few days.

I hope, from what I learn, that the Turkish Government may be found disposed to grant most of the concessions expected from them, coming fairly within the limits of the bases upon which the Conference was accepted by them; but if measures are proposed which they regard as contrary to the engagement that both the territorial integrity and the independence of the Porte should be respected, their resistance will be very great and probably insuperable.

They are aware that if the Conference breaks down, and war ensues upon their rejection of proposals supported by all the Powers, their position will be worse than it would have been before; but this consideration will not, in my opinion, restrain them.

Such a result would be most unfortunate, not only on account of the position in which it would place Turkey, but as diminishing the force of any protest which Her Majesty's Government might wish to make against coercive measures adopted by Russia, in consequence of the rejection of the proposals which they had themselves approved.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 84.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 11, 1876.

THE Governor of Tultcha having called upon me this morning I inquired of him into the state of the Dobrutcha, and especially into the conduct of the Circassians.

He declared that throughout that district there was nothing to give uneasiness, but he was now endeavouring to obtain the sanction of the Porte for a total reorganization of the police, of which the present constitution was as bad as it is possible to imagine.

Christians as well as Mussulmans must be taken into it, with sufficient regular pay assigned to them, and a stop must be put to their practice of living at free quarters on the

inhabitants.

He had already organized a mixed gendarmerie of Turks, Circassians, and Christians, which is working satisfactorily, and he proposed to give it further development.

He had issued an order prohibiting anyone from carrying arms, and had encountered no difficulty from the Circassians in its execution, although in one or two cases he had been obliged to imprison persons who had disregarded it.

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Either Turks or Christians who required to carry arms for their protection on a journey received a pass to authorize them to do so.

I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

No. 85.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord. Constantinople, December 12, 1876. IN forwarding to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch from Mr. Baring I have the honour to call your attention to the last paragraph, which shows that if the proposal which has been brought forward of confining the regular Turkish troops to the fortresses is acted upon, the result will not be favourable to the security of the populations.

> I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 85.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, December 4, 1876.

SINCE I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency my despatch of the 24th instant the Commission has been principally occupied with matters of minor importance.

Abdullah Effendi, the Kiatib of the Mudir of Derbent, mentioned in my despatch of the 5th October as having robbed a woman of the village, has been sentenced by the Commission to three and a-half years' imprisonment, with hard labour.

Ahmed Agha of Koniah, in Asia Minor, a Yuz-bashi of zaptiés, has been examined on a charge of having extorted money from four villagers of Kritchma, whom he arrested

and then released. He will be put under arrest to-morrow.

Halil Pehlivan of Baratoun, a zaptié, has been arrested and charged with the murder of a man at Batak. It was thought that the wife of the murdered man would be able to identify him, but she has failed to do so, and as the other evidence against him breaks down, he will probably be released at once.

Fresh orders have been issued for the arrest of ten men implicated in different affairs, and rewards have been offered for their capture; moreover, the officers of zapties in the

different districts will be held responsible if these criminals are not now arrested.

The final trial of the Batak case will begin on Thursday next, and should be terminated in a few days. I had hoped that it would have been commenced to-day, but delays have occurred owing to the prisoners not having procured any one to undertake their defence. Four of them have now entrusted this task to one Ali Effendi, the man who acted as prosecutor during the Bulgarian trials; the other two will conduct their own defence.

It is now to be hoped that this case will at last be brought to a close, as it has been going on for two months, i.e., from the date of Ahmed Agha's arrest, which took place on the 3rd October, and during the whole of which time he has of course been in close confinement.

The summary of the Derbent case is almost finished, and Toussoun Bey's final trial should commence immediately after the Batak case is ended.

Four more Bulgarian prisoners were released a few days ago, and I hope that in a short time they will all be set free, as it has been decided to give all, who were not actually insurrectionary leaders, the benefit of the amnesty. Some of those in prison now are accused of murder, but the charges will not be pressed against them.

Pertev Effendi, whom I saw this morning, assured me that in a few days another batch

would be released.

No condemnations have taken place since I have been here, and I do not believe that any of the real chiefs of the insurrection are now in prison, as they were all killed at the time of the outbreak, or hanged afterwards.

In my despatch of the 12th ultimo, I informed your Excellency that there had been a change for the better in the state of public security; I regret to say, however, that since that date I have heard of several cases of robbery and violence, particularly in the Bazardjik district, and a few nights ago a regular raid was made upon Avrad Alan by a number of Turks. Luckily there were troops in the village, and when they appeared the robbers fled, leaving their booty behind them; no arrests, however, were made.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WALTER BARING.

No. 86.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord,

UPON the receipt this day of your Lordship's despatch of the 27th ultimo, instructing me to bring the subject of the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins again before Prince Nicholas, I lost no time in sending to His Highness a note, of which I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 86.

Mr. Monson to the Prince of Montenegro.

Mon Prince, Raquse, ce 15 Décembre, 1876.

SOUS la date du 27 du mois passé le Comte de Derby m'a adressé une communication dans laquelle sa Seigneurie me signale la satisfaction avec laquelle le Gouvernement de la Reine a appris que votre Altesse s'est exprimée dans des termes si accentués à propos des mutilations des soldats Turcs par les Monténégrins, et s'est déclarée décidée à prendre

des précautions des plus sevères pour mettre fin à ces actes barbares.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine a pourtant tout dernièrement reçu un rapport de l'Ambassade Anglaise à Constantinople, selon lequel il paraît qu'après la bataille de Medun il y a eu des cas analogues, et d'une cruauté revoltante, dont des soldats Turcs ont été les victimes, et que l'on croit à Constantinople que ces faits sont malheureusement bien avérés. Lord Derby m'a conséquemment chargé d'en faire mention à votre Altesse, et de lui déclarer que le Gouvernement de la Reine ne saurait insister avec trop d'urgence que, dans le cas où par malheur la guerre recommencerait, il serait de la plus haute importance que des mesures efficaces fûssent prises pour assurer que de pareilles horreurs ne se renouvelâssent pas.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine n'a aucun doute sur les sentiments de votre Altesse à cet égard; il ne craint que, malgré ces sentiments indubitables, les Monténégrins ne se livrent, le cas échéant, à des excès qui ne manqueraient pas de susciter la juste indignation du monde civilisé.

Je prie, &c. (Signé) EDMUND MONSON.

(Translation.)

Prince, Ragusa, December 15, 1876.

ON the 27th ultimo the Earl of Derby addressed to me a communication, in which his Excellency signified to me the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government has learned that your Highness expressed yourself in such emphatic terms on the subject of the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by the Montenegrins, and declared yourself resolved to

take the most strict precautions to put an end to these acts of barbarity.

Her Majesty's Government has, nevertheless, received quite recently, a report from the English Embassy at Constantinople, according to which it appears that after the battle of Medun, there took place analogous cases of revolting cruelty, of which Turkish soldiers were the victims; and that it is believed at Constantinople that these facts are unhappily well authenticated. Lord Derby has consequently charged me to make mention of them to your Highness, and to declare to you that Her Majesty's Government cannot impress upon you with too much urgency, that in case of the war unhappily recommencing, it will be of the highest importance that efficacious measures should be taken to ensure that similar horrors should not be repeated.

Her Majesty's Government feels no doub as to your Highness' feelings on the

subject; it only fears that in spite of these undoubted feelings, the Montenegrins might resort again to excesses which would not fail to rouse the just indignation of the civilized world.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 87.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 24.)

(Télégraphique.)
RECU télégramme No. 431, Spécial.

Constantinople, le 24 Décembre, 1876.

J'en ai donné lecture au Grand Vizir. Son Altesse a reçu cette communication avec une profonde reconnaissance, et elle vous prie d'en exprimer à son Excellence Lord Derby sa vive gratitude. Vous exposerez à sa Seigneurie, au nom du Grand Vizir, que la Sublime Porte compte plus que jamais sur l'appui bienveillant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans les circonstances difficiles que nous traversons. La haute sagesse et l'esprit de justice qui distinguent le Ministre éminent qui dirige avec tant de loyauté les relations extérieures de l'Angleterre nous sont un sûr garant qu'il voudra bien nous donner une nouvelle preuve de sa bienveillance et de sa précicuse amitié.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, December 24, 1876.

TELEGRAM received, No. 431, special.

I have read it to the Grand Vizier. His Highness received this communication with deep gratitude, and begs you to express to his Excellency Lord Derby his acknowledgments. You will explain to his Lordship, in the name of the Grand Vizier, that the Sublime Porte reckons more than ever on the kind support of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, under the difficult cirumstances we are passing through. The great wisdom and spirit of justice which distinguish the eminent Minister who directs with such loyalty the foreign relations of England form a sure guarantee for us, that he will gladly give us a new proof of his kindness and valued friendship.

No. 88.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

My Lord, Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 24 Décembre, 1876. J'Al l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-incluse d'une dépêche télégraphique que je reçois à l'instant du Gouvernement Impérial, et qui contient le résumé des dispositions fondamentales et essentielles de la Constitution que Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient d'octroyer à ses peuples.

J'ai, &c. (Signé) MUSURUS.

(Translation.)

My Lord, Imperial Ottoman Embassy, London, December 24, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Excellency the inclosed copy of a telegram, which I have this moment received from the Imperial Government, and which centains a résumé of the fundamental and essential arrangements of the Constitution which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has just granted his people.

I have, &c. (Signed) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 88.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 23 Décembre, 1876.

LA Constitution octroyée par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à ses peuples a été proclamée aujourd'hui à la Sublime Porte avec une grande solemnité en présence des

Ministres, de tous les fonctionnaires, des autorités religieuses et d'une grande affluence de population enthousiaste.

Voici le résumé des dispositions fondamentales et essentielles que cette Constitution

" Indivisibilité de l'Empire Ottoman. Le Sultan, Calife Suprême des Musulmans et Souverain de tous les sujets Ottomans, est irresponsable et inviolable. Ses prérogatives sont celles des Souverains Constitutionnels de l'Occident. Les sujets de l'Empire sont indistinctement appelés Ottomans. Leur liberté individuelle est inviolable et garantie par les lois.

"L'Islamism est la religion de l'Etat; mais le libre exercice de tous les cultes reconnus est garanti, et les priviléges religieux des communautés sont maintenus. Aucune disposition donnant un caractère théocratique aux institutions de l'Etat n'existe dans la

Constitution.

"Liberté de la presse. Droit d'association. Droit de pétition pour tous les Ottomans près des deux Chambres. Liberté de l'enseignement. Equalité de tous les Ottomans Mêmes droits et mêmes devoirs envers le pays. Admission aux fonctions devant la loi. publiques sans distinction de religion. Répartition égale des impôts. La propriété

garantie. Le domicile inviolable. Nul ne peut être distrait de ses juges naturels.

"Le Conseil des Ministres délibère sous la présidence du Grand Vizir. Ministre est responsable de la gestion des affaires de son département. La Chambre des Députés peut demander la mise en accusation des Ministres. Une haute Cour est instituée pour les juger. En cas de vote de la Chambre des Députés hostile au Ministère sur question importante, le Sultan change les Ministres, ou dissout la Chambre. Les Ministres peuvent assister aux séances des deux Chambres, et y prendre la parole. Des interpellations peuvent leur être adressées. Les fonctionnaires publics, nommés suivant les conditions fixées par la loi, ne peuvent être révoqués sans motif légal et légitime. La responsabilité des fonctionnaires n'est point dégagée par les ordres contraires à la loi qu'ils auraient reçus d'un supérieur.

"L'Assemblée Générale des Ottomans se compose de deux Chambres, le Sénat et la Chambre des Députés, qui se réunissent le 1er Novembre de chaque année, et dont la Un message du Sultan est adressé aux deux Chambres à session dure quatre mois. l'ouverture de chaque session. Les membres des deux Chambres sont libre dans leur vote et dans l'émission de leurs opinions. Le mandat impératif est interdit. L'initiative des lois appartient en premier lieu au Ministère, puis aux Chambres sous forme de proposition. Les lois sont soumises d'abord à la Chambre des Députés, puis au Sénat, enfin à la sanction

Impériale.

"Le Sénat est composé de membres nommés par le Sultan et choisi parmi les sommités du pays. Le Sénat vote les lois déjà adoptées par la Chambre des Députés, et renvoie à cette Chambre ou rejette les dispositions contraires à la Constitution, à l'intégrité et à la sûreté de l'Etat.

"Il y a un Député par 100,000 habitants. L'élection a lieu au scrutin secret. mandat de Député est incompatible avec des fonctions publiques. Les élections générales des Députés ont lieu tous les quatre ans. Ils sont rééligibles. En cas de dissolution de la Chambre, les élections générales ont lieu, et la nouvelle Chambre est réunie dans les six mois de la date de la dissolution. Les séances de la Chambre des Députés sont publiques. Les Députés ne peuvent être arrêtés ni poursuivis durant les sessions qu'avec l'autorisation de la Chambre. La Chambre vote les lois par articles, et le budget par chapitres.

"Les juges sont inamovibles. Les audiences des Tribunaux sont publiques. défense est libre. Les jugements peuvent être publiés. Aucune ingérence ne peut se produire dans l'administration de la justice. Les attributions des Tribunaux seront exactement définies. Les Tribunaux et Commissions d'exception sont interdits. Le Ministère public est créé. La haute Cour, appelée à juger les Ministres, les membres de la Cour de Cassation, et les personnes accusées du crime de lèse Majesté et d'attentat contre

l'Etat, est composée de sommités judiciaires et administratives.

"Aucun impôt ne peut être établie ni perçu qu'en vertu d'une loi. La loi du budget est votée au début de chaque session et pour une année seulement. Le règlement définitif du budget de l'exercice écoulé est soumis à la Chambre des Députés sous forme de loi. La Cour des Comptes adresse chaque année à la Chambre des Députés un rapport de comptabilité financière, et à chaque trimestre au Sultan l'exposé de la situation financière. Les membres de la Cour des Comptes sont inamovibles. Aucune révocation n'aura lieu que par une décision de la Chambre des Députés.

"L'administration provinciale est basée sur la plus large décentralisation. Conseils Généraux élus traitent et contrôlent les affaires de la province. Chaque canton aura un Conseil élu pour chacune des différentes communautés pour gérer ses affaires propres.

Les communes seront administrées par des Conseils Municipaux élus.

" L'instruction primaire est obligatoire.

"L'interprétation des lois appartient, suivant leur nature, à la Cour de Cassation, au Conseil d'Etat ou au Sénat.

"La Constitution ne peut être modifiée que sur l'initiative du Ministère ou de l'une ou l'autre Chambre, et par un vote des deux Chambres à la majorité des deux tiers des voix, sanctionnée par le Sultan."

Ce grand événement est appelé à régénérer le pays et à produire les plus heureux

résultats pour toutes les populations de la Turquie.

Je vous enverrai par le courrier le texte de la Constitution.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 23, 1876.

THE Constitution granted by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to his people has been proclaimed to-day at the Sublime Porte with great solemnity in the presence of his Ministers, of all the functionaries, of the religious authorities, and of a great concourse of enthusiastic people.

The following is the summary of the fundamental and essential provisions which this

Constitution contains:—

"Indivisibility of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan, Supreme Calif of the Mussulmans, and Sovereign of all Ottoman subjects, is irresponsible and inviolable. His prerogatives are those of the constitutional Sovereigns of the West. The subjects of his Empire are without distinction called Ottomans. Their individual liberty is inviolable and guaranteed by the laws.

"Islamism is the religion of the State, but the free exercise of all recognized forms of worship is guaranteed, and the religious privileges of the communities are maintained. No provision giving a theocratic character to the institutions of the State exists in the

Constitution.

"Liberty of the press. Right of association. Right of petition for all Ottomans to the two Chambers. Liberty of instruction. Equality of all Ottomans in the face of the law. The same rights and the same duties towards the country. Admission to public functions without distinction of religion. Equal division of taxes. Property guaranteed.

The home inviolable. Nobody can be diverted from his natural judges.

"The Council of Ministers deliberates under the Presidency of the Grand Vizier. Every Minister is responsible for the administration of the affairs of his Department. The Chamber of Deputies can demand the arraignment of the Ministers. A high court is instituted to judge them. In case of a vote in the Chamber of Deputies hostile to the Ministry on an important question, the Sultan either changes his Ministers or dissolves the Chamber. The Ministers may be present at the sittings of the two Chambers, and are allowed to speak. Questions may be asked them. Public functionaries, named according to conditions fixed by law, cannot be revoked without legal and legitimate reasons. Responsibility of functionaries is not affected by orders contrary to law which they may receive from a superior.

"The General Assembly of Ottomans is composed of two Chambers—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, which meet on the 1st of November each year, and of which the sitting lasts four months. A Message from the Sultan is addressed to the two Chambers at the opening of each Session. The members of the two Chambers are free to vote, and give their opinions. Imperative "mandat" is interdicted. The initiative of the laws belongs, in the first place, to the Ministry, then to the Chambers under the form of proposition. The laws are submitted first to the Chamber of Deputies, then to

the Senate, finally to the Imperial sanction.

"The Senate is composed of members nominated by the Sultan, and chosen from among the celebrities of the country. The Senate votes the laws already adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, and sends back to that Chamber or rejects arrangements which

are contrary to the constitution, to the integrity, and security of the State.

"There is a Deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants. The election is by secret ballot. The position of Deputy is incompatible with the discharge of public functions. General election of Deputies takes place every four years. They may be re-elected. In case of the dissolution of the Chamber general elections take place, and the new Chamber meets within six months of the date of dissolution. The meetings of the Chamber of Deputies are public. The Deputies cannot be arrested nor prosecuted during the Sessions without the authorization of the Chamber. The Chamber votes the Laws by Articles and the Budget by Chapters.

"The Judges are irremoveable. The audiences of the Tribunals are public. Defence

is free. Judgments can be published. No interference can take place in the administra-

tion of justice. The attributes of the Tribunals will be clearly defined.

"Special Tribunals and Commissions are forbidden. A Public Ministry is created. The High Court called on to judge the Ministers, the members of the Court of Cassation, and persons accused of the crime of high treason, and of attempts against the State, is

composed of judicial and administrative celebrities.

"No tax can be established or collected except by virtue of law. The law of the Budget is voted at the beginning of each Session, and for one year only. The final settlement of the completed Budget is submitted to a Chamber of Deputies under form of law. The "Cour des Comptes" addresses each year to the Chamber of Deputies a report of the financial accounts, and every quarter to the Sultan an account of the financial position.

The members of the "Cour des Comptes" are irremovable.

No revocation can take place without the decision of the Chamber of Deputies.

Provincial administration is based on the broadest form of decentralization. The General Councils elected treat of the affairs of the province, and control them. Every Canton shall have a Council elected for each of the different communities to manage its own affairs.

The communes shall be administered by the Municipal Councils elected.

Primary instruction is obligatory.

Interpretation of the laws belongs, according to their nature, to the Court of Cassa-

tion, to the Council of State, or to the Senate.

The Constitution can only be modified on the initiative of the Ministry, or of either Chamber, and by a vote of the two Chambers, with a majority of two-thirds, sanctioned by the Sultan.

This great event is destined to regenerate the country, and to produce the most

happy results for all the populations of Turkey.

I will send you by the mail the text of the Constitution.

No. 89.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

ADMIRAL DRUMMOND finds it necessary to leave Besika. I have requested that he may take the fleet to Athens instead of Salonica, in order to avoid misconstruction, and to support my assertion that no assistance is to be expected from Her Majesty's Government.

No. 90.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 26, 1876, 3.20 P.M. HER Majesty's Government approve your Excellency having asked the British Admiral to take the fleet to Athens.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 91.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Lumley.

Foreign Office, December 26, 1876.

BARON SOLVYNS informed me to-day that he had been directed by Viscount d'Aspremont Lynden to make the following observations upon the subject of the idea of the occupation of Bulgaria by Belgian troops. They expressed, he said, the views of the Belgian Cabinet, as sanctioned by the King.

Up to the present time no proposal on the subject had been made by any Government. It was true that there was a general idea that a neutral force should be sent to Bulgaria, and that a Belgian force had been specified, but the versions reaching the Belgian Government from all sides presented under completely different aspects the aim, object,

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and conditions of the combination which was being discussed. There was no less difference in the proportions attributed to the expedition, which ranged from a mere body of police

to an actual corps of occupation.

Belgium, from her personal point of view, was satisfied with her destiny; it was no part of her duty to assume the rôle of intervening in questions which did not directly concern her, and she did not claim to do so. This had been her policy in the past, and it was the policy which she would still endeavour to follow were she to consider only her

exclusive aspirations and her own interests.

Nevertheless, if she had to face a unanimous request of the Great Powers, demanding from her, with the consent of the Porte, a service which it would seem to be in her power to render, she would examine with the most attentive care the proposal submitted to her; she would have to decide whether the projected combination would be likely to produce practical and efficacious results, whether the executive measures would not exceed the limits which she would not feel justified in passing, and whether the stipulations, taken as a whole, would supply complete guarantees.

It should be said frankly, and without fear of wounding any reasonable susceptibilities, that she would not permit her subjects to risk any adventure which might end in disaster.

It would also naturally be a question for her to consider, in case the question should actually arise, whether the duty of assisting in the maintenance of general peace could

devolve upon her alone, and should be accomplished by her alone.

I said in reply that the proposals of the preliminary Conference not having as yet been accepted by the Porte, and a rejection of them, total or partial, being unfortunately not impossible, it was not necessary at present to do more than promise that the remarks of his Government, or that part of them which concerned Belgium, should receive careful consideration.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 92.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27, 4 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 27, 1876, 1.50 P.M. ACHMET AGA has been condemned to death by a majority of five to one.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 93.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 28, 1876. I TRANSMIT to your Excellency the inclosed Memorial, which has been placed in

my hands by a deputation of the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association, who called here yesterday afternoon respecting the position of the Jewish population in Turkey, and especially in Roumania and Servia.

I inclose, for your information, an extract from the "Times," giving an account of what passed at this interview.

Your Excellency will take such steps as you may think advisable in dealing with this matter, and Her Majesty's Government leave it to your judgment to lay the Memorial before the Conference, or to make such other use of it as you may think proper.

I take this opportunity of forwarding to your Excellency copies of a correspondence which has lately passed on this subject with Mr. Montefiore, the representative of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews.

> I am, &c. DERBY.

(Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 93.

Mr. Montefiore to the Earl of Derby.

My Lord, 4, Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair, November 29, 1876.

AS President of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, representing the several congregations of Jews of Great Britain and Ireland, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the following copy of a Resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Board held on the 14th instant:—

"Resolved that a Memorial be presented to Earl Derby praying that when, in the course of the negotiations at the Conference on the Eastern question, measures are proposed for the better government of any of the provinces of the Turkish Empire, care be taken to secure, in the most effectual manner, to Israelites who may be resident in or travelling through such provinces, the same civil, political, and religious rights as shall be possessed by the other non-Mussulman subjects of those provinces."

The Board ventures to believe that a favorable opportunity will occur at the approaching Conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople for urging the claims of the Jews in Servia and the Turkish provinces to be placed in all respects on a footing of equality with their Mussulman and non-Mussulman fellow subjects, a position from which they are now excluded under circumstances of extreme hardship and injustice.

Bearing in grateful remembrance the solicitude uniformly exhibited by Her Majesty's Government, whenever the social and political rights of Jews have been involved, the Board respectfully but earnestly implores your Lordship to give such instructions as you may deem fit to Her Majesty's Representative at the Conference, with a view to the attainment of the objects sought by the Board.

Permit me to add that, by devoting to this matter your Lordship's powerful influence, your Lordship would earn the deep and enduring gratitude of my Jewish

brethren throughout the globe, and of every friend of humanity.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. M. MONTEFIORE, President.

Inclosure 2 in No. 93.

Lord Tenterden to Mr. Montefiore.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 5, 1876.

IN reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo, on the subject of the claims of the Jews in Servia and other provinces of the Ottoman Empire to be placed in all respects on a footing of equality with their Mussulman and non-Mussulman fellow-subjects, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to inform you that, upon the receipt of a letter dated the 18th January last from the Anglo-Jewish Association respecting the position of the Jews in Turkey, his Lordship called the attention of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to the letter of the Association.

On the 10th of February Sir Henry Elliot reported, in reply, that the Jewish population would benefit equally with the Christian by the removal of the disabilities under which the non-Mussulman population might hitherto have laboured. His Excellency observed that although, in other countries, there had been a habit of speaking of the Mahommedan and Christian population, the terms employed by the Porte in its official documents were almost invariably "Mussulman and non-Mussulman;" and that those terms were used in the new regulations then issued by the Porte respecting the acquisition of land, which would, therefore, apply to the Jews exactly in the same way as to the Christians.

I am to add that Lord Derby will not fail to bear in mind the claims of the Jews in Turkey, and to call the attention of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, as well

as Her Majesty's Agents at Belgrade and Bucharest, to your representation.

İ am, &c. (Signed) TENTERDEN.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 93.

Mr. Montefiore to the Earl of Derby.

My Lord,

4, Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair, December 19, 1876.

I TRUST I may be pardoned for intruding again upon your Lordship's attention with respect to the condition of the Jews of Turkey at a period when your Lordship's time is

doubtless occupied with affairs of the greatest moment.

I am desirous, however, as President of this Board, and on behalf of the several congregations of Jews of Great Britain and Ireland which it represents, of making known to your Lordship that, at a special meeting of the Board, held on the 7th instant, the question of sending delegates to the Jewish International Conference at Paris came under the consideration of the Deputies. It was then unanimously resolved that the Board should, as heretofore, communicate with Her Majesty's Government, as the proper medium of intercourse between the subjects of this country and foreign Powers, or their Representatives.

The Board, as I took the liberty of stating in my former communication to your Lordship on this subject, is deeply sensible of the zealous interest already evinced by your Lordship on behalf of the oppressed Jews of Servia and the provinces of Turkey, and relies with the utmost confidence on the continuance of those good offices in the cause of humanity and religious liberty which have ever characterized Her Majesty's Govern-

ment.

I again apologize for intruding upon your Lordship, but, knowing how soon the deliberations of the Conference at Constantinople may be brought to a close, I hope I may be pardoned for urging the great auxiety we all feel that the present opportunity should be seized of placing my brethren in the provinces in question on a footing of equality with the Mussulman and other non-Mussulman subjects thereof.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. M. MONTEFIORE,

Inclosure 4 in No. 93.

Lord Tenterden to Mr. Montefiore.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1876.

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, reporting the proceedings of a special meeting of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, and the resolution arrived at by them not to send Delegates to the Jewish Conference at Paris, but to leave the interests of the Jews in Turkey in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

I am to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government will bear the interest of the Jewish population in Turkey in mind, and Lord Salisbury will be made acquainted with the representations of the meeting.

I am, &c. (Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 94.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 28, 10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, December 28, 1876, 10 A.M.

GENERAL IGNATIEW asks somewhat urgently that we should record formally our assent to the principles contained in the five papers which form annexes to the eighth "Compte Rendu." Three of these papers are inclosed in my despatches of the 22nd instant. The remaining two are the project for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and instructions to the International Commission, and are nearly similar to the inclosures in the despatches mentioned above.

I have reserved my opinion till I see form which is being drawn.

No. 95.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.

IT was stated by your Excellency in your telegram of yesterday that Count Münster had reported that I had told him that Her Majesty's Government could not exercise any pressure on the Porte to compel the acceptance of the proposals to be made by the Representative of the Six Powers, and that it had consequently been intimated to you by the Emperor that he feared that if pressure were not equally exercised by all the Powers, the Porte might feel encouraged to resist, and war with Russia would ensue, much to the regret of His Imperial Majesty.

It appears from this statement that Count Münster has not correctly understood the attitude of Her Majesty's Government as to the acceptance or rejection by the Porte of the proposals of the Representatives, and has consequently conveyed to his Government an

erroneous impression respecting them.

Your Excellency will receive by the messenger who left London yesterday, copies of my despatch to Lord Lyons of the 21st instant, and of my despatch to Lord A. Loftus of the same date, recording conversations which I had had with the Marquis d'Harcourt and Count Schouvaloff. You will see that I told the former that Her Majesty's Government would undoubtedly support to the utmost of their power the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople to which in principle they assented; and that I added, as my personal opinion, that though Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared themselves to employ measures of coercion to extort consent, they would not hold out to the Porte any hope of assistance or protection in the event of war ensuing on the refusal to entertain the proposals.

My language to Count Schouvaloff was no less explicit, and on all other occasions I have spoken to the same effect; the fact being that the object of the policy of this country, instead of being the encouragement of the Porte in an attitude of resistance, has been

precisely the reverse.

I authorize your Excellency to communicate, either to the Emperor or Prince Bismarck, as you may consider it to be most advisable, the substance of my observations, to which I have above referred, addressed to the French and Russian Ambassadors.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 96.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.

I APPROVE the note addressed by you to Prince Nicholas, copy of which was inclosed in your despatch of the 15th instant, conveying the expression of opinion of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the cases recently reported from Constantinople of the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins.

I have, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 97.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and asked me whether, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, any notice should be taken by the Powers of the Constitution just promulgated for the Turkish Empire, and whether its provisions should be discussed in the Conference.

I said that, as I understood the position, the Representatives of the six Powers having agreed upon a certain plan for the administration of the disturbed Provinces of Turkey, must now submit their proposals to the Turkish Government. They had, in fact, I believed, done this at the first meeting of the Conference, and we could only wait for the present to see what view was taken of the proposals by the Porte. If the Turkish

Plenipotentiaries in the Conference only raised objections to parts of the scheme, counter proposals and further discussions might follow. If they rejected the whole scheme absolutely and in toto, I had already told his Excellency of the course Her Majesty's Government were prepared to take. We would use all the moral influence we possessed to procure the acceptance of the proposals, but we were not prepared to resort to measures of coercion, or to threats of such measures in support of them. At the same time we would hold out no hope to the Turkish Government of assistance or protection from England if war should be the consequence of their refusal.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 98.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, December 29, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government see much objection to any Protocol of the kind alluded to in your telegram of the 28th being signed which has not been textually agreed to after due consideration by the several Governments. There could be little practical use in it, as the result of the preliminary meetings has already been communicated to the Porte.

If General Ignatiew presses it, you might remind him that a Protocol could only be ad referendum, and Her Majesty's Government strongly object to pledging themselves to anything which they have not previously examined and considered. Moreover, the full Conference being now open, it is too late.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 99.

Memorandum communicated by M. Gennadius, December 29, 1876.

AU moment où les Représentants des Grandes Puissances se trouvent réunis à Constantinople, à l'effet d'améliorer le sort des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes croit de son devoir d'appeler leur attention sur la situation des sujets Grecs de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Cependant, nous tenons beaucoup à le constater dès le début, cette demarche ne doit pas être attribuée à la prétention d'exercer, comme on nous l'a souvent reproché à tort, un Protectorat sur les Grecs de la Turquie, mais à la nécessité où nous nous trouvons de prévenir à temps le contre-coup des troubles de toute nature qui pourraient agiter les populations Grecques de l'Empire Ottoman. L'histoire de ces derniers temps ne fournirait que trop d'exemples à l'appui de cette assertion.

D'un autre côté, on ne saurait oublier non plus qu'en élevant la voix en faveur de ses frères de race et de religion, la Grece paye en même temps une dette sacrée de reconnaissance aux Provinces Grecques soumises au Gouvernement Ottoman, qui, toutes, ont pris part à la longue lutte à laquelle elle doit, non moins qu'à la bienveillance et à la justice de l'Europe, son indépendance et sa liberté.

C'est cette justice et cette bienveillance que la Grèce implore de nouveau à cette heure solennelle en faveur des pays Grecs restés sous la domination de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Si l'on admet, comme la Sublime Porte elle-même semble le reconnaître par son zèle à introduire des réformes radicales dans son administration, que l'insurrection des Provinces du Nord de l'Empire a été provoquée par le régime en vigueur et les malheurs et les abus qu'il entraîne forcément, il serait oiseux de s'attacher à démontrer que ces malheurs et ces abus frappent également toutes les Provinces de l'Empire Ottoman et qu'ils pèsent même d'un poids plus lourd sur les populations Grecques, que l'état de civilisation plus avancée où elles se trouvent rend plus sensibles aux maux des races déshéritées.

Nous ne saurions nier, il est vrai, que ces mêmes populations Grecques ne se soient abstenues de protester les armes à la main durant la crise actuelle; mais cette attitude, qui contraste si fort avec leurs antécédents, n'a pas besoin d'être expliquée aux Grandes Puissances, qui en connaissent mieux que personne la vraie et seule cause.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes avait le devoir de conformer,

pour tout ce qui concerne les Grecs de Turquie, sa conduite à celle des Grandes Puissances, qui avaient manifesté le désir de maintenir la paix en Orient ou tout au moins de localiser l'insurrection. C'est ainsi seulement qu'une conflagration générale a pu être évitée.

L'esprit de haute justice qui anime les Gouvernements des Grandes Puissances et leurs Représentants dans la Conférence, ne saurait donc leur permettre de tirer de cette conduite, ainsi imposée, un argument pour laisser les Grecs dans une situation moins

avantageuse que celle qu'on accorderait à d'autres populations.

Il ne faudrait pas non plus perdre de vue que si nos conseils ont pu être suivi par les Grecs sujets de la Sublime Porte c'est que, comme nous, ils avaient la ferme conviction que si l'Europe, persuadée de l'inefficacité des réformes promulguées jusqu'ici par le Gouvernement Ottoman, se décidait à intervenir encore une fois, elle prendrait des mesures générales envers tous les Chrétiens indistinctement, ainsi que cela a été soutenu dans d'autres circonstances par la diplomatie Européenne. D'ailleurs, la Sublime Porte elle-même vient reconnaître, semblerait-il, qu'il est aussi équitable que nécessaire d'établir une égalité parfaite de droits entre tous ses sujets Chrétiens.

Aussi, cette haute assemblée irait elle-même à l'encontre du double but qu'elle poursuit, c'est-à-dire, du but humanitaire et du but politique, en négligeant l'élément Grec ou en méconnaissant à son détriment et de quelque manière que ce fut, le droit historique et les nécessités géographiques, en dehors desquels tout ne serait que trouble et confusion

pour l'avenir dans la presqu'île des Balkans.

C'est donc au nom de la justice aussi bien que dans le but d'éloigner les dangers qu'un pareil abandon des intérêts des Grecs sujets Ottomans ne manquerait pas de faire surgir que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes fait appel à la haute sagesse des Gouvernements représentés à la Conférence de Constantinople.

Ils ne tarderont pas à se convaincre que des considérations de l'ordre le plus élevé justifient pleinement sa démarche, et que c'est dans l'intention de co-opérer à l'œuvre de pacification entreprise par les Cabinets Européens qu'il prend la liberté de leur soumettre

ces observations.

Les Grandes Puissances ne sauraient mieux assurer l'accomplissement de leur noble mission qu'en étendant à tous les Chrétiens et particulièrement à ceux de race Grecque, les mesures qu'elles conseilleraient dans leur justice et dans leur prévoyance, à la Sublime Porte, pour rendre le calme et la prospérité aux Provinces récemment insurgés de l'Empire Ottoman.

(Translation.)

AT the moment when the Representatives of the Great Powers are united at Constantinople with the object of bettering the lot of the Christian population of Turkey, the Government of His Majesty the King of the Greeks thinks it necessary to call their attention to the situation of the Greek subjects of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Nevertheless (and we are very anxious to state this at once), this step ought not to be attributed to the pretension of exercising, as we have often been wrongfully accused of wishing to do, a protectorate over the Greeks of Turkey, but to the necessity in which we find ourselves of providing in time against the effects of all kinds of troubles which may disturb the Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire.

The history of these latter times furnishes but too many examples in support of this assertion.

From another point of view, it is impossible to forget that in raising her voice in favour of its compatriots and co-religionists, Greece pays at the same time a sacred debt of gratitude to the Greek provinces, subject to the Ottoman Government, all of whom took part in the long struggle to which, no less than to the kind feeling and justice of Europe, she owes her independence and her liberty.

It is this justice and this kind feeling which Greece implores anew at this solemn time in favour of the Greek countries remaining under the dominion of his Imperial

Majesty the Sultan.

If it is admitted, as the Sublime Porte herself seems to acknowledge by its zeal in introducing radical reforms into its administration, that the insurrection of the provinces in the north of the Empire has been provoked by the state of the Government and the misfortunes and abuses which follow in its train perforce, it would be useless to endeavour to point out that these misfortunes and abuses strike equally all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and that they even press harder on the Greek populations, whose more advanced state of civilization makes them more sensible to the ills of disinherited races.

We could not deny, it is true, that these same Greek populations have abstained from protesting in arms during the actual crisis; but this attitude, which forms such a

contrast to their antecedents, has no need of being explained to the Great Powers,

who know better than any the true and only cause.

The Government of His Majesty the King of the Greeks had the duty of conforming his conduct, as far as concerns the Greeks of Turkey, to that of the Great Powers who had shown their desire of maintaining peace in the East, or, at least, of localizing the insurrection. It is only thus that a general conflagration has been warded off.

The lofty spirit of justice which animates the Governments of the Great Powers and their Representatives at the Conference would not permit them to deduce, from this conduct thus imposed upon them, an argument for leaving the Greeks in a situation less

advantageous than that which it would accord to other populations.

We must not either lose sight of the fact that, if our advice has been followed by the Greeks subject to the Sublime Porte, it is that, like us, they had the firm conviction that if Europe, persuaded of the inefficiency of the reforms promulgated up to the present time by the Ottoman Government, decided to interfere again, she would take general measures towards all the Christians, without distinction, as has been done under former circumstances by European diplomacy.

Besides, the Sublime Porte herself has just acknowledged, it would seem, that it is both just and necessary to establish a perfect equality of rights amongst all her Christian

subjects.

Thus, this high assembly will herself oppose the double end which she is aiming at, that is to say, a humane and political object, by taking no account of the Greek element, or in overlooking to its detriment, in any way whatsoever, the historic right and geographical necessities, beyond the bounds of which there would be nothing but trouble and confusion in the future in the Peninsula of the Balkans.

It is, then, in the name of justice, as well as with the object of removing the danger, that such an abandonment of the interests of the Greeks who are Ottoman subjects would not fail to cause the Government of the King of the Greeks to appeal to the great wisdom of the Governments represented at the Conference at Constantinople.

They will not be slow in coming to the conclusion that considerations of the highest kind amply justify the step which it has taken, and that it is with the intention of cooperating in the work of pacification, undertaken by the European Cabinets, that it takes the liberty of submitting to them these observations. The Great Powers could not better ensure the accomplishment of their noble mission than by extending to all Christians, and more particularly to those of the Greek races, the measures which they would recommend in their justice and foresight to the Sublime Porte, to bring peace and prosperity to the provinces of the Ottoman Empire which were lately in a state of revolt.

No. 100.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 29, 1876. THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires called upon me this afternoon by appointment and

left with me the memorandum of which I inclose a copy.*

M. Gennadius said that the Greek nation could not but regard with great apprehension any attempt to increase the Slav Provinces of Turkey at the expense of the neighbouring Greek Provinces. They would consider an extension of the Slav Provinces to the south of the Balkans as a severe blow to the interests of the Greek race. He went on to say that the Greeks formed the most important element of the population of European Turkey, and were those who harmonised best with the Turks, that there were Greeks scattered in large proportions throughout the whole Ottoman dominions, forming everywhere thriving and industrious communities, and that, on the other hand, there was a considerable Turkish population living peacefully and contentedly within the kingdom of Greece. On these grounds the Greeks felt strongly that their case deserved the sympathy and attention of Europe as much, if not more than that of the M. Gennadius added that they would, as a body, feel better disposed towards the continuance of Turkish rule than to any preponderance or domination of the Slav races.

I told M. Gennadius that I thought the arguments he had used on this and on previous occasions went far to show the expediency of extending, as far as possible, to

the whole of European Turkey any reforms agreed upon for the administration of the disturbed Provinces. I added that if the European Powers had confined themselves to considering the case of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, this was not because no interest was felt in the good government and welfare of other subjects of the Sultan, but because the speedy pacification and settlement of the Provinces in question seemed essential to the preservation of European peace, and it was undesirable to add to the complexity of the problem by introducing other elements into the discussion.
In conclusion, I promised that Her Majesty's Government would bear in mind the

considerations which had been brought before them by the Greek Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 101.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 30.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 29 Décembre, 1876.

IL a été décidé dans la seconde séance de la Conférence de prolonger l'armistic jusqu'au 1er Mars, nouveau style.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, December 29, 1876. IT has been decided at the second meeting of the Conference to prolong the armistice

until March 1, new style.

No. 102.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of an address which the Greek Synod and the Permanent National Council have requested the Œcumenical Patriarch to present to the Porte against the concession of special privileges to the Slav provinces.

The necessity of resisting anything of the kind appears to be becoming daily stronger

among the Mussulmans, and to be participated in by the Turkish Ministers.

I am informed that, at a late Council, one of them declared that, although a war with Russia would be attended by immense danger to the Empire, by consenting to a special administration of the Slav provinces, they would be taking a slow but certain poison; and, of the two alternatives, they should not hesitate to adopt the first.

The sentiment was unanimously approved by the whole of his colleagues, and, unless I am misinformed, it represents the feeling of the entire nation, both Mussulman and

Christian.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 102.

Extract from "La Turquie" of December 15, 1876.

EN parlant dans un de nos précédents numéros de l'assemblée générale tenue Dimanche dernier au Patriarcat du Phanar, nous avons dit que le Saint Synode et le conseil mixte ont rédigé et signé, séance tenante, un mazbata au sujet de la question des priviléges qu'il est question d'accorder aux Chrétiens de race Slave, au préjudice de la nation Grecque.

Voici la traduction du document que les deux corps représentant à Constantinople

la nation Grecque ont signé dans leur réunion de Dimanche:

"Notre Très-Saint Père,

"Les deux corps, le Saint Synode et le Conseil National Permanent Mixte, réunis autour de votre Sainteté, prenant en sérieuse considération les bruits qui depuis quelque [195]

temps circulent en Turquie et en Europe relativement aux priviléges et autres avantages politiques à accorder aux provinces insurgées, à l'exclusion des autres peuples soumis au sceptre impérial; considérant que des soi-disants Délégués de la nation Bulgare parcourent l'Europe en cherchant à faire violer, contrairement à la justice et à la vérité scientifique, des limites géographiques consacrées de temps immémorial par l'histoire et par toute théorie ethnographique; que ces Délégués cherchent à étendre les limites de la Bulgarie en deçà de l'Œmos et à les élargir de la manière la plus étrange, jusqu'à la Thrace et à la Macédoine, en les avançant ainsi à leur profit exclusif;

"Prenant en considération tout ce qui précède, le Saint Synode et le Conseil National Permanent Mixte, réunis aujourd'hui en votre présence, osent supplier votre Sainteté de vouloir bien représenter, auprès de la Sublime Porte, l'injustice qui est faite en ces deux questions, à notre nation, laquelle est en droit d'espérer une solution contraire, non seulement en raison de sa supériorité numérique, mais aussi à cause de son respect

pour la paix et surtout dans ces circonstances critiques que traverse l'Empire.

"Veuillez, Très-Saint Père, communiquer nos justes représentations au Gouvernement Impérial, afin que, dans ses intentions équitables, il ne souffre aucunement des exceptions et des distinctions entre des nationalités soumises au même Gouvernement, nationalités qui peuvent troubler l'avenir, et qu'il veuille étendre ces réformes bienfaisantes sur tous les sujets de Sa Majesté, sans distinction de race et de nationalité."

Le Patriarche Œcuménique a remis officiellement ce document à la Sublime Porte.

(Translation.)

IN speaking in one of our former numbers of the Assembly General held last Sunday in the Patriarchate of Phanar we said that the Holy Synod and the Mixed Council drew up and signed in the course of the sitting a "Mazbata" on the subject of the question of the privileges which there is a question of granting to the Christians of the Slavonic race to the prejudice of the Greek nation.

This is the translation of the document which the two bodies representing the Greek

nation at Constantinople signed in their Sunday meeting:-

"Very Holy Father,

"The two bodies, the Holy Synod and the Permanent Mixed National Council, collected round your Holiness, taking into serious consideration the rumours which have circulated some time in Turkey and in Europe, with reference to the privileges and other political advantages to be granted to the insurgent provinces, to the exclusion of the other people under the Imperial sceptre; considering that self-called delegates of the Bulgarian nation traverse Europe, trying to bring about, contrary to justice and scientific truth, the violation of the geographical limits consecrated from time immemorial by history and every ethnographical theory; that these delegates are striving to extend the limits of Bulgaria beyond the Æmos, and enlarge them in the strongest manner, as far as Thrace and Macedonia, advancing them therefore to their exclusive profit;

"Taking into consideration all that precedes, the Holy Synod and the National Permanent Mixed Council, assembled to day in your presence, venture to beg your Holiness to be good enough to represent to the Sublime Porte the injustice which is done in these two questions to our nation, which has the right to wish for a contrary solution, not only on account of its numerical superiority, but also because of its respect for peace, and, above all, considering the critical circumstances through which the Empire is passing.

"Be kind enough, Very Holy Father, to communicate our just representations to the Imperial Government, so that, its intentions being so equitable, it may in no way allow exceptions and distinctions between the nationalities submitted to the same Government, nationalities which may trouble the future; and that it will graciously extend these benevolent reforms to all His Majesty's subjects, without distinction of race and nationality."

The Œcumenical Patriarch has sent this document officially to the Sublime Porte.

No. 103.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a document which I have received from the Porte recording the impression produced on the Council of Ministers by Messrs. Baring and Schuyler's reports on the late occurrences in Bulgaria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Memorandum recording the Impression produced on Council of Ministers by Reports of Messrs. Baring and Schuyler on Bulgaria.

LE Conseil prend connaissance du Rapport de Mr. Baring. La simple lecture de ce document établit suffisamment l'esprit impartial qui a présidé à sa rédaction. On y remarque certaines inexactitudes et exagérations, résultat inévitable du caractère incomplet de l'enquête. Mais Mr. Baring n'aurait pu mieux faire; étant donnée la gravité des circonstances, il lui eût été difficile d'obtenir en si peu de temps de plus amples informations.

Etranger aux principes religieux comme aux mœurs et au caractère du peuple, Mr. Baring puisait principalement ses nouvelles à des sources passionnées. Il était dès

lors naturel qu'il fut induit en erreur à certains égards.

L'auteur du rapport présente comme des faits positifs les attentats en plus d'un endroit qui auraient été commis à la pudeur des femmes. Or chaque société renferme dans son sein des gens capables de ces sortes de crimes; il est possible que pendant l'insurrection des cas individuels analogues se soient produits parmi les Musulmans; mais quiconque connaît les principes religieux, les mœurs et le caractère de l'Islam sera aisément convaincu que la personne des femmes qui tombent entre les mains d'une société Musulmane est et demeure inviolable. Témoin le récit que Mr. Baring a fait lui-même de l'aventure d'une jeune fille nommée Raycobobova.

Dans la partie du rapport qui traite de la destruction d'Otlukkeuy, on lit le passage

suivant:—

"Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'une foule de femmes n'aient été enlevées et séquestrées; mais il est difficile de constater les crimes de cette nature, vu le refus des notables du pays de fournir des informations à cet égard."

Si Mr. Baring savait combien l'Islamisme condamne l'outrage commis à la pudeur d'une femme honnête, il n'aurait garde d'avancer une opinion erronée d'une manière si catégorique.

Quoiqu'il en soit les faits avancés dans un document écrit dans un esprit si impartial

rendent nécessaire l'institution immédiate d'une enquête rigoureuse.

Quant au Rapport de Mr. Schuyler, Secrétaire de la Légation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à Constantinople, nous en avons également pris connaissance. Rédigé uniquement, comme on le voit au premier coup d'œil, sur la foi des affirmations des gens mal intentionnés, ce document ne mentionne nulle part combien les Musulmans ont été maltraités au début de l'insurrection.

Il est positif que dans cette période du mouvement des enfants Musulmans ont été brûlés vifs. De pareils actes de sauvagerie ne sauraient être mis, à notre avis, pas même à la charge des Bulgares qui vivent en commun avec les Musulmans depuis tant d'années. Ils n'ont pu être consommés que sous la contrainte des hommes pervers et impitoyables envoyés par les comités, et il n'y a guère à s'étonner s'ils ont amené les Musulmans des villages voisins à s'armer pour leur défense et à user d'une répression rigoureuse jusqu'à l'arrivée des troupes. On est en droit d'affirmer que les Musulmans n'ont pas poussé ni ne pouvaient pousser la vengeance jusqu'à bruler vif quelques Bulgares; le Musulman peut se rendre coupable de meurtre, mais il ne saurait se livrer au crime que Mr. Schuyler voudrait lui imputer sans renier tout d'abord ses idées religieuses. Ceux qui ont passé quelque temps dans un pays Musulman et étudié les mœurs, les principes, et le caractère du peuple, n'hésiteront pas à reconnaître et à confirmer cette vérité.

Pour ce qui est des attentats commis à la pudeur des femmes nous avons exprimé plus haut notre pensée sur ce point, en parlant du Rapport de Mr. Baring. Les mêmes considérations s'appliquent aux allégations de Mr. Schuyler; lorsqu'une femme vient à

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tomber entre les mains d'une société Musulmane, celle-ci ne saurait, en quelque état anarchique qu'elle se trouvât, ne pas s'élever contre celui de ses membres qui voudrait violer le dépôt qui est confié à l'honneur de tous.

Mais dans le Rapport de Mr. Schuyler on lit le passage suivant :—

"Les auteurs de ces actes barbares appartiennent pour la plupart à l'armée régulière

commandée par Hafiz Pacha."

Ces paroles ne méritent pas même d'être relevées. Tous ceux qui ont une idée de ce qu'on appelle troupes régulières et de la discipline rigoureuse qui règne dans l'armée Impériale n'hésiteront pas à reconnaître que c'est là une calomnie contraire à la raison et au bon sens.

Sublime Porte, le 12 Décembre, 1876.

(Translation.)

THE Council takes note of Mr. Baring's report. The perusal alone of this document sufficiently demonstrates the impartial spirit which has governed its elaboration. Certain inaccuracies and exaggerations are to be observed in it, an inevitable result of the incomplete nature of the inquiry. But Mr. Baring could not have done better; given the gravity of the circumstances, it would have been difficult for him to have obtained fuller information in so short a time.

Equally unacquainted with the religious principles as with the customs and character of the people, Mr. Baring obtained his intelligence chiefly from prejudiced sources.

Hence it is natural that he was led into error in certain respects.

The author of the report states as a positive fact, that attempts were in more than in one place made upon the honour of women. Now, every society comprises persons capable of this sort of crime; it is possible that during the insurrection individual cases of an analogous kind may have taken place among the Mussulmans; but whoever is acquainted with the religious principles, the customs, and the character of Islamism, will be easily convinced that the persons of the women who fall into the hands of Mussulmans are, and remain inviolable. Witness the account which Mr. Baring has himself given of the adventure of a young girl called Raycobobova.

In that part of the report which treats of the destruction of Otlukkeuy is found the

following passage:-

"There is no doubt that a number of women have been carried off and concealed; but it is difficult to prove crimes of this nature on account of the refusal of the principal persons of the country to furnish information on the subject."

If Mr. Baring knew how severely Islamism condemns an outrage committed on a respectable woman's honour, he would have avoided advancing an erroneous opinion in so

categorical a manner.

However, this may be, the facts put forward in a document composed in such an

impartial spirit necessitate the immediate institution of a strict inquiry.

As regards the report of Mr. Schuyler, Secretary of the Legation of the United States of America, at Constantinople, we have likewise perused it. Drawn up, as appears at the first glance, entirely on the faith of the statements made by ill-disposed persons, this document nowhere mentions how much the Mussulmans were ill-treated at the outbreak of the insurrection.

It is a positive fact that during this part of the movement Mussulman children were burnt alive. Such acts of savagery cannot, in our opinion, be even laid to the charge of the Bulgarians, who have lived together with the Mussulmans for so many years. They can only have been committed under the compulsion of the perverse and pitiless men sent out by the Committees, and it is hardly to be wondered at if they have caused the Mussulmans of the neighbouring villages to arm themselves in their own defence, and to make use of severe measures of repression till the arrival of the troops. We have the right to declare that the Mussulmans have not carried, and never could carry, their vengeance so far as to burn alive any Bulgarians; a Mussulman may be guilty of murder, but he could not perpetrate the crime which Mr. Schuyler seeks to impute to him without first of all renouncing his religious ideas. Those who have spent some time in a Mussulman country and studied the customs, principles, and character of the people, will not hesitate to recognize and confirm this truth.

Concerning the attempts committed on the honour of women, we have expressed above our views on this point, in speaking of the report of Mr. Baring. The same considerations apply to the allegations of Mr. Schuyler; when a woman has fallen into the hands of Mussulmans, they could not, in whatever state of anarchy they might be, fail to rise against whichever of them attempted to violate the charge confided to the honour

of all.

But in Mr. Schuyler's report appears the following passage:—

"The authors of these barbarous acts belong for the most part to the regular army

commanded by Hafiz Pasha."

These words do not even deserve notice. All those who have any idea of what regular troops are, and of the strict discipline which reigns in the Imperial army, will not hesitate to recognize that this is a calumny contrary to reason and to common sense.

Sublime Porte, December 12, 1876.

No. 104.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report from Mr. Baring upon the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry at Philippopoli. I have made the strongest representations to Midhat and Safvet Pashas upon the conduct of Ismail Bey in placing obstructions in the way of the conclusion of the trial of Achmet Agha, which, after his recent visit to Constantinople for the purpose of receiving instructions, must have been

in open defiance of the wishes of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S. December 20.—I also inclose a further report from Mr. Baring respecting the progress of the Batak trial.

H. E.

Inclosure 1 in No. 104.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Philippopolis, December 11, 1876.

IN my despatch of the 4th instant I informed your Excellency that the public trial of Achmet Agha and other persons connected with the Batak massacre would commence on the 7th instant; since then it has, however, twice been postponed, in the first instance till Saturday, the 9th instant, and subsequently till to-day.

Ismail Bey, who returned here on the 7th instant, informed the Commission that it had no power to try Achmet Agha, as being a military man he could demand a court-martial.

This, he said, was going to be the plea set up by Ali Effendi, the counsel for the defence, but I have no hesitation in saying that the idea did not originate with that individual.

Eventually Sadoullah Bey decided to telegraph to the Porte to ask that Achmet Agha's name might be erased from the Turkish army list.

Ismail Bey's second proposition was to the effect that the accused persons should have the right of recalling any or all of the witnesses. The point was argued at great length and with considerable warmth, Sadoullah Bey and other members opposing it strongly, and the proposition was eventually rejected, the Commission reserving to itself the right of recalling any witness, if during the course of the trial it should appear desirable to clear up any particular point.

At first sight this decision seems harsh and unfair to the prisoners, but in reality it is not so, as during the course of the examinations the witnesses were invariably confronted with the persons whom their evidence affected. Moreover, the peculiar circumstances of the case must be taken into consideration. If the Bulgarian witnesses were recalled and examined in public there cannot be the smallest doubt that they would all be intimidated, and would probably deny everything they had said before.

An immense amount of time would also be lost, and instead of the Commission having really done something while the Conference was sitting it would, in all probability, be still taking evidence about the Batak massacre some six months hence.

The Counsel for the defence must naturally see that he has a bad case in hand, and simply in order to gain time he would insist upon every witness being recalled and re-examined, and in some instances men would have to be brought from Novrokop, which at this time of the year is a journey of five days.

As, therefore, I considered that important issues depended upon the rejection of this proposition, I opposed it as strongly as I possibly could, and told Ismail Bey that I regretted extremely that he should have thought fit to bring forward a proposal, the effect of which would be to render nugatory the labours on which the Commission have been engaged for the last two months.

Ismail Bey has left for Slimnia with Abro Effendi to inquire into Shevket Pasha's

conduct at Boyadjikeui.

This morning the public trial commenced; but, as no answer had been received from the Porte about Achmet Agha, it was decided that the case of Achmet Tchaousch, of Karaboulak, should be tried first.

After the reading of the necessary documents, Ali Effendi commenced his speech for the defence. He dwelt upon the serious nature of the insurrection at Batak, which threatened all the loyal subjects of the Sultan alike, and declared that excesses committed

in its suppression could not be considered as crimes.

The charge upon which it is sought to convict the prisoner is that he caused to be massacred some 250 of the inhabitants of Batak, who were delivered over to him after the village had been pretty well all burnt and pillaged. He was the chief of a considerable band of Bashi-Bazouks, and may be, perhaps, looked upon in some way as Achmet Agha's lieutenant

Unfortunately, in the copy of the summary which was given to Ali Effendi, by the omission of a single word, it was made to appear that these 250 people were handed over to one Bashi-Bazouk! Ali Effendi consequently asked how it was possible that a single individual could slaughter so many people. The original document was referred to and the mistake discovered, upon which Ali Effendi declared that he could not accept his copy, as it was incorrect, and that he must examine the depositions. The Commission was obliged to accept his demand, and the trial was postponed till Wednesday, the 13th instant.

Two deaths under suspicious circumstances occurred some days ago at Peroustitza, and the official "Mazbata" sent to the Commission not being satisfactory, I induced Sadoullah Bey to send an official to the village to make an inquiry. As I was unable to leave myself, I requested Mr. Calvert to take my place, and he will report fully on the subject to your Excellency.

Whatever may be the result of the inquiry, I fear these deaths will have an extremely bad effect upon the villagers, who will now be more afraid than ever of giving evidence which might lead to the arrest of a Turk. And this circumstance more than anything else led me to make a strong opposition to Ismail Bey's proposal which I have mentioned

above.

I regret to have to report several deeds of violence. The other day an old man came to the Commission with a severe wound in the wrist, inflicted by a zaptieh at Palanka, a place some five hours from Tatar Bazardjik. This guardian of the public peace stole the old man's cat, and when the latter came to claim it back, cut him down with his sword. The Bulgarian went to Bazardjik to complain, but was driven away from the Konak by the zaptiehs. The Commission ordered the arrest of the delinquent, who will be tried here.

At Ayvadjik, in the Caza of Philippopoli, some Turks entered the house of a Bulgarian and stole 3,000 piastres.

A Bulgarian peasant has been found murdered on the road between this place and

Bazardiik.

Mr. Stoney, who returned some days ago from a tour through some of the villages, tells me that, up to the 1st instant, at Zindjirli, 102 houses had been finished by the authorities out of 117. In this village the officials employed by the Commission have done their duty well.

At Tcheumlek Yenikeui the Government had finished 37 houses and begun 47, while

the villagers on their own account constructed 31.

At Krastovo the Government had finished 20 houses and begun 9, while the villagers had built 7.

At Strildja only about 20 houses had been finished out of 282 burnt, and great misery prevailed there.

At Leshnik 53 houses had been constructed, and at Ouzoun-Gheren 59, up to the 3rd ultimo.

Mr. Clarke informs me that, up to the 18th ultimo, 70 houses were finished at Batak, 87 were inhabited but not completed, 52 only had the rafters on, and the walls of 26 others had been run up.

In all this building work so much depends upon the character of the individual

employed by the Commission as overseer. At Zindjirli the officials are energetic and the work is progressing rapidly: at Klissoura, on the contrary, the overseer is an obstinate fanatical Turk, and consequently next to nothing has been done.

Hamdi Bey has resigned his seat in the Commission and left for Constantinople this

morning; he is replaced by Pertew Effendi.

I had hoped that by this time some more of the Bulgarian prisoners would have been set at liberty, but I am sorry to say such has not been the case, and I am now told that the Commission has been obliged to refer the matter to the Porte for decision.

I have, &c. WALTER BARING. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 104.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopolis, December 15, 1876. Sir, THE second public trial of the prisoners implicated in the Batak affair was held yesterday, all of them being brought up except Achmet Tchaoush, of Dorkovo, who was

At the commencement of the sitting, the President informed the counsel for the defence that the Porte had decided that Achmet Agha should be tried by the Commission, and not by court-martial.

The summary of the cases of all the five prisoners was then read.

Ali Effendi, the counsel for the defence, then asked whether all the witnesses had been sworn, saying that he thought that, in many cases, the formality had been neglected. He cited the depositions of Kouroujon Selim, the Albanian guard of Batak, and said that, when he was sworn, he had spoken in favour of Achmet Agha, and against him when he was not sworn; the evidence could not, therefore, be relied upon.

The depositions were referred to and it was seen that Selim had been sworn.

Achmet Agha, on being asked if he had anything to say, made a long address, which was chiefly a defence, not of himself, but of his son, Mollah Ali, who is unfortunately not in custody. It has been stated by several witnesses, that Kavlak Angel, and other Tchorbajis, went to Mollah Ali, and told him the people were willing to give up their arms, and that Achmet Agha, on hearing this, came to the place where his son was.

This Achmet denies, stating that his son had left before the fighting began. He also denied that the arms had been given up, saying that the forty or fifty guns, &c., which had been handed over to the authorities had been taken from the dead. He denied the charges of pillaging, and that he had distributed the stolen cattle. This last fact is proved by a letter found on Alish Pehlivan, who, however, of course, stoutly denies its accuracy.

At this point Ali Effendi, being called upon to go on with the defence of Achmet Agha, replied that he was not prepared to do so, as he had imagined that the case of Achmet Tchaoush of Kara Boulak would be taken first, and he asked for two days' more time for each prisoner.

This application the Commission very properly refused, as more than a week ago Ali Effendi himself said that he was ready with his defence. Subsequently, however, as it was getting late, he was told that there would be no sitting to-day (Friday), and that he must be ready by to-morrow morning.

The zaptieh mentioned in my despatch of the 11th instant, as having wounded a man at Palanka, was arrested and sent to Bazardjik, but managed to escape. A telegram,

however, received to-day by Sadoulah Bey, states that he has been recaptured.

The greater portion of to-day was occupied in examining Mehemet Agha, of Nevrokop, who is supposed to be implicated in the Batak affair, though he himself declares that he only brought some ammunition to the outskirts of the village, and then left immediately. He was confronted with Achmet Agha, but nothing of any great importance was elicited.

I may here cite an instance to show how difficult it is for the Commission to get

criminals arrested, and how disgracefully the officers of zaptiehs perform their duties.

The arrest of a man named Fetha Pehlivan of Nevrokop had been ordered, and the Yuzbashi of that place, having found him, put him under the charge of a wretched old Arab zaptieh, never even taking the precaution of disarming him, the natural consequence being that he soon parted company from his guard, who was in a mortal terror of him.

The man bears an extremely bad character, and is, moreover, a fugitive of conscription, both of which facts were perfectly well known to the Yuzbashi, and one is rather at a loss to know whether he wished to connive at Fetha's escape, or whether he only displayed negligence.

(Signed)

W. BARING.

No. 105.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 19, 1876.
MIDHAT PASHA has been appointed Grand Vizier in the place of Mehemet Ruchdi
Pasha.

The importance of this appointment at this moment is very great. Midhat Pasha is, beyond question, the most energetic and liberal of the Turkish statesmen, and a man of action, although his decisions are sometimes hasty.

He has always advocated the equality of Mussulmans and Christians, and wishes for a constitutional control over the power of the Grand Vizier as well as of the Sultan.

He is opposed to centralisation, and in favour of giving the provincial populations much control over their local affairs.

He has at times spoken strongly to me against the grant of special institutions in the Slav Provinces; but he is a man who listens to argument, and may perhaps be brought to see the necessity of it under present circumstances.

He is disliked by the old Mussulman party, but is regarded as the hope of the Mussulman reformers and of the Christians.

He used formerly always to wish to follow the advice of Her Majesty's Government, but I am not aware what his feelings towards England are at this moment.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 106.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 21, 1876.

IN compliance with your Lordship's despatch of the 16th ultimo, I conveyed to Mr. Consul Blunt your approval of the steps which he had taken for the restoration to their homes of the women and children that had been carried away from Batak, and were supposed to be detained in the district of Salonica.

In the letter which I now have the honour to inclose, Mr. Blunt reports his further proceedings in this matter, and states that the Turkish authorities have displayed much anxiety and perseverance in endeavouring to restore the captives, and he appears to believe that their release will be more easily obtained were those who are detaining them assured of being leniently dealt with.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 106.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Constantinople, December 16, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Derby's despatch to your

Excellency of the 16th ultimo, approving of the steps which I have taken for the restoration of the Bulgarian women and children who have been carried away from Batak, and who are supposed to be detained at Nevrocop and other districts in the Vilayet of Salonica.

In continuation of my preceding Reports upon this subject, I have the honour to submit herewith inclosed to your Excellency a translated copy of a letter which I have received from Eshref Pasha, Vali of Salonica, in answer to renewed and urgent representations which I addressed to his Excellency in behalf of these unfortunate people.

I also inclose a translated copy of a letter of instructions (Bouyourldi) which the Vali

has addressed to the subordinate Provincial Governors through two Delegates appointed by him, at my suggestion, for the purpose of making searching inquiries after these people in the districts where it is supposed they are concealed.

I should also inform your Excellency of my having been told by the Pasha of Salonica that Ali Bey, the Mutessarif of Drama, has been recalled, and a more efficient Governor

appointed in his stead.

I deem it my duty to bring under the notice of your Excellency the sincerity and perseverance with which Eshref Pasha continues his endeavours to obtain the restitution of these captives, but I am afraid that one of the chief obstacles which interfere with his efforts in this direction is the dread entertained by those who detain these captives of a severe punishment.

Were they to have the impression that, if not pardoned, they would at least be leniently treated, they would probably be more ready to restore them to the authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 106.

Eshref Pasha to Consul Blunt.

(Traduction.)
Mon honorable Ami,

Le 25 Novembre, 1876.

AYANT été informé de votre part, ainsi que par d'autres sources, que pendant les événements de Bulgarie on a enlevé du village de Batak plusieurs enfants et qu'on les a fait passer clandestinement aux alentours de Nevrocop et de Drama, et comme c'est un sujet de grande importance auprès du Gouvernement Impérial que de pareils enfants, s'il y en a, soient découverts et remis à leurs parents qui se trouvent dans leur pays, nous avions écrit itérativement d'une manière péremptoire et catégorique au Mutessariflik de Sérés et de Drama à l'effet que s'il y a de pareils enfants qu'on fasse tout ce qu'on peut pour les retrouver et qu'on les envoie à la Commission ad hoc qui a été formée à Philippopoli et qu'on punisse d'une manière exemplaire ceux qui osent faire évader ces enfants et les cacher chez eux.

Dans les réponses que j'ai reçues on m'informait qu'il n'y avait pas de pareils enfants dans ces contrées là. Cependant tout dernièrement ayant reçu l'avis de la part du susdit Mutessarislik, ainsi que de votre part, qu'on venait de découvrir au district de Sari-Shahan deux enfants qui furent expédiés au chef-lieu du Mutessariflik, je les avais fait venir ici, après communication préalable avec le Mutessariflik, et je les ai expédiés à la capitale. En même temps étant à présumer qu'il y avait encore de tels enfants j'avais écrit de nouveau d'une manière énergique et péremptoire, tant au Mutessarislik de Drama qu'à celui de Sérés, en leur intimant de faire de nouveau les investigations les plus complètes et les plus minutieuses afin de porter à la lumière, par tous les moyens possibles, les cas comme le précédent, s'il s'en trouve encore, et de punir ceux qui avaient fait évader les susdits deux enfants. Il est vrai que là dessus j'ai reçu la réponse comme quei, malgré les recherches minutieuses on n'a pas pu découvrir d'autres filles ou garçons, cependant, comme il est d'une importance majeure que le Gouverneur-Général de la Province soit complètement satisfait que toutes les mesures possibles ont été prises pour atteindre le but que l'on a en vue et bien que les membres de la Commission qui est arrivée de Philippopoli ainsi que les délégués qui ont été nommés à Sérés, aient pris les mesures les plus efficaces et qu'ils y aient fait les investigations les plus complètes, je n'ai pas manqué de mon côté pour plus de sûreté d'envoyer aussi un délégué ad hoc pour le Sandjak de Sérés et de faire nommer à Drama deux hommes de confiance avec mission de faire rechercher dans chaque district et village, de prendre les enfants partout où ils les trouvent, et de les envoyer à l'autorité locale accompagnés de ceux qui ont osé les enlever. même temps des ordres séparés conçus dans le style le plus péremptoire et catégorique ont été adressés aux deux Mutessarifliks en question en leur intimant d'accorder main forte et assistance aux susdits délégués dans toutes mesures qu'ils croiraient à propos de prendre, et j'ai de nouveau écrit au Mutessarif de Drama par rapport à la punition de ceux qui avaient fait évader les susdits deux enfants. En un mot, le Gouvernement du Vilavet a pris les mesures les plus complètes et les plus efficaces par rapport à cette affaire. Je conclus en vous priant d'avoir la bonté, en cas qu'il vous arriverait d'être informé qu'il y a de pareils enfants, filles, ou garçons, soit dans le Sandjak de Sérés soit dans celui de Drama, et qu'ils se trouvent en tel ou tel endroit, de m'en faire part et je vous en serai bien obligé.

Je saisis, &c.

(Translation.)

My Honourable Friend,

November 25, 1876.

HAVING been informed by you as well as from other sources that during the events in Bulgaria there were several children carried off from the village of Batak, and that they were conveyed clandestinely to the neighbourhood of Nevrokop and Drama, and as it is a matter of great importance to the Imperial Government that such children, if there be any, should be discovered and sent home to their relations, we have written repeatedly in a peremptory and categorical manner to the Mutessariflik of Sérés and Drama to the effect that if there are such children every endeavour must be made to find them, and that they must be sent to the Commission ad hoc which has been formed at Philippopolis, and that those who ventured to carry off these children and conceal them

should meet with an exemplary punishment.

In the answers I have received I am informed that there are no such children in those Quite latterly, however, on information from the above-mentioned Mutessariflik and from you that they had discovered in the district of Sari-Shahan two children, who were sent to the chief town of the Mutessariflik, I caused them to be brought here, after previously communicating with the Mutessariflik, and I have sent them to the capital. At the same time, on the presumption that there were yet more children, I wrote again energetically and peremptorily both to the Mutessarislik of Drama and of Sérés, telling them to again institute most complete and searching inquiries, so as to bring to light by all possible means cases like the preceding one, if there are still any such, and to punish those who had carried off the above-mentioned two children. It is true that on this I received the reply that, in spite of minute researches, no more girls or boys could be found. Still, as it is of great importance that the Governor-General of the province should be completely satisfied that all possible measures have been taken to attain the end in view, and though the members of the Commission which has arrived at Philippopolis, as well as delegates nominated at Sérés, have taken the most effective measures, and have made the most complete inquiries, I have not failed, as an additional precaution on my part, to send a delegate also ad hoc for the Sandjak of Sérés, and have appointed two confidential agents at Drama, with instructions to search each district and village, to take charge of the children wherever they find them, and to send them to the local authority with the persons who dared to carry them off. At the same time separate orders of the most peremptory and categorical nature have been addressed to the two Mutessarifliks in question, telling them to give their aid and assistance to the abovementioned delegates in all measures they saw fit to take; and I have again written to the Mutessarif of Drama regarding the punishment of those who carried off the two children alluded to above. Briefly, the Government of the vilayet has taken in regard to this matter most complete and efficacious steps. I conclude by begging you, if you should happen to be informed of the existence of such children, girls or boys, either in the Sandjak of Sérés or in that of Drama, and where they can be found, to have the goodness to inform me of the fact, and I shall be much beholden to you.

(Signed) ESHREF.

Inclosure 3 in No. 106.

Orders addressed to Provincial Governors by Eshref Pasha.

PAR le présent Bouyourouldi (ordre) nous faisons savoir à toi M. , qui en est porteur, et aux Caïmacams, Naibs, Muftis, et Membres des Conseils Administratifs des districts qui se trouvent dans le Sandjak de , qu'en vue de rechercher et de découvrir les enfants mâles et femelles dérobés pendant les derniers événements de Bulgarie et emportés clandestinement aux alentours de Drama et de Sérès; d'après les informations reçues nous avons nommé comme délégués spéciaux, Tahir Omer pour Drama, et Sadik Bey pour Sérès, tous deux notables de l'endroit, et nous les avons envoyés sur les lieux.

En présence des difficultés que les événements en question ont déjà causés, cette affaire de l'enlèvement des enfants est devenue une matière de première importance auprès du Gouvernement, nécessitant la prise des mesures les plus sévères et les plus efficaces, telle que l'envoi des délégués en question et autres. Nous espérons bien que tous les employés du Gouvernement et en général tous les sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan s'empresseront d'accorder aux susdits délégués aide et assistance dans les recherches qu'ils vont faire et dans les mesures qu'ils croiront à propos de prendre, et que tous ceux qui possèdent une information quelconque par rapport aux enfants enlevés et cachés, en feront

part aux susnommés. Cependant si le contraire arrivait, c'est-à-dire, si d'un district quelconque on répondait qu'il n'y a point là d'enfants enlevés et cachés et l'on venait à découvrir plus tard qu'il y en a, tous les employés depuis le Caïmacam jusqu'au Mouhtar du village, chacun selon son degré d'autorité, assumerait une très grave responsabilité, et comme les susdits délégués ont les pleins pouvoirs du Gouvernement, toute plainte de leur part ne saurait que rencontrer auprès de nous un accueil efficace. Conséquemment toi qui es le délégué sus-nommé tu es requis d'exécuter dans ce sens ta mission, et vous Caïmacams et autres à qui cet ordre s'adresse ne manquez pas d'accorder votre assistance et co-opération afin d'atteindre le but que l'on a en vue d'après ce qui vous a été expliqué ici-dessus. En foi de quoi le présent Bouyourouldi a été émané de la part du Gouverneur-Général de Salonique.

(Translation.)

BY the present Bouyouruldi (order) we make known to you M. , the bearer, and to the Caïmakams, Naibs, Muftis, and members of the Administrative Councils of the districts in the Sandjak of , that with a view to searching for and discovering the male or female children who were stolen during the recent events in Bulgaria, and clandestinely conveyed to the neighbourhood of Drama and Sérés, from information received, we have named, as special delegates, Tahir Omer, for Drama, and Sadik Bey, for Sérés, both distinguished in the district, and we have dispatched them to the spot.

In presence of the difficulties which the events in question have already given rise to, the question of the abduction of these children has become a matter of great importance to the Government, necessitating the adoption of the most severe and efficacious measures, such as the despatch of the delegates in question and others. We trust that all the employés of the Government, and all the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan in general, will do their utmost to give their aid and assistance to the above-mentioned delegates in the researches they are about to make, and in the measures they shall think fit to take, and that all who are in possession of any information relating to the children who have been carried off and concealed, will communicate it to the above-named persons. However, if, on the contrary, that is to say, if, in some district, an answer was returned that there were no children carried off and concealed there, and, later on, it was found that there were, all the employés from the Kaïmakam to the Mouktar of the village, each according to the extent of his authority, would incur a very grave responsibility; and as the above delegates have full powers from the Government, any complaints made by them would be thoroughly investigated by us. Consequently you, the delegate abovenamed, are required to carry out your mission in this sense; and you, Caïmakams and others, to whom this order is addressed, do not fail to grant your assistance and cooperation to secure the end in view in conformity with the above explanations. In faith of which the present Bouyourouldi has been issued by the Governor-General of Salonica.

No. 107.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Pera, December 17, 1876.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy of the proposed arrangement for the future Government of the provinces of Bulgaria, which was agreed to, provisionally, by the Plenipotentiaries at the preliminary Conference yesterday.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Provisional Arrangement of Preliminary Conference.

December 16, 1876.

IL sera formé en deux provinces (vilayets) jouissant chacune d'une certaine autonomie locale les territoires suivants:—

La Province Orientale, qui aura pour chef-lieu Tirnova, sera composée des Sandjaks de Roustchouk, Tirnova, Toultcha, Varna, Slivno, Philippopoli (excepté Sultan-Yeri et Aschir Tschelebi), et des Cazas de Kirk Kilisse, Moustapha Pacha, et Kizil Agatch.

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La Province Occidentale, qui aura pour chef-lieu Sofia, sera composée des Sandjaks de Sofia, Nisch, Uskup, Widdin, du Caza de Bitolia, une partie de Sérès (trois cazas du nord), et des Cazas de Kourousch, Dorian, Stroumnitza, Tiksitch, Velessa et Kastoria.

A la tête de chacune des provinces sera placé un Gouverneur-Général (Vali) qui sera nommé pour un terme de cinq ans par la Porte d'accord avec les Puissances

En cas de mort ou de démission du Gouverneur-Général ses fonctions seront provisoirement remplies par un des Préfets Chrétiens, désigné à cet effet par la Porte.

Le Gouverneur-Général représentera l'autorité suprème, et veillera à l'exécution des lois de l'Empire et du règlement spécial de la province de l'Empire. Il ne pourra être destitué que par arrêt de la Cour d'Appel.

Il sera Chrétien at pourra être étranger ou sujet Ottoman.

Assemblée Provinciale.—Le Gouverneur Général (Vali) administrera la province avec le concours d'une Assemblée Provinciale dont les membres, sans distinction de race et de culte, seront librement élus pour un terme de quatre ans par les Conseils Cantonaux groupés par arrondissements, comme il va être expliqué plus bas et en dehors de toute ingérence gouvernementale.

Les plaintes qui surgiraient relativement aux élections seront résolues par l'Assemblée

elle-même.

Les arrondissements électoraux des Conseils Cantonaux seront formés par la réunion de plusieurs cantons. Ils devront compter en moyenne de 30,000 à 40,000 habitants. Chaque groupe ainsi constitué nommera un député.

Seront électeurs et éligibles-

1. Tous les habitants de la Province à partir de l'âge de vingt-cinq ans possédant une propriété ou payant une contribution quelconque.

2. Le clergé et les ministres des différents cultes.

3. Les professeurs et maîtres d'école.

L'Assemblée se réunira une fois par an pour examiner le Budget de la Province, repartir les contributions, contrôler les dépenses, et s'occuper en général des intérêts administratifs, financiers, commerciaux, agricoles, et d'instruction publique de la Province.

Les délibérations de l'Assemblée seront publiques.

Compte-rendu financier annuel soumis à l'Assemblée et à la Porte.—L'Assemblée nommera pour trois ans une Commission de Permanence, qui servira de Conseil Administratif auprès du Gouverneur-Général. Les chefs des communautés religieuses reconnues seront de droit membres de ce Conseil.

Il y aura au moins un membre de ce Conseil Administratif en chaque sandjak (département); mais ce Conseil ne pourra être composé de plus de dix membres. Ils auront un traitement fixe. Le Gouverneur-Général prendre l'avis du Conseil Administratif dans tous les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires.

L'unité administrative sera le canton (Nahié, Mudirlik) avec 5,000 à 10,000 habitants.

En se tenant autant que possible aux divisions administratives existantes, on tâchera de grouper les Chrétiens et les Musulmans en cantons distincts.

Le canton sera administré par un maire, élu pour quatre ans, parmi les membres du Conseil Cantonal, par le Conseil lui-même.

Le Conseil Cantonal sera composé des représentants de chaque commune, qui seront élus sans distinction de religion.

La commune conservera l'organisation qu'elle a actuellement.

Toutes les questions relatives aux intérêts du canton (telles que repartition et perception de certaines contributions, qui seront jugées de sa compétence par la Commission de Surveillance, les voies de communication, &c.) seront du ressort des Conseils du Canton.

Les villes et les bourgs ayant une population de plus de 10,000 habitants auront des 'institutions municipales analogues à celles des cantons.

Le Conseil Cantonal se réunira une fois par mois. Deux de ses membres désignés par le Conseil pour quatre ans assisteront le maire dans ses fonctions.

Départements (Sandjaks).—Plusieurs cantons (mudirlik) seront réunis en sandjaks (départements), gouvernés par les Mutessarifs ou Caimacam (Gouverneurs), qui seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans, selon la majorité de la population du sandjak, et nommés par la Porte sur la proposition du Gouverneur-Général (Vali) et de son Conseil Administratif.

Leur tâche sera de surveiller l'ordre et la marche des affaires dans les Conseils

Cantonáux.

Le Gouverneur (Mutessarif) aura une chancellerie et deux consellers, nommés par le

Gouverneur-Général sur une liste de candidats en nombre double formée par l'Assemblée Provinciale.

En attendant qu'un règlement de justice spécial soit élaboré par la Commission de Surveillance les Tribunaux seront organisés de la façon suivante:—

La justice de paix sera provisoirement confiée au maire et à ses deux conseillers.

Première instance.—Compétence de 1,000 piastres et en cause pénale des contraventions.

Deuxième instance.—5,000 piastres.

Les Juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels retribués convenablement seront nommés par le Gouverneur-Général, une moitié sur une liste dressée à cet effet par l'Assemblée Provinciale, qui contiendra le double des noms des candidats, et l'autre, qui contiendra la moitié avec l'assentiment de la Commission de Surveillance. Ces derniers pourront être prise en dehors de la Province à condition de posséder des connaissances juridiques suffisantes.

L'élément Européen pourra y être introduit. Dans ce cas le juge Européen sera muni d'un certificat, émanant d'une autorité juridique compétente et justifiant de ses connaissances en matière de droit.

Les juges seront nommés pour trois ans. Après ce temps ils pourront être confirmés dans leurs fonctions, et dans ce cas ils deviendront inamovibles; mais si leur conduite judiciaire n'est pas à la hauteur de leurs fonctions, ils pourront être destitués par la Cour d'Appel.

Les membres et le Président de la Cour d'Appel seront nommés par la Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances garantes. Ils devront justifier des connaissances nécessaires. Par la durée elle sera la même que pour les Juges des Tribunaux.

Les juges pourront être Chrétiens ou Musulmans et statueront sur la base du Code Ottoman.

Les Tribunaux de Paix baseront leurs décisions sur les us et coutumes existants en tant qu'ils ne sont pas en contradiction directe avec les lois écrites.

Les Tribunaux connaîtront toutes les causes civiles et pénales, sauf appel à la Haute Cour d'Appel instituée dans le chef-lieu de la Province.

Les séances des Tribunaux seront publiques et l'enquête judiciaire sera obligatoire.

Les causes appartenant spécialement à une confession quelconque seront de la juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques de la communauté, et les décisions rendues par elles seront considérées comme exécutoires.

Culte.—Il y aura une entière liberté de culte. L'entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique sera à la charge de chaque communauté.

Il ne pourra être porté aucune entrave à la construction des édifices religieux et à l'exercice des cérémonies du culte.

Le Gouvernement Ottoman ne pourra en aucune façon s'immiscer dans les affaires concernant le culte et l'instruction publique des communautés.

Langue.—La langue Bulgare étant la langue dominante du pays sera employé au même titre que la langue Turque dans les Tribunaux et l'administration du pays. Dans les cantons où l'usage de la langue Grecque est générale, les autorités cantonales pourront s'en servir.

Finances.—Le système de perception et de répartition des impôts sera modifié en vue de faciliter le développement des richesses du pays, en allégeant toutefois les charges qui pèsent sur les populations.

Le "bedeli askerié" n'atteindra que les hommes valides de vingt à quarante ans qui n'entreraient pas dans la milice locale.

Le paiement des arriérés jusqu'au 1er Janvier, 1877, ne sera point exigé.

Les douanes, postes et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et les spiritueux et la régie ne dependront des autorités provinciales que suivant les règles observées actuellement dans le reste de l'Empire.

La répartition de la perception de toutes les autres contributions seront réglées par l'Assemblée Provinciale et par les Conseils Cantonaux.

Le devoir de la province et des cantons sera de pourvoir aux nécessités de l'instruction.

Ils s'imposeront spécialement pour la création et l'entretien des écoles.

L'autorité administrative ne pourra y mettre aucune entrave.

Le Vali et l'Assemblée Provinciale fixeront d'un commun accord chaque cinq ans la somme nominale de revenus de la province en tenant compte, autant que possible, de recettes des dix dernières années et de l'augmentation de la prospérité. Une somme à déterminer par la Commission de Surveillance, et n'excédant pas les 30 pour cent des revenus de la province, sera versée dans les succursales de la Banque Ottomane, pour être

affectée au paiement de la Dette Publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement central. Le

reste des revenus sera destiné aux besoins intérieurs de la province.

Milice.—L'armée régulière Ottomane sera cantonée dans les forteresses et dans les villes principales. Elle sera destinée à la défense extérieure du pays, et ne pourra être employée dans l'intérieur qu'en cas de guerre ou sur la demande du Gouverneur-Général de la province.

Pour maintenir l'ordre intérieur il y aura une milice locale Chrétienne formée par voie de conscription, et entretenue aux frais de la province. Elle sera sous les ordres du Gouverneur-Général, qui en désignera les officiers, sans distinction de religion ni de nationalité.

Il est bien entendu que la milice, étant destinée à maintenir l'ordre dans la province, ne

pourra pas, par conséquent, être envoyée au delà des limites de la province.

La police, qui sera formée par les Gouverneurs, et entretenue aux frais de la province, se composera d'habitants choisis sur des listes dressées dans les Conseils Cantonaux. Le nombre des gendarmes, Chrétiens et Musulmans, sera proportionné au nombre des habitants.

Le chef et les officiers de police seront désignés par le Gouverneur-Général, sans distinction de religion ni de nationalité.

(Translation.)

THE following territories are to be formed into two provinces (vilayets), each one

enjoying a certain local autonomy:—

The Eastern Province, having for chief town Tirnova, shall be composed of the Sandjaks of Roustchouk, Tirnova, Toultcha, Varna, Slivno, Philippopolis (Sultan-Yeri and Aschir Tschelebi), and the Cazas Kirk Kilisse, Moustapha Pasha, and Kizil Agatch.

The Western Province, having for chief town Sofia, shall be composed of the Sandjaks of Sofia, Nisch, Uskup, Widdin, of the Caza of Bitolia, part of Sérès, three Cazas on the north and the Cazas of Kourousch, Dorian, Stroumnitza, Tiksitch, Velessa, and Kastoria.

At the head of each of the provinces a Governor-General (Vali) shall be placed, nominated for a term of five years by the Porte, in agreement with the Guaranteeing Powers.

In case of the death or resignation of the Governor-General, his office to be temporarily filled by one of the Christian Prefects, chosen for this purpose by the Porte.

The Governor-General will represent the highest authority, and will carry out the execution of the laws of the Empire, and the special supervision of the province of the Empire. He cannot be deprived except by sentence from the Court of Appeal.

He must be Christian, and either a stranger or Ottoman subject.

Provincial Assembly.—The Governor-General (Vali) will administer the affairs of the province with the co-operation of a Provincial Assembly, of which the members without distinction of race or form of worship shall be freely elected for a term of four years by the Cantonal Councils, taken by arrondissements, as will be explained further on, and apart from all Government interference.

The complaints which may arise relating to the elections will be settled by the Assembly itself.

The electoral arrondissements of the Cantonal Councils to be formed by the amalgamation of several cantons.

They ought to be calculated on an average of from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants.

Every group thus formed shall appoint a deputy.

Those who may be electors, or eligible as such, are as follows:—

- 1. All the inhabitants of the province from twenty-five years of age, who possess property or pay any contribution whatever.
 - 2. The clergy and ministers of different forms of worship.
 - 3. Professors and schoolmasters.

The Assembly will meet once a-year to examine the Budget of the province, apportion the contributions, control the expenses, and occupy itself generally with matters concerning the interest of administration, finance, commerce, agriculture, and the public instruction of the province.

The deliberations of the Assembly shall be held in public.

Minutes of the Yearly Financial Proceedings submitted to the Assembly and to the Porte.

The Assembly shall choose a Permanent Commission for three years to serve as Administrative Council to the Governor-General.

The chiefs of the religious communities shall be by right members of this Council.

There shall be at least one member of the Administrative Council in each sandjak (department); but the Council must not be composed of more than ten members. They shall have a fixed salary.

The Governor-General shall take the advice of the Council of Administration in any case which exceeds the boundary of the legal and regularly-defined provisions.

The unit for administrative purposes shall be the canton (Nahié, Mudirlik) with from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.

In adhering as closely as possible to the administrative divisions in existence, care must be taken to group the Christians and Mussulmans in distinct cantons.

The Canton to be administered by a Mayor elected for four years from amongst the members of the Cantonal Council by the Council itself.

The Cantonal Council shall be composed of the representatives of each commune, to be elected without distinction of religion.

The commune will preserve the organization which it has at present.

All questions relating to the interests of the canton (such as assessment and collection of certain contributions which shall be judged by the Commission of Superintendence within their competence, the ways of communication, &c.), shall belong to the Councils of the Canton.

The towns and boroughs having a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants shall have municipal institutions analogous to those of the cantons.

The Cantonal Council will meet once a month. Two of its members appointed by

the Council for four years shall assist the Mayor in discharging his duties.

Departments (sandjaks).—Several cantons (Mudirlik) shall meet in the sandjaks (departments) governed by the Mutessarifs or Kaïmakams (Governors), who shall be Christians or Mussulmans, according to the proportion of the majority of the population of the sandjak, and named by the Porte on the proposition of the Governor-General (Vali) and his Administrative Council.

Their task will be to superintend the order and progress of affairs in the Cantonal Councils.

The Governor (Mutessarif) will have a chancery and two Councillors named by the Governor-General from a duplicate list of candidates formed by the Provincial Assembly.

Pending the drawing up of a special code of laws by the Commission of Superintendence, the Tribunals shall be organized in the following manner:—

The office of Justice of the Peace shall be provisionally confided to a Mayor and his two Councillors.

First Instance: Jurisdiction to the extent of 1,000 piastres and, in penal cases, petty offences.

Second Instance: 5,000 piastres.

The Judges of the Civil and Criminal Tribunals receiving suitable remunerations shall be nominated by the Governor-General, half being on a list drawn up to that effect by the Provincial Assembly, which shall contain a duplicate list of the candidates' names; and the other part to contain half, with the consent of the Commission of Superintendance. These latter may be chosen outside the Province, on the condition of their possessing sufficient legal knowledge.

The European element may be introduced. In this case the European Judge shall be furnished with a certificate emanating from a competent legal authority, and certifying

his knowledge in legal matters.

The Judges shall be appointed for three years. After this time they can be confirmed in their posts, and this being once done, they will become permanent; but if they are not fitted for their posts, they can be deprived by the Court of Appeal.

The members and President of the Court of Appeal shall be named by the Porte, with the consent of the Guaranteeing Powers. They ought to give proof of sufficient acquirements. In course of time it will be the same as for the Judges of Tribunals.

The Judges may be Christians or Mussulmans, and shall take the Ottoman Code as their bases.

The Tribunals of Peace will base their decisions on the usages and customs existing as long as they are not in direct opposition to the written laws.

The Tribunals will take cognizance of all the causes, both civil and penal, excepting the application to the High Court of Appeal instituted in the chief town of the province.

The sittings of the Tribunals shall be public, and the judicial inquiry shall be

obligatory.

The causes belonging specially to any religion shall be under the exclusive jurisdic-

tion of the ecclesiastic authorities of the community, and the conclusion arrived at by them shall be considered as binding.

Worship.—There shall be entire freedom as to worship. The salaries of the clergy and the keeping up of religious establishments and public instruction shall be at the charge of each community.

No hindrance is to be thrown in the way of constructing religious buildings and of

exercising the rites of worship.

The Ottoman Government shall have no power to interfere in any way with the affairs

of public worship or with the instruction of the communities.

Language.—The Bulgarian being the prevailing language of the country, shall be put on the same level as the Turkish language in the Tribunals and the administration of the country. In those cantons in which the Greek language is general, the cantonal authorities can make use of it.

-The system of levying and distributing the taxes shall be modified, with Finance.the object of facilitating the development of the riches of the country, alleviating at the same time the charges which burden the people.

The "bedeli askérié" shall only fall on able-bodied men of from twenty to forty years

of age, who do not enter the local militia.

The payment of arrears up to 1st January, 1877, shall not be exacted.

The Customs, Post-offices, and Telegraphic arrangements, the taxes on tobacco and spirituous liquors, and the excise shall not be controlled by the provincial authorities, except in accordance with the regulations at the time in force throughout the rest of the Empire.

The assessment and the levying of all the other taxes shall be regulated by the Provincial Assembly, and by the Cantonal Councils. The province and the Cantons shall be bound to provide for the needs of education. They shall rate themselves specially for the creation and maintenance of schools.

The administrative authority shall not be able to put any hindrance in the carrying out of these matters.

The Vali and the Provincial Assembly shall give by common consent every five years, the nominal sum of the revenues of the province, taking into account, as far as possible, the receipts of the last ten years, and the increase of prosperity. A sum to be determined by the Commission of Supervision, and not exceeding 30 per cent. on the revenues of the provinces, shall be deposited in the branches of the Ottoman Bank, to be applied to the payment of the Public Debt, and to provide for the wants of the Central Government. The remainder of the revenues shall be devoted to the internal wants of the province

Militia.—The regular Ottoman army shall be quartered in the fortresses and in the It shall be used for the external defence of the country, and shall principal towns. only be employed in the interior in case of war, or at the request of the Governor-General

of the province.

To maintain internal order there shall be a local Christian militia formed by conscription and maintained at the expense of the province. It shall be under the orders of the Governor-General, who shall choose the officers without distinction of religion or nationality.

It is well understood that the militia, being destined to maintain order in the province,

cannot in consequence be sent beyond the limits of the province.

The police, which shall be formed by the Governors, and maintained at the expense of the province, shall be composed of inhabitants chosen from the lists drawn up by the Cantonal Councils. The number of gendarmes, Christian and Mussulman, will be in proportion to the number of the inhabitants.

The chief and the officers of the police shall be chosen by the Governor-General

without distinction of religion or nationality.

No. 108.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Pera, December 21, 1876. I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that, at the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries held yesterday, the following changes were made in the provisional agreement for Bulgaria, of which a copy is inclosed in my despatch of the 17th instant.

It was arranged that the militia should include Mussulmans as well as Christians, in proportion to the respective numbers of the population belonging to the two religions.

It was also agreed that, if objection were taken by the Turks to the stipulation that the Governors of the Provinces should be necessarily Christian, this condition should only

be insisted upon for the first nomination.

There will be two Commissions: one for Bosnia, and one for the Bulgarian Vilayets; an arrangement which is rendered necessary by the state of the communications, but which will give more distinctly to the Belgian troops the character of an escort, as it is not intended that their numbers should be increased beyond the 6,000 men already agreed upon. In the first instance, at least, it is proposed that they shall not exceed 4,000.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 109.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(Extract.) Pera, December 21, 1876.

THE Conference was to have met to-day, but has been postponed at the request of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, who state that they have not yet received their instructions.

No. 110.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Pera, December 21, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I sent yesterday, through a private source, to the Sultan a paper containing the substance of the proposals agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries, and such arguments as I thought best calculated to recommend them to His Majesty's acceptance.

This morning the new Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha, to whom I paid a formal visit yesterday, called upon me by appointment, accompanied by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, Safvet and Edhem Pashas. Count Chaudordy was present, and we communicated to

them the proposals which are to be made at the first Conference.

The language of the Turkish Ministers was unsatisfactory. They protested strongly against the appointment of an International Commission, and, indeed, objected to any form of guarantee except the promise of the Sultan. They did not enter into any detailed examination of the proposals.

I am informed by the persons who have had the greatest experience of Turkish Ministers that an absolute refusal of the proposals submitted to them is considered as

the necessary opening of negotiations.

The proposals will be formally communicated at the first meeting of the Conference, which will take place, as I am at present informed, on the 23rd instant.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 111.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord,

Pera, December 21, 1876.

IT was agreed at the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries this afternoon that the cost of the Belgian troops which are to act as the body-guard of the Commissions of Supervision should be a first charge on the revenues of the provinces before payments are made for any other purpose. It appears, however, that the Turkish Treasury will have no funds available until the receipt of the sheep-tax next spring, and I should be glad to be informed whether Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to advance the sum of 40,000*l*. towards the expenses of the troops, in case the agreement for their introduction into the provinces is concluded, and the early repayment of the sum secured.

The Plenipotentiaries of the other Powers are unwilling to recommend their Governments to make any advance for the purpose, on the ground that they have no funds

available, or have already incurred heavy charges for Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

No. 112.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(Extract.)

Pera, December 22, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, 1 transmit herewith copies of the Minutes of the Proceedings at the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th preliminary meetings of the Plenipotentiaries.

Inclosure 1 in No. 112.

RÉUNIONS PRÉLIMINAIRES.

Compte-rendu No. 1.—Séance du 11 Décembre, 1876.

LES Représentants de l'Allemagne, de l'Autriche-Hongrie, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de l'Italie et de la Russie se sont réunis aujourd'hui pour aviser d'un commun accord aux moyens de rétablir la paix entre la Porte, la Serbie et le Monténégro, et prendre les décisions qui leur sembleraient les plus propres à améliorer la situation générale en Orient. La présidence a été dévolue à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie, Doyen du Corps Diplomatique, et le Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de France a été chargé de la rédaction du compte-rendu.

Les Plénipotentiaires s'engagent à garder le secret sur leurs délibérations.

Le Président de la Réunion, après avoir remercié ses collègues de l'honneur qu'ils lui ont fait en l'appelant à présider leurs délibérations, a continué en ces termes :—

"Désirant avant tout définir nettement le mandat qui nous est dévolu, Messieurs, je crois devoir constater que les séances que nous inaugurons aujourd'hui ne serviront que de préliminaires à la Conférence définitive, qui, nous l'espérons tous, mettra un terme à la crise que traverse en ce moment la Turquie, et qui a provoqué une perturbation générale commerciale et financière plus sensible dans les pays limitrophes que dans le reste de l'Europe. Mais la valeur de ces préliminaires acquiert une importance notable quand on considère que c'est ici que doivent être élaborées les bases sur lesquelles sera établie la situation future des populations Chrétiennes de la Péninsule Balkanique dont l'existence paisible a été atteinte par ce qui s'y est passé pendant les derniers quatorze mois. crois inutile de faire l'historique des pourparlers qui ont abouti à notre Réunion d'aujourd'hui. Je me permettrai seulement de vous rappeler que ce sont les propositions émanées du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique qui ont réuni successivement et en traits généraux l'adhésion de toutes les Puissances Garantes de la Turquie. C'est à Londres encore qu'ont été jetées les bases sur lesquelles la paix doit être rétablie entre la Porte, la Serbie et le Monténégro, et qui devaient conséquemment régler le sort futur des trois provinces de la Turquie dont les conditions d'existence réclament des réformes sérieuses et immédiates. Pour la première partie, le status quo ante bellum a été pris somme point de départ. Quant à l'arrangement de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine et de la Bulgarie le mot d'autonomie a été prononcé d'abord; quelques termes explicatifs ont été ajoutés plus tard, des nuances ont été indiquées enfin entre les conditions différentes de ces trois provinces qui n'admettaient pas l'application stéréotypée d'un système absolument uniforme.

"Les deux questions qui semblent déterminer le mandat que nous avons à remplir sont appelées à former le canevas de nos délibérations; le but que nous avons à atteindre, si je l'ai bien compris, doit donc être de définir d'une manière plus précise:

"1. Les conditions de la paix que nous avons, en notre qualité de médiateurs, à offrir

à la Turquie d'un côté, à la Serbie et au Monténégro de l'autre.

"2. La nature et l'étendue du système administratif qui devrait être appliqué à la Bosnie, à l'Herzégovine, et à la Bulgarie avec les modifications spéciales qu'exigeraient les conditions particulières de chacune de ces Provinces et avec les garanties propres à en assurer l'exécution efficace conformes aux intentions généreuses et équitables des Puissances

Chrétiennes que nous avons l'honneur de représenter.

"Ce n'est que lorsque nous serons tombés d'accord sur les termes et l'étendue de ces deux points que nous pourrons présenter nos conclusions comme l'expression de l'opinion unanime des Grandes Puissances à l'acceptation de la Porte et procéder, s'il y a lieu, de concert avec ses Délégués, à la discussion des détails des projets que nous aurons élaborés. Notre but commun étant d'arriver au plus vite au rétablissement d'un ordre de choses normal dans les parties de la péninsule Balkanique qui forment l'objet de la sollicitude actuelle des Grandes Puissances, il me paraît que nous pourrions le plus facilement l'atteindre en nous occupant simultanément des deux objets que nous avons en vue. Sans confondre les conditions de la paix Turco-Serbe-Monténégrine avec la réorganisation de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine, et de la Bulgarie, nous pourrions, je pense, mener les deux affaires de front, et chercher à organiser nos travaux de manière à ce que les deux projets à élaborer arrivent à maturité simultanément pour ne former qu'un ensemble de conclusions. Il dépendra de vous, Messieurs, de décider comment nous devrons distribuer notre temps pour remplir dans le plus bref délai la tâche compliquée qui nous est dévolue.

"Animé du désir sincère de la mener à bonne fin le plus promptement possible, je ne négligerai rien de ce qui dépendra de moi pour contribuer au succès de notre œuvre commune. J'aime à espérer que le vif désir d'une entente qui anime toutes les Grandes Puissances, nous permettra de ne tenir compte, dans nos travaux, que des nécessités réelles que chacun de nous aura reconnues, et, laissant de côté toute convoitise ou ambition personnelle, tout préjugé ou arrière-pensée, ne chercher que le bien véritable et les moyens propres à remédier efficacement aux maux que nous sommes appelés à redresser et à prévenir. C'est une question qui intéresse non-seulement la Russie, mais l'Europe entière, la prospérité générale, l'humanité et la civilisation Chrétienne. Que la paix de l'Europe et le bien-être des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie servent de récompense aux peines et aux difficultés attachées à l'entreprise que je suis heureux d'inaugurer avec vous aujourd'hui."

Les Plénipotentiaires ont passé ensuite à l'examen des conditions de paix entre la Porte et la Serbie. Ils ont reconnu d'abord comme opportun que tout en maintenant l'état de choses actuel on y applique les améliorations que la situation comporte. Il a été admis toutefois que la campagne ayant été malheureuse pour les Serbes, on pourrait difficilement donner suite au désir de la Principauté de faire rectifier sa frontière du côté de l'ancienne Serbie. Mais il faudrait avoir en vue que tout le territoire occupé par les troupes Turques a été entièrement dévasté, de façon que le Gouvernement Serbe évalue actuellement les pertes subies à une somme de 10,000,000 à 15,000,000 de ducats. On ne croit pas devoir oublier, d'autre part, que sur certains points l'armistice a trouvé les Serbes en possession du territoire Ottoman. En conséquence, les Plénipotentiaires ont fixé les conditions de paix

suivantes:—

1. Evacuation complète de la Serbie par les troupes Ottomanes en donnant à ces dernières tout au plus huit ou dix jours pour se retirer, les Serbes évacuant simultanément les points occupés sur le territoire Ottoman.

2. Restitution réciproque des prisonniers de guerre dans un délai déterminé.

3. Amnistie complète aux sujets Ottomans ou Serbes qui auraient été compromis

dans la lutte.

4. Des discussions ayant été soulevées entre les deux parties au sujet des ilôts de la Drina, les Plénipotentiaires ont pris la résolution de recommander l'envoi d'une Commission Mixte Turco-Serbe qui devra prendre pour base le thalweg de la Drina, de façon à laisser aux Serbes les villages du Petit Zvornik et de Zakar, qui avaient été détenus par les Turcs contrairement aux conditions de la délimitation tracée avec la participation d'un

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Commissaire Russe à la suite de la paix d'Andrinople et à mettre ainsi un terme aux conflits

qui se produisent périodiquement sur ce point.

La Réunion passe ensuite aux conditions de la paix avec le Monténégro, et, reconnaissant d'un côté que la fortune des armes a été favorable à cette Principauté, de l'autre qu'il y a lieu d'écarter des causes de conflits incessants entre les autorités Ottomanes et la population Monténégrine, décide que la frontière sera rectifiée par une Commission Internationale ad hoc se réunissant à Raguse trois semaines après l'acceptation de ces arrangements par les deux parties et qui opérera sur les bases suivantes:—

I. Cession au Monténégro du côté de l'Herzégovine d'une partie des Zubtzi à l'exclusion de la Sutorina ainsi que des districts des Baniani, Piva, Drobniak, Charanzi jusqu'à la Tava, le district de Kolaschin. Il est entendu que Nichsich, se trouvant dans les limites assignées au Monténégro, les habitants Musulmans auront la faculté de rester

dans la ville ou de la quitter.

2. Du côté de l'Albanie la rive droite de la Moratcha, les Mali et Veli Brdo, la place de Spouz, ainsi que les districts habités par les Kutchi Drékalovitchi, Kutchi Kraini et

Wassoiévitchi depuis la Zevna jusqu'au Lim.

- 3. En vue de donner à la Principauté un débouché maritime et après avoir discuté l'opportunité de la cession de Spitza, les Plénipotentiaires ont considéré comme préférable de stipuler la liberté de navigation de la Boiana de manière à garantir ainsi à la Principauté le libre accès à la mer. Cette rivière devrait être l'objet de travaux qui la rendissent navigable et accessible. Les droits souverains de la Porte demeureraient d'ailleurs pleinement réservés. Un arrangement spécial interviendra entre les deux parties dans lequel les facilités accordées au Monténégro devront se concilier avec la sauvegarde des intérêts fiscaux de la Porte.
- 4. Il serait entendu que les territoires qui seraient cédés au Prince de Monténégro seraient placés sous la suzeraineté de la Porte. Son Altesse donnerait d'ailleurs toutes garanties pour la liberté de religion des habitants Musulmans.

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie et d'Allemagne déclarent prendre ad

referendum les arrangements précédents relatifs au Monténégro.

Après avoir ainsi arrêté les conditions de paix, la Réunion entend la lecture d'un

mémoire relatif à la situation de la Bosnie.

Puis, sur les observations de plusieurs Plénipotentiaires, elle discute le point de savoir s'il est opportun d'examiner les principes généraux de la question ou de travailler sur un projet déterminé, et juge convenable de ne pas entrer aujourd'hui dans l'examen d'un sujet aussi considérable:

La prochaine séance est fixée à demain 12 Décembre.

(Signé)

WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

PRELIMINARY MEETINGS.

Minutes of the 1st Sitting.—December 11, 1876.

THE Representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia met to-day for the purpose of considering in common the means for re-establishing peace between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, and of arriving at such decisions as should seem to them best suited to ameliorate the general situation in the East, The presidency was conferred on his Excellency the Russian Ambassador, Doyen of the Corps Diplomatique, and the First Secretary of the French Embassy was charged with the drawing up of the Minutes.

The Plenipotentiaries engage to keep secret their deliberations.

The President of the Meeting, after thanking his colleagues for the honour they had done him in calling upon him to preside over their deliberations, continued in the following terms:—

"Desiring above all, Gentlemen, to define clearly the duties which have devolved upon us, I ought, I think, to state that the meetings which we inaugurate to-day are only

preliminary to the actual Conference, which, as we all hope, will terminate the crisis that Turkey is at present passing through, and that has provoked a general disturbance, both commercial and financial, more perceptible in the adjacent countries than in the rest of Europe. But the value of these preliminary meetings acquires a remarkable importance when we consider that it is for us to work out the bases on which shall be established the future position of the Christian populations of the Balkan Peninsula, whose peaceable existence has been affected by what has taken place during the last fourteen months. It is needless, I think, to narrate the history of the negotiations which have resulted in our meeting to-day. I will only take the liberty of reminding you that the proposals, to the general features of which all the Guaranteeing Powers have successively given their adhesion, are those of the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty. It was at London, too, that the bases were laid down on which peace is to be re-established between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, and which are, consequently, to regulate the future fate of the three provinces of Turkey, the conditions of whose existence call for immediate and serious reforms. As regards the first part, the status quo ante bellum was taken as the starting-point. As to the arrangement of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, the word 'autonomy' was at first mentioned; some explanatory terms were added afterwards, and, finally, some shades of difference were pointed out between the various conditions of these three provinces, which did not admit of the stereotyped application of an absolutely uniform system.

"The two questions which appear to determine the duty which we have to fulfil are to form the groundwork for our deliberations. The end then which we have to attain, if I

understand it rightly, ought to be to define in a more precise manner—

"1. The conditions of peace which, in our capacity as mediators, we have to offer to

Turkey for Servia on the one hand and Montenegro on the other.

"2. The nature and extent of the administrative system which is to be applied to Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, with the special modifications which the peculiar conditions of each of these provinces may demand, and with the proper guarantees to insure the effectual execution of them in conformity with the generous and equitable intentions of the Christian Powers whom we have the honour to represent.

"It is only when we have come to an agreement on the terms and extent of these two questions that we shall be able to present our conclusions to the Porte as the expression of the unanimous opinion of the Great Powers, and proceed, if necessary, in concert with its Delegates, to discuss the details of the plans which we shall have elaborated. Our common object being to arrive at a re-establishment of a normal state of things in those parts of the Balkan Peninsula which are the object of the present anxiety on the part of Great Powers, it appears to me that we shall most easily attain it by occupying ourselves simultaneously with the two ends which we have in view.

"Without confusing the conditions of peace between Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro, with the reorganization of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, we should, I think, be able to carry on the two matters at once, and endeavour to arrange our labours in such a manner that the two plans we have to settle should arrive at maturity simultaneously, so as to form a complete set of conclusions. It will depend on you, gentlemen, to decide how we shall distribute our time so as to fulfil, with the least possible delay, the compli-

cated task which has devolved upon us.

"Animated with the sincere desire to bring it to a prosperous termination as quickly as possible, I shall neglect nothing which may lie in my power to contribute to the success

of our common task.

"I feel sure that the earnest desire for an agreement which animates all the Great Powers will not allow us to take into consideration in our labours anything but the real necessities which each of us may have discovered, and that, putting aside all covetousness, or personal ambition, all prejudices and reservations, we shall endeavour only to arrive at the true welfare and the proper measures to provide an effectual remedy for the evils which we are called upon to redress and to prevent.

"It is a question which does not interest Russia alone, but the whole of Europe, the

general prosperity, humanity, and Christian civilization.

"May the peace of Europe and the well-being of the Christian populations of Turkey serve as a recompense for the troubles and difficulties connected with the undertaking which I am happy to inaugurate with you to-day."

The Plenipotentiaries then proceeded to consider the conditions of peace between the

Porte and Servia.

It appeared right, first of all, that while the actual state of affairs should be maintained, such improvements as the situation allowed of should be introduced.

It was admitted, however, that the campaign having been unfortunate for the

Servians, it would be difficult to give effect to the desire of the Principality to have its frontier rectified in the direction of the ancient Servia. Still, it was to be observed that all the territory occupied by the Turks had been entirely devastated, to such an extent that the Servian Government actually valued the losses incurred at a sum of from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 ducats.

On the other hand, it was to be remembered that at certain points the armistice had found the Servians in possession of Turkish territory.

The Plenipotentiaries, therefore, decided on the following conditions of peace:—

1. Complete evacuation of Servia by the Ottoman troops, the latter having eight or ten days at most in which to withdraw, and the Servians evacuating at the same time those portions of Ottoman territory occupied by them.

2. Mutual restoration of prisoners of war within a given period.

3. Complete amnesty to Ottoman or Servian subjects who had been compromised in the struggle.

4. Discussions having arisen between the two parties on the subject of the islands in the Drina, the Plenipotentiaries decided to recommend the despatch of a mixed Turco-Servian Commission, which should take as the basis of its operations the line of the Drina valley, so as to leave to the Servians the villages of Little Zvornick and Zakar, which have been retained by the Turks in contravention of the terms of the settlement of the boundary made with the co-operation of a Russian Commissioner after the peace of Adrianople, and thus put an end to the disputes which periodically arise on this point.

The meeting then passed to the conditions of peace with Montenegro, and recognizing that, on the one hand, the fortune of war had been in favour of this Principality, and that, on the other, it was necessary to remove the causes of continual conflicts between the Ottoman authorities and the population of Montenegro, decided that the frontier should be rectified by an International Commission appointed ad hoc, to meet at Ragusa three weeks after the acceptance of these arrangements by the two parties, and which should proceed on the following bases:—

1. Cession to Montenegro on the Herzegovinian side of a portion of the Zubtzi, including the Sutorina, as well as the districts of Baniani, Piva, Drobniak, Scharantzi as far as the Tara, and the district of Kolaschin. It is agreed that Nichsich, being within the limits assigned to Montenegro, the Mussulman inhabitants shall have the right to remain in the town or to leave it.

2. On the Albanian side the right bank of the Moratcha, the Mali, and Veli Brdo, the fortress of Spouz, as well as the districts inhabited by the Kutchi Drékalovitchi, Kutchka Kraina, and Wassoïévitchi, from the Zevna to the Lim.

3. With a view of giving to the Principality an outlet to the sea, and after having discussed the desirability of a cession of Spitza, the Plenipotentiaries considered it preferable to stipulate for the free navigation of the Boiana, so as to guarantee in this way free access for the Principality to the sea. Works should be undertaken on the river so as to render it accessible and navigable. The sovereign rights of the Porte would, however, be fully reserved. A special arrangement would be come to between the two parties by which the facilities accorded to Montenegro should be made to harmonize with a due regard for the fiscal interests of the Porte.

4. It would be understood that the territories ceded to the Prince of Montenegro should be placed under the suzerainty of the Porte. His Highness would, moreover, give all proper guarantees for the free exercise of the religion of the Mussulman inhabitants.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Hungary, and Germany declared that they accepted the preceding arrangements regarding Montenegro ad referendum.

Having thus decided the conditions of peace, the meeting heard read a Memorandum relative to the situation of Bosnia (annexed to the Minutes).

It then, after observations from several Plenipotentiaries, discussed the desirability of considering the general principles of the question, or of examining some definite plan, and it was thought better not to enter that day upon so considerable a subject.

The next sitting was fixed for the next day, December 12.

(Signed)

WERTHER,
ZICHY,
CALICE,
F. DE BOURGOING,
CHAUDORDY,
HENRY ELLIOT,
SALISBURY,
L. CORTI,
N. IGNATIEW,

Inclosure 2 in No. 112.

Compte-Rendu No. 2.—Séance du 12 Decembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne,

d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie.

LE Compte-Rendu de la séance de la veille est lu et approuvé.

Prenant la parole à l'occasion de ce procès-verbal, l'un des Plée otentiaires demande dans quelle mesure les résolutions de la Réunion sont obligatoires. Après une discussion prolongée, la Réunion est d'avis que son acte final sera seul obligatoire, étant réservé le sentiment de la Conférence définitive et toute latitude étant quant à présent laissée aux Plénipotentiaires pour prendre les propositions ad referendum.

La Réunion écoute ensuite la lecture faite par son Président de propositions sommaires ou têtes de chapitres sur l'organisation éventuelle de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine.

(Annexe No. 1).

Cette lecture donne lieu à diverses observations sur la question des prestations en nature et corvées, du désarmement et de la force de police à constituer dans ces provinces. Les bases de ce travail sont d'ailleurs celles de la note Austro-Hongroise du 30 Décembre. La question de savoir si la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine devraient être réunies sous la même administration locale a été réservée.

La Réunion prend également connaissance d'un travail préparatoire analogue sur la Bulgarie (Annexe No. 2). Ce document contient les principaux éléments qui devront servir de base et de point de départ aux discussions ultérieures. Sur le paragraphe relatif au choix des fonctionnaires, les Plénipotentiaires, après en avoir délibéré, pensent que s'il faut laisser une grande latitude pour le choix des fonctionnaires élus, les fonctionnaires nommés devront être pris autant que possible parmi les indigènes de la province. Quelques observations sont faites en outre sur la dîme, qui devra être remplacée par des taxes équivalentes.

Le Président appelle l'attention de ses collègues sur divers documents qu'il dépose à titre d'informations sur la table de la Réunion, et qui sont :—

1. Un ensemble d'articles extraits des journaux Turcs sur les massacres de Bulgarie.

2. Un mémoire sur les excès qui se sont produits dans les Sandjaks de Slivno et Tirnovo, et dans le Caza de Cazanlik.

3. Un procès-verbal dressé par deux agents étrangers sur la conduite des Bachi-Bazouks dans le Sandjak de Philippopolis.

4. Une pétition d'un certain nombre de Bulgares à la Conférence.

5. Une énumération détaillée et accompagnée de désignations précises sur les actes de violence qui ont eu lieu dans les provinces de Macédoine et de Vieille Serbie, où aucun soulèvement des populations n'a été constaté.

La Réunion ne prend aucune décision sur les programmes préparatoires qui lui ont été présentés pour l'organisation de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine et de la Bulgarie et renvoie à sa prochaine séance l'examen plus approfondi des questions qui se rattachent à ces provinces.

(Signé)

WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annexes au Compte-Rendu No. 2.

Annexe No. 1.

Bosnie et Herzégovine.

- 1. Une autonomie locale basée sur un "self-government," aussi large que possible et adapté aux nécessités du pays, avec un Gouverneur-Général nommé par la Porte de l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes pour cinq ans, serait introduit sous le contrôle d'une Commission internationale.
- 2. L'autorité Ottomane entrerait en pourparlers avec les insurgés et les émigrés sous le contrôle de cette même Commission, pour faciliter leur retour dans leurs foyers et assurer leur entière sécurité.
- 3. Des matériaux leur seraient libéralement fournis par la Porte pour la reconstruction des églises et des paisons; ils recevraient d'elle également des instruments agraires et tout ce qui est nécessaire pour l'ensemencement des champs, ainsi que des secours pécuniaires pour l'achat du bétail, &c. On assurerait les moyens d'existence des émigrés rentrant, jusqu'à ce qu'ils puissent jouir de leur propre récolte. Toutes les distributions des secours se feront par une Commission indigène composée par moitié des notables Chrétiens et de Musulmans. La Commission Européenne surveillera le repatriement des émigrés et l'exécution des mesures susmentionnées.
- 4. Le sort du laboureur et du fermier Chrétien sera amélioré par la facilitation du rachat des terrains appartenant aux grands propriétaires; le Gouvernement vendrait de son côté, aux Chrétiens, les terrains de l'Etat en accordant des délais pour les payements à effectuer. Des Commissions Mixtes indigènes seront formées sur la base du principe électif, pour l'estimation de ces terrains et la fixation du mode de payment. Le rachat des prestations en nature obligatoires et des corvées, si leur existence était constatée, s'opererait de la même façon.
- 5. Dans les localités où la population a l'habitude de porter les armes, les Chrétiens resteront armés ainsi que les Musulmans, tandis que dans les parties de la Bosnie où les Musulmans seuls sont armés, leur désarmement devrait être effectué sous le contrôle de la Commission Internationale, qui devra disposer d'une force suffisante pour faire respecter ses décisions.

Annexe No. 2.

Bulgarie.

Avant de discuter l'organisation future de cette province, si cruellement éprouvé ces derniers temps, on devrait commencer par y assurer la sécurité le plus tôt possible par:—

1. Le désarmement des Musulmans, le licenciement et le renvoi de toutes les troupes irrégulières, particulièrement des Circassiens.

2. La punition exemplaire des coupables, qui ont commis les méfaits et les massacres.

- 3. L'indemnisation des victimes aux frais de la population Musulmane qui a pris part aux massacres et à la dévastation; la fourniture par la Porte des moyens d'abri et d'existence aux nécessiteux.
- 4. La révision après constatation de la Commission Européenne des sentences prononcées par des tribunaux qui appliquaient la torture, selon des renseignements dignes de foi; enfin,
- 5. Une amnistie générale et complète accordée à tous les Chrétiens de la Bulgarie, y compris les personnes qui ont subi des condamnations sommaires, exil, déportation, emprisonnement, décrétées par diverses Commissions Ottomanes pour crimes ou suspicions politiques.

Après ces mesures préalables on devra procéder aux réformes suivantes :-

1. Introduction d'une autonomie locale administrative qui assurerait aux populations de la Bulgarie un "self-government" avec l'exclusion des fonctionnaires qui ne seraient pas indigènes de la province et l'introduction du principe électif sur une base large.

2. Répartition des impôts par les indigènes eux-mêmes avec le remplacement de la

dîme par un impôt ou taxe équivalent.

3. Emploi de la langue locale dans les Tribunaux et dans l'Administration.

4. Formation d'une milice locale, et organisation de la police avec la participation des Chrétiens proportionnellement au nombre et à la race de ces derniers; les troupes régulières Ottomanes seraient concentrées dans les forteresses.

5. Nomination d'un Gouverneur-Général, pour un terme de cinq ans, choisi parmi les Chrétiens avec l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes.

Pour que ces réformes dans les trois provinces aient une valeur réelle, il faut qu'elles soient accompagnées de garanties sérieuses, qui consisteraient dans un contrôle direct de l'Europe et l'exercice effectif de sa surveillance dans l'exécution de toutes les mesures convenues, sur la base d'un Protocole qui engagerait irrévocablement la Porte à l'égard des Puissances.

Une Commission Internationale sejournerait en Bulgarie, comme en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, surveillerait l'application des réformes et aurait la faculté de régler les détails sur place et même d'introduire les modifications secondaires qui seraient jugées nécessaires par suite d'un accord entre la Sublime Porte et les Représentants à Constantinople; elle disposerait enfin d'une force matérielle suffisante pour maintenir la tranquillité et faire respecter les engagements pris.

Il serait interdit irrévocablement de coloniser dans la Turquie d'Europe des Circassiens et l'on renverrait autant que possible ceux qui se trouvent déjà en Roumelie, en les

dirigeant dans les provinces Musulmanes Asiatiques de l'Empire Ottoman.

(Translation.)

Minutes of 2nd Sitting.—December 12, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

THE Minutes of yesterday's sitting were read and approved.

Taking the opportunity offered by this proces-verbal, one of the Plenipotentiaries

asks to what extent the resolutions of the meeting are obligatory.

After a prolonged discussion, the meeting is of opinion that its final act alone shall be obligatory, the opinion of the actual Conference being reserved, and all latitude being allowed for the present to the Plenipotentiaries to accept propositions ad referendum.

The meeting then listens to a reading by the President of heads of proposals or chapters, relative to the eventual organization of Bosnia and the Herzegovina (Annex

No. 1).

This reading gives rise to various observations on the following questions: contributions in kind and forced labour, the disarmament, and the police force which is to be constituted in these provinces. The bases of this work are, moreover, those of the Austro-Hungarian Note of the 30th December. The question of deciding whether Bosnia and Herzegovina should be united under the same local administration was reserved.

The meeting also takes note of a similar preparatory study on the subject of Bulgaria (Annex No. 2). This document contains the principal elements which are to serve as the basis and starting-point for further discussions. With respect to the paragraph relating to the selection of officials, the Plenipotentiaries, after deliberating on the subject, determine that, while a great latitude in selecting the elected officials should be allowed, those nominated should be chosen as far as possible from the natives of the province. Some further observations were made on the tithe, which is to be replaced by other equivalent taxes.

The President calls the attention of his colleagues to various documents, which he

places for their information on the table of the meeting. They are:-

1. A collection of articles extracted from the Turkish newspapers on the subject of the massacres in Bulgaria.

2. A Memorandum on the excesses which have taken place in the Sandjaks of Silvno and Tirnovo, and in the Caza of Cazanlik.

3. A procès-verbal drawn up by two foreign agents on the conduct of the Bashi-Bazouks in the Sandjak of Philippopolis.

4. A petition to the Conference from a certain number of Bulgarians.

5. A detailed account, accompanied by precise statements, of the acts of violence which have taken place in the Provinces of Macedonia and Old Servia, where no rising of the population has been shown to have taken place.

The meeting came to no decision on the preliminary programmes which were

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presented to it for the organization of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, and defers till its next sitting a closer examination of the questions connected with these provinces.

(Signed)

WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.

L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annexes to the Minutes of the 2nd Sitting.

Annex No. 1.

Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1. A local autonomy, based on self-government, as wide as possible, and adapted to the necessities of the country, with a Governor-General appointed by the Porte, with the consent of the Guaranteeing Powers, for five years, to be introduced under the control of an International Commission.

2. The Ottoman authorities to enter into negotiation, under the control of the same Commission, with the insurgents and emigrants, to facilitate their return home, and to

secure for them entire safety.

3. Materials to be liberally furnished them by the Porte for the reconstruction of the churches and houses; they likewise to receive farm implements and all that is required for them to sow their land, and pecuniary aid for the purchase of cattle. Returning emigrants to be provided with means of subsistence until they are able to enjoy their own harvest. All distributions of assistance to be made by a Native Commission, partly composed of prominent Christians and of Mussulmans. The European Commission to superintend the repatriation of emigrants and the execution of the above-mentioned measures.

4. The lot of the husbandman and Christian farmer to be ameliorated by the facility of purchasing land belonging to large proprietors. The Government on their part to sell to the Christians State land, granting delay in payment. The Native Mixed Commissions to be formed on the basis of the elective principle for valuing this land and fixing the manner of payment. The repurchase of forced hommage and obligatory labour, if their

existence is confirmed, to be effected in the same way.

5. In the localities where the population has been in the habit of carrying arms, the Christians to remain armed as well as the Musslumans, while in those parts of Bosnia where the Mussulmans are alone armed their disarmament is to be effected under the supervision of the International Commission, which should have at its disposal a force sufficient to make its decisions respected.

Annex No. 2.

Bulgaria.

Before discussing the future organization of this Province, which has of late suffered so cruelly, security should, as soon as possible, be assured to it by—

1. The disarmament of the Mussulmans, the disbandment and dismissal of all

irregular troops, especially the Circassians.

2. The exemplary punishment of those guilty of the misdeeds and massacres.

3. Indemnity to the victims at the expense of the Mussulman population that took part in the massacres and devastations: the supply by the Porte to those in want of the means of shelter and subsistence.

4. The revision, after the verification by the European Commission, of the sentences pronounced by the Courts applying torture, according to accounts worthy of belief;

lastiy,

5. A general and complete amnesty to all the Christians of Bulgaria comprising those persons who have been subjected to summary sentences (exile, exportation, imprisonment), decreed by various Ottoman Commissions for political crimes or suspicions.

After these preliminary measures, the following reforms should be proceeded with:

(1.) The introduction of local administrative autonomy, which should secure to the populations of Bulgaria a self-government, to the exclusion of functionaries not natives of the province, and the introduction of the elective principle upon a large basis.

(2.) The distribution of the taxes by the natives themselves, and the replacement of

the tithe by an equivalent duty or tax.

(3.) The use of the local language in the Courts and Administration.

(4.) The formation of a local militia and the organization of a police, in which the Christians are to participate in proportion to their number and race; the Ottoman regular troops to be concentrated in the fortresses.

(5.) The appointment of a Governor-General for a period of five years, chosen from

among the Christians, on the approval of the Guaranteeing Powers.

In order that these reforms in the provinces may have a real value, they should be accompanied by real guarantees, which should consist in a direct control by Europe, and the effective exercise of her surveillance in the execution of all the measures agreed upon, on the basis of a Protocol, which should irrevocably bind the Porte in relation to the Powers.

An International Commission shall be established in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, which shall superintend the execution of the reforms, and shall settle the details on the spot, and also introduce such secondary alterations as shall be considered necessary after agreement between the Sublime Porte and the Representatives at Constantinople: it shall have a material force sufficient to maintain tranquillity and to cause its decisions to be respected.

The colonization of Circassians in European Turkey shall be absolutely forbidden; and those already established in Roumelia shall be sent back as far as practicable to the

Mussulman Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Inclosure 3 in No. 112.

Compte-Rendu No. 3.—Séance du 13 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande-Bretagne, d'Italie, et

d'Italie, et de Russie.

LES Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie déclarent qu'ils ont été autorisés par un télégramme de leur Gouvernement à accepter les décisions précédentes de la Réunion en ce qui concerne la régularisation du territoire Monténégrin.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne dit qu'en présence de cette déclaration, il se condsière comme autorisé à adhérer également et dans la même mesure que ses collègues aux

arrangements indiqués dans la première séance de la Réunion.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie, après avoir fait allusion à la nécessité de neutraliser ultérieurement les forts Ottomans qui pourraient entraver la libre navigation de la Boiana, donne connaissance à la Réunion d'une demande adressée aux Plénipotentiaires par le Prince de Monténégro et tendant à obtenir que des Agents particuliers de cette Principauté et de la Serbie soient envoyés à Constantinople pour soumettre à la Conférence quelques considérations avant la conclusion de la paix.

Après ces observations préliminaires, le compte-rendu de la séance précédente est lu

est approuvé.

Avant que la Réunion commence l'examen des conditions de l'autonomie de la Bulgarie, le Président fait donner lecture par le Secrétaire d'un mémoire relatif à la manière dont la loi des vilayets a été jusqu'à présent appliquée par le Gouvernement Ottoman.

La Réunion passe ensuite à la lecture d'un travail où sont énumérées les principales bases qui pourraient servir à l'organisation de l'autonomie administrative en Bulgarie (Annexe).

Au cours d'une discussion suivie article par article diverses modifications sont introduites dans le texte de ce document. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne l'action de la police locale, il est entendu que l'expression "sans ingérence des autorités supérieures" ne saurait impliquer la négation de l'autorité du Gouvernement, mais signifie seulement que les

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autorités supérieures ne pourront entraver arbitrairement le fonctionnement ordinaire et

régulier de la police locale.

La nomination des Mutessarifs est également l'objet d'une longue discussion et demeure réservée. Il en est de même de la question du Gouverneur-Général Chrétien sur la proposition faite par l'un des Plénipotentiaires de substituer à ce terme celui de "Gouverneur-Général de la religion de la majorité de la province;" diverses observations sont faites sur l'opportunité de sauvegarder la possibilité de nommer, s'il y a lieu, des Gouverneurs Catholiques ou Arméniens. L'ensemble de cette question ayant été pris ad referendum par plusieurs Plénipotentiaires, la Réunion la subordonne à des délibérations ultérieures et croit devoir attendre le moment où la situation définitive de la Bulgarie aura été déterminée. Il doit d'ailleurs être mentionné spécialement que le Gouverneur est chargé d'exécuter les lois de l'Empire.

Les Plénipotentiaires étudient la question de savoir si la Bulgarie formera une seule province ou deux vilayets séparés. L'étendue territoriale de la province est étudiée attentivement sur la carte et plusieurs Plénipotentiaires expriment l'opinion que la superficie de ce territoire et le nombre de ses habitants seraient trop considérables pour ne

former qu'un seul Gouvernement.

L'Âmbassadeur de Russie pense qu'il serait préférable de ne point s'arrêter aux considérations ethnographiques, géographiques, et politiques, mais d'envisager plus tôt la question au point de vue de la sécurité des Chrétiens et de comprendre dans les limites du Gouvernement à instituer tous les districts, où cette sécurité a été menacée, ou des actes de violence ont été commis sur la population Chrétienne. Il insiste pour l'unité de la Bulgarie et fait donner lecture à la Réunion par le Secrétaire d'une note où se trouvent résumées les principales objections contraires à la division de la Bulgarie en deux Gouvernements.

La Réunion se montre disposée à préférer l'organisation de deux provinces séparées et se livre à l'examen de la répartition éventuelle des districts qui pourraient être groupés en deux Gouvernements distincts.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie déclare ne pas s'opposer à cet arrangement sauf discussion ultérieure des détails et la Réunion admet en principe la division en deux provinces: l'une Orientale, avec Tirnovo pour chef-lieu, l'autre Occidentale, avec son chef-lieu à Sofia, tout en reconnaissant qu'une seule Commission de surveillance sera instituée.

L'organisation de la Magistrature est ensuite l'objet d'une délibération entre les Plénipotentiaires. Le système de l'élection des juges paraissant rencontrer de la part de plusieurs membres une certaine opposition, la Réunion est d'avis que les juges de la Cour d'Appel devront être nommés par la Porte avec l'assentiment des Représentants des Puissances Garantes.

Elle admet en outre, en ce qui concerne les finances, qu'une partie de la somme attribuée à la Porte dans les revenus de la Bulgarie sera consacrée au service de la dette

publique Ottomane.

La Réunion décide que des Commissions spéciales formées dans son sein s'occuperont ultérieurement de préparer la rédaction des conditions de la paix à intervenir entre la Porte, la Serbie et le Monténégro, et l'organisation à donner aux Provinces de Bosnie, d'Herzégovine, et de Bulgarie. Elle fixe à demain 14 sa prochaine séance.

(Signé)

WERTHER,
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annexe au 3° Compte-Rendu.

Bulgarie.—Bases d'une Organisation.

L'autonomie administrative de la Bulgarie sera basée sur la décentralisation.

Le Canton (Nahié) (avec 5,000 à 10,000 habitants) formera l'unité. Il sera gouverné par un Conseil Cantonal composé de représentants de chaque commune, sans distinction de religion et par un maire. Ce dernier sera élu parmi les membres du Conseil Cantonal, par le Conseil lui-même. Toutes les questions relatives aux intérêts du canton, telles que répartition et perception des contributions (certaines contributions indirectes exceptées) voies de communication, police, &c., seront résolues, sans ingérence des autorités supérieures.

Les Cantons seront réunis en Gouvernements (Sandjaks) avec des Gouverneurs Chrétiens ou Musulmans, selon la majorité de la population, nommés par le Gouverneur-

Ces fonctionnaires n'en seront que les représentants et auront pour tâche de veiller au maintien de l'ordre et à l'activité des autorités cantonales.

Des Conseillers, soit élus, soit désignés par le Gouverneur-Général, d'entre les

notables, pourront leur être adjoints.

A la tête de la province sera placée un Gouverneur-Général Chrétien nommé pour cinq ans par un accord entre la Porte et les Puissances Garantes. Il représentera l'autorité suprême en exécutant les lois de l'Empire, et sera l'intermédiaire entre la province et le Gouvernement central.

La province sera formée des Vilayets du Danube et de Sofia et des Sandjaks de Slivno, Philippopolis, Uskub, et Bitoli, ainsi que des districts du Sandjak de Seres, avec

une population principalement Bulgare.

L'unité de la Province sera maintenue au moins pour les deux premières années, pour faciliter l'application de la nouvelle organisation. Une Assemblée Provinciale se réunira chaque année, pour examiner le Budget, répartir les contributions et s'occuper, en général, des intérêts de la province. Les membres de l'Assemblée seront élus par les Conseils de Cantons groupés, à cet effet, en arrondissements électoraux de 20,000 à 30,000 habitants.

L'Assemblée nommera une Commission de permanence qui servira de Conse'l Administratif au Gouverneur-Général. Les chefs des communautés religieuses reconnues seront, de droit, membres de ce Conseil.

Il y aura parfaite liberté de culte. L'entretien du clergé et des établissements

religieux et d'instruction publique sera à la charge des communautés elles-mêmes.

Une milice locale Chrétienne sera formée par voie de conscription, et entretenue aux frais de la province, pour en assurer la tranquillité. La milice dépendra du Gouverneur-Général, qui désignera les officiers.

Le "bedelé-askérié" sera aboli. Les troupes Ottomancs régulières seront cantonées

dans les forteresses.

La police sera formée d'habitants du pays, sans distinction de culte, mais selon la proportion de la population dans les cantons. Les officiers Musulmans et Chrétiens seront nommés par le Gouverneur-Général. La police formera un seul corps, mais ses

agents seront sous les ordres des autorités locales.

La justice sera organisée de façon à être indépendante de l'administration. La justice de paix sera confiée aux Conseils Cantonaux, et les Tribunaux Civils et Criminels seront composés de juges élus ou nommés pour un certain terme, sauf à être rendus inamovibles après ce laps de temps. Les Juges de la Cour d'Appel seront nommés par la Porte, avec l'assentiment des Ambassadeurs. Les Juges pourront être Chrétiens ou Musulmans, et statueront sur la base du Code Ottoman.

Les causes appartenant spécialement à une confession quelconque, seront de la

juridiction des autorités ecclésiastiques de le communauté.

La moyenne des revenus fixes que le Gouvernement Ottoman reçoit de la Bulgarie sera calculée sur les recettes de six années et établie pour cinq ans, comme la somme Trente pour cent de cette somme seront versés à normale des charges de la province. la Banque Ottomane pour les besoins du Gouvernement central et affectés en partie au service de la dette publique. Le reste des revenus seront employés aux besoins de la Le mode de répartition et de perception des impôts et contributions dépendra de l'Assemblée et des Conseils Cantonaux. Les postes, télégraphes, et douanes seront exclues de la compétence des autorités provinciales et ne leur seront soumises qu'autant que dans les autres vilayets. Il en sera de même des régies et des propriétés de l'Etat.

Minutes of 3rd Sitting.—December 13, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

THE Plenipotentiaries of Austria-Hungary declare that they have been authorized by a telegram from their Government to accept the previous decisions of the meeting as far as regards the regulation of the Montenegrin territory.

The Plenipotentiary of Germany states that, in view of this declaration, he considers himself as also authorized to adhere, in the same way as his colleagues, to the arrange-

ments drawn up at the first sitting of the meeting.

The Russian Ambassador, after having alluded to the necessity of neutralizing the Ottoman forts which could impede the free navigation of the Boiana, acquaints the meeting with a request addressed to the Plenipotentiaries by the Prince of Montenegro, the object of which was to obtain permission for Agents from that Principality and from Servia to be sent to Constantinople submit certain considerations to the Conference before the conclusion of peace.

After these preliminary observations the Minutes of the previous meeting are read

and approved.

Before the meeting proceeded to examine the conditions of autonomy in Bulgaria, the President caused the Secretary to read a Memorandum relative to the manner in which the Law of the Vilayets has been, up to the present time, administered by the Ottoman Government.

The meeting then proceeded to the reading of a Memorandum enumerating the chief bases which should serve for the organization of administrative autonomy in Bulgaria (Annex).

In the course of the discussion of this document article by article, various modifications were introduced into the text. Thus, as regards the action of the local police, it was agreed that the expression "without interference on the part of the higher authorities," did not imply any denial of the authority of the Government, but merely signified that the higher authorities ought not arbitrarily to impede the ordinary and regular working of

the local police.

The nomination of the Mutessarifs was also the subject of a long discussion, and the question was reserved. A similar course was adopted in the case of the question of the appointment of a Christian Governor-General on a proposition brought forward by one of the Plenipotentiaries to substitute for this expression that of "Governor-General of the religion of the majority of the province;" various observations were made on the expediency of preserving the power of nominating, if necessary, Catholic or Armenian Governors. The whole of this question having been taken ad referendum by several Plenipotentiaries, the meeting reserved it for future discussion, and it was thought better to await the moment when the position of Bulgaria shall have been finally settled. It should also be specially mentioned that the Governor is charged with the duty of executing the laws of the Empire.

The Plenipotentiaries consider the question whether Bulgaria should form one province or two separate vilayets. The territorial extent of the province was carefully studied on the map, and several Plenipotentiaries express an opinion that the area of this territory and the number of the inhabitants would be too large to form a single Government.

The Russian Ambassador thought that it would be better not to confine themselves to ethnographical, geographical, and political considerations, but to consider the question rather from the point of view of security for the Christians, and to comprise within the limits of the Government to be established all the districts where this security had been threatened, or where acts of violence had been committed on the Christian population. He urged strongly the unity of Bulgaria, and caused the Secretary to read to the meeting a Memorandum summing up the principal objections to the division of Bulgaria into two Governments.

The meeting appeared disposed to prefer the organization into two separate provinces, and proceeded to examine the eventual distribution of the districts which might be grouped under two distinct Governments.

The Russian Ambassador declared that he would not oppose this arrangement, stipulating, however, for a further discussion of details, and the meeting agreed to the principle of a division into two provinces: one in the east, with Tirnova as its chief town; the other in the west, with its chief town at Sofia. Only one superintending Commission, however, was to be established.

The organization of the magistracy was next the subject of deliberation among the Plenipotentiaries. The system of electing the Judges appearing to meet with opposition on the part of several members, the meeting came to the conclusion that the Judges of the Court of Appeal should be nominated by the Porte with the sanction of the Guaranteeing Powers.

It was further agreed, as regards financial questions, that a certain portion of the sum allotted to the Porte from the revenues of Bulgaria should be devoted to the service of the general Ottoman debt.

The meeting decides that special Committees chosen from its members should apply themselves to preparing the terms of the conditions of peace between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, and the organization to be given to the Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

The next sitting was fixed for the following day, the 14th instant.

(Signed) WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Annex to Minutes of the 3rd Sitting.

Bulgaria.—Bases for an Organization.

Administrative autonomy in Bulgaria suall be based on a principle of decentralisation. The Canton (Nahié) (with from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, shall be the unit. It shall be governed by a Cantonal Council composed of representatives of each village without distinction of religion, and of a mayor. The latter shall be chosen by the Council itself from amongst its members. All questions relating to the interests of the Canton, such as the distribution and levying of taxes (with the exception of certain indirect taxes), means of communication, police, &c., shall be decided without interference on the part of the higher authorities.

The Cantons shall be united in Governments' (Sandjaks) with Christian or Mussulman Governors, according to the majority of the population, and are to be nominated by the Governor-General.

These officials shall be only the representatives of the Cantonal authorities, and shall have the duty of watching over the maintenance of order and activity among them.

Councillors, either elected or appointed by the Governor-General from among the principal inhabitants, may be joined to them.

At the head of the province shall be placed a Christian Governor-General appointed for five years by an agreement between the Porte and the Guaranteeing Powers. He will represent the supreme authority in the execution of the laws of the Empire, and will be the intermediary between the province and the central Government.

The province shall be composed of the vilayets of the Danube and of Sofia, and of the Sandjaks of Slivno, Philippopolis, Uskup, and Bitoli, as well as of the districts of the

Sandjak of Seres, with a population chiefly Bulgarian.

The unity of the province shall be preserved for at least two years, so as to facilitate the application of the new organization. A Provincial Assembly shall meet every year to examine the Budget, arrange the distribution of taxation, and occupy itself generally with the interests of the province. The members of the Assembly shall be elected by the Cantonal Councils, grouped for this purpose in electoral districts of from 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.

The Assembly shall appoint a permanent Commission to act as an Executive Council to the Governor-General. The heads of recognized religious bodies shall be ex officio me mbers of the Council.

There shall be perfect freedom of worship. The maintenance of the clergy and of establishments for religion and public instruction shall rest with the communities themselves.

A local Christian militia shall be formed by means of conscription, and maintained at the expense of the province, to maintain public order. The militia shall be under the orders of the Governor-General, who will appoint the officers.

The Bedélé-Eskérié shall be abolished. The regular Ottoman troops shall be

quartered in the fortresses.

The police shall be formed from the inhabitants of the country, without distinction of religion, but in proportion to the population of each Canton. The Mussulman and Christian officers shall be appointed by the Governor-General. The police shall form

one body, but its members shall be under the orders of the local authorities.

Justice shall be arranged in such a way, as to be independent of the Executive. The preservation of the peace shall be entrusted to the Cantonal Councils; and the Civil and Criminal Tribunals shall be composed of Judges elected or nominated for a certain time, but irremovable after the expiration of that time. The Judges of the Court of Appeal shall be appointed by the Porte, with the approval of the Ambassadors. The Judges may be either Christian or Mussulman; and shall give their decisions on the basis of the Ottoman Code.

Causes which belong specially to any one religion, shall be under the jurisdiction of

the Ecclesiastical authorities of the community.

The average of the paid revenue which the Ottoman Government receives from Bulgaria, shall be calculated on the receipts of six years, and shall remain fixed for five years, as the normal amount of the charge on the province: 30 per cent. of this sum shall be paid into the Ottoman Bank for the necessities of the Central Government, and devoted in part to the service of the public debt; the remainder of the revenue shall be employed for the necessities of the province.

The mode of distributing and levying imposts and taxes, shall rest with the Assembly,

and the Cantonal Councils.

The Post-office, Telegraphs, and Customs, shall be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Provincial authorities, and shall only be under their control to the same extent as in the other vilayets.

The same shall be the case with the "régie" and property of the State.

Inclosure 4 in No. 112.

Compte-Rendu No. 4.—Séance du 14 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Réprésentants de l'Allemagne,

de l'Autriche-Hongrie,

de la France,

de la Grande Bretagne,

de l'Italie, et

de la Russie.

LE Compte-Rendu de la précédente séance est lu et approuve.

Une observation étant produite au cours de cette lecture à propos de la distinction à établir entre les contributions directes et indirectes de la Bulgarie, le Président de la Réunion donne lecture d'une notice relative aux impôts de l'Empire (Annexe No. 1) et il demeure admis que la dîme, le beglik (taxe sur les moutons), l'impôt des "tapous" ou des actes de propriétés, le bedel-askérié (taxe pour l'exemption du service militaire), ne sauraient être considérés que comme impôts directs dont la charge est répartie et perçue par les communes.

L'un des Plénipotentiaires se rportant au précédent procès-verbal où il est question de la régularisation du territoire Monténégrin, fait remarquer qu'en ce qui concerne les Zubci, il désirerait qu'il fut entendu qu'une minime partie seulement de ce territoire pourrait être laissée au Monténégro. Pour plus de clarté, une carte spéciale avec un tracé défini sera annexée au présent procès-verbal (Annexe No. 2).

A cette occasion l'Ambassadeur de Russie, en exprimant le regret qu'un port n'ait pu être accordé au Monténégro, lit une note sur la navigation de la Boiana et sur l'opportunité de raser les fortins établis par les Turcs au débouché de cette rivière dans le lac de Scutari.

Il communique en même temps à la Réunion un télégramme du Prince de Serbie demandant pour un Délégué Serbe l'accès de la Conférence.

Il a été convenu que le Président de la Conférence répondrait négativement à cette

demande.

La Réunion décide ensuite la formation de deux Commissions Spéciales pour étudier l'organisation de la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, d'une part, et de l'autre l'organisation de la Bulgarie. Le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne, l'un des Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, et le Plénipotentiaire de l'Italie sont désignés pour la Commission de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine; l'un des Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie, de la France, de l'Angleterre, et le Plénipotentiaire de Russie sont désignés pour la Commission de Bulgarie.

Le soin de préparer les conditions de paix entre la Turquie, la Serbie, et le Monténégro

est remis à l'un des Plénipotentiaires de France.

La Réunion passe ensuite à l'examen de la question des garanties qui devront être

établies en vue d'assurer l'exécution des décisions prises par la Conférence.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie donne lecture, comme préliminaire de la discussion, qui va s'ouvrir sur ce sujet, d'un mémoire relatif aux antécédents des troubles en Bulgarie et aux excès commis en 1841 dans cette province par les irréguliers. Son Excellence ajoute qu'il y a deux ordres d'idées distincts dans la question qui occupe la Réunion; d'abord les mesures préliminaires à prendre; ensuite, les moyens de garantir la mise à exécution du nouveau régime qui sera établi. En ce qui concerne les mesures préliminaires elles ont déjà été admises par la Réunion, qui a accueilli les articles résumés ou têtes de chapitres que les Plénipotentiaires ont acceptés comme devant servir de base à l'organisation de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine, et de la Bulgarie. Ces articles d'ailleurs ont été annexés au Compte-Rendu de la 2^{me} Réunion.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie, abordant ensuite la question de la nécessité des garanties, lit deux notes où se trouve retracé le tableau des périls qui menacent les Chrétiens de la Turquie d'Europe; la conclusion de ces notes, en présence de l'impuissance du Gouvernement Turc à appliquer les réformes et des dispositions redoutables qui existent chez les populations Musulmanes, est l'urgence absolue de garanties matérielles, c'est-à-dire de la présence d'une force matérielle étrangère qui défendra les Chrétiens contre les violences des

Musulmans.

Après avoir entendu cette communication, l'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande-Bretagne dit que ses instructions lui font un devoir de s'opposer à toute occupation militaire de la part des Puissances Garantes, mais qu'en dehors de ce mode d'action il est prêt à examiner les moyens d'organiser une force suffisante pour éviter les périls dont il apprécie d'ailleurs toute la gravité.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie, pour résumer l'opinion de son Gouvernement, dit que son auguste Souverain n'a en vue que des principes d'humanité et de devoir moral; sans rechercher une influence exclusive quelconque ni réclamer le monopole de l'occupation, le Gouvernement Impérial ne voudrait atteindre qu'une amélioration réelle du sort des Chrétiens avec des garanties efficaces. Il reste inébranlable sur l'absolue nécessité d'une garantic matérielle dont l'urgence est reconnue par tous ceux qui connaissent le véritable.

état du pays.

Il craint qu'on ne laisse passer le temps en discussions et il est persuadé que l'exécution des réformes aurait besoin, dès le début, de l'appui d'une force suffisante. L'Europe ne saurait ressusciter les morts; elle aurait désormais sur la conscience toute catastrophe nouvelle qui surviendrait. Persuadé que l'Europe désire faire une œuvre sérieuse, l'Ambassadeur de Russie espère qu'elle recherchera des garanties efficaces pour assurer cette œuvre, et il prendra ad referendum celles qui seront proposées en réservant au

Gouvernement Impérial la faculté de les examiner et de les peser.

La Réunion se livre ensuite à l'étude de diverses combinaisons qui pourraient conduire au but qu'elle se propose. Les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne expriment d'abord l'opinion que la présence des troupes régulières Ottomanes pourrait suffire; mais, d'un côté, la présence de ces troupes ayant été reconnue inefficace par la Réunion, et de l'autre la pensée d'une occupation militaire rencontrant des difficultés, l'un des Plénipotentiaires de France demande à combien d'hommes pourrait être évaluée la force armée nécessaire. Sur ce dernier point la Réunion est d'avis que 3,000 ou 4,000 hommes appuyés sur la volonté unanime de l'Europe pourraient constituer le noyau d'un corps plus considérable qui servirait de point d'appui suffisant aux milices locales Chrétiennes; quant à la nationalité de ces troupes, elle est l'objet d'une discussion prolongée.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie recherche s'il ne serait pas possible de former le corps dont il s'agit avec des troupes Roumaines. Ce projet, favorablement accueilli par

[195] P

l'Ambassadeur de Russie, semble à la Réunion peu compatible avec la dignité de la Porte.

L'idée de troupes Belges est ensuite mise en avant par l'un des Plénipotentiaires de France et paraît rencontrer une certaine faveur. Il ne semble pas qu'elle soit contraire au principe de la neutralité de la Belgique, et la Réunion pense d'ailleurs que cette force, qui devrait être considérée comme une garde de la Commission Internationale, ne serait point constituée à l'état permanent, mais seulement pour un temps et pour créer une gendarmerie spéciale.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie fait observer que la milice d'un pays secondaire qui serait mise à la disposition de la Commission Européenne de Surveillance ne pouvait répondre au but qu'on se proposait qu'en tant qu'elle se trouverait sous la main et s'appuierait sur une milice locale Chrétienne qui exigerait du temps pour être formée. La solidarité Européenne et la pression incessante et énergique de toutes les grandes Puissances devraient la préserver d'être massacrée sur les lieux dans l'exercice de ses fonctions.

Les Plénipotentiaires déclarent prendre ce projet ad referendum, et décident qu'en attendant les instructions de leurs Gouvernements ils se réuniront Samedi en Commissions séparées pour l'examen des bases d'organisation de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine, et de la Bulgarie.

(Signé) WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Annexe 1 au 4° Compte-Rendu.

Bulgarie.—Notice sur les Impôts.

Le Budget des recettes de l'Empire Ottoman de l'exercice 1875-76 se décompose de la façon suivante:--

							Francs.
Contributions directes	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •		94,955,500
Contributions indirectes	••	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	387,990,220
Recettes diverses	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	45,554,340
Tribut	••	• •	• •	• •		• •	18,807,560

Les contributions directes comprennent: (1) le verghi; (2) l'impôt foncier de Constantinople; et (3) l'exonération militaire ("bedeli askérié").

Les contributians indirectes comprennent: (1) les dîmes; (2) taxes sur les moutons, &c.; (3) taxes sur les soies; (4) douane; (5) tabac; (6) tapou (titres de possession); (7) spiritueux: (8) timbres; (9) taxes judiciaires; et (10) droits divers.

Les recettes diverses comprennent: (1) les salines; (2) les domaines; (3) les forêts, mines, &c.; (4) les postes et télégraphes.

Les contributions indirectes sont donc d'une importance majeure et de leur répartition et perception dépend surtout l'allégement de la charge qui pèse sur les contribuables.

Les abus, qui entourent la perception de la dîme, sont suffisamment connus. Il serait nécessaire que les Conseils Cantonaux soient autorisés ou bien de la percevoir eux-mêmes, ou bien de la remplacer par un autre impôt. A l'heure qu'il est, la dîme représente de 20 à 30 pour cent des produits du sol et est prélevée avec des vexations qui la rendent particulièrement odieuse aux populations.

Le beglik (taxes sur les moutons, &c.,) est fixé à $4\frac{1}{2}$ piastres par tête de bétail. En cas d'épizoolie, le propriétaire est obligé de payer pour le bétail mort.

Chaque tapou ou acte possessoire est payé 4 piastres. En cas d'achats ou de succession est prélevé le rezmilie, 5 pour cent de la valeur de la propriété.

Il est à noter que les employés qui délivrent les tapous, n'ayant pas de traitement fixe, mais recevant 18 pour cent du revenu de cette contribution, ont tout intérêt à l'augmenter illégalement.

Le système des tuxes sur les vins et l'eau de vie a été la cause de l'abandon de la viniculture dans plusieurs localités. On doit payer en effet : (1) la dîme sur le raisin;

(2) l'impôt de vente; (3) l'impôt de consommation fixé à 10 pour cent du prix des spiritueux et porté actuellement à 20 pour cent.

Pour ce qui est des tabacs, leur culture est entravée par des vexations sans nombre

des employés chargés de recueillir les taxes.

Quant aux impôts directs, le bédéli-askérié, malgré toutes les promesses faites par le Gouvernement, continue à être payé sur les habitants de 15 à 75 ans et ne représente, par conséquent, nullement l'exonération du service militaire, dont il est censé avoir la

Le verghi se compose: (1) de l'imlak qui est de 4 pour mille sur la valeur des immeubles et de 4 pour cent du prix des loyers; et (2) du temetu, sur les professions, à

3 pour cent du prix des salaires.

Sans les douanes, postes et télégraphes, qui resteraient dans leur situation actuelle, vis-à-vis des autorités locales, mais dont les recettes entreraient dans les 30 pour cent destinés aux besoins de l'autorité centrale, toutes les autres contributions, tant pour leur répartition que pour leur perception, devraient être laissées entièrement à l'Assemblée et aux Conseils Cantonaux, parfaitement compétents dans cette question. Toute modification du système financier actuel serait profitable au pays: l'Etat aurait de toute façon les 30 pour cent, auxquels il a droit, et le pays profiterait d'une assiette d'impôts adaptée à sa situation et à ses besoins, et d'un système de perception moins arbitraire et moins vénal que celui qui existe.

Les revenus du Vilayet du Danube, y compris celui de Sofia, se décomposent de la façon suivante:—

Bédéli-Askérié 23,165.7 Reglik 32,143,2 Dîme 129,233,9 Recettes diverses 119,233,9 Recettes diverses 111,351,7 Total 222,860,4 (Le Roussoumat n'entre pas dans ce calcul.)	77 1 .								Piastres.
Bedeli-Askerie 23,165.7 Beglik 32,143,2 Dime 129,233,9 Recettes diverses 129,233,9 Recettes diverses 11,351,7 Total 222,860,4 (Le Roussoumat n'entre pas dans ce calcul.)	Verghi		• •	• •	••	• •	••		26,965,701
Segul		nė	• •	• •	• •	• •	••		23,165,775
129,233,9 11,351,7 11,351,7 Total (Le Roussoumat n'entre pas dans ce calcul.) 222,860,4 (Les revenus du Vilayet d'Andrinople :— Bédéli-Askérié et Verghi		• •	• •	• •	• •		• •		32,143,229
Total			• •	• •	• •	• •			129,233,978
(Le Roussoumat n'entre pas dans ce calcul.) Les revenus du Vilayet d'Andrinople :— Bédéli-Askérié et Verghi 37,624,33 Dîme et Roussoumat 102,672,18 Recettes diverses 272,56 Total 140,569,06 Les revenus du Vilayet de Salonique :— Piastre Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 22,310,61 Dîme 60,859,53 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00	Recettes dive	erses	••	• •	• •	••	••		11,351,782
(Le Roussoumat n'entre pas dans ce calcul.) Les revenus du Vilayet d'Andrinople :— Bédéli-Askérié et Verghi	Tot	al	••	• •	• •				222 860 465
Dime Piastres Piastres 37,624,33 Dîme et Roussoumat 102,672,18 Recettes diverses 102,672,18 140,569,00 Les revenus du Vilayet de Salonique :— Verghi Piastres 272,50 Piastres 22,310,61 Piastres 22,310,61 Piastres 22,310,61 Piastres 22,310,61 Piastres 22,310,61 Piastres 23,312,00 Piastres			(Le Roue	soumet n'	antro non	doma oo o		••	222,000,400
Bédéli-Askérié et Verghi 37,624,33 Dîme et Roussoumat 102,672,18 Recettes diverses 272,50 Total 140,569,00 Les revenus du Vilayet de Salonique :— Piastre Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 22,310,61 Dîme 60,859,55 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00					_	uans ce ca	ilcul.)		
Sedell-Askerie et Verghi	Les revenus o	du <i>Vilay</i> e	et d'Andr	inople :-	_				
Dîme et Roussoumat Recettes diverses 102,672,16 Total 272,50 Les revenus du Vilayet de Salonique :— Piastre Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 22,310,61 Dîme 60,859,53 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00	T) / 1/11 /								Piastres.
Dime et Roussoumat 102,672,18 Recettes diverses 272,56 140,569,00	Bedeli-Askei	ié et V erg	hi	• •	• •	• •	• •		37,624,337
Total			• •	••	••	• •	••	• •	102,672,159
Total	Recettes dive	erses	• •	• •	• •	• •	••		272,504
Verghi	·	-							
Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 7,792,14 Dime 60,859,53 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00	Tot	al	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	140,569,000
Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 7,792,14 Dime 60,859,53 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00	Les revenus o	lu <i>Vilaye</i>	et de Sal	o nique :-	_				, ,
Verghi 22,310,61 Bédéli-Askérié 7,792,14 Dîme 60,859,53 Beglik 16,638,50 Roussoumat 33,312,00 Recettes diverses 11,767,00	,	•							Diagtman
Dîme	Verghi	• •	• •						
Beglik	Bédéli-Askér	ié		• •			••		
Roussoumat	Dîme		••	••			- •		
Recettes diverses	Beglik		• •	••					
Total	Roussoumat								
Total	Recettes dive								
Total		•••	••	••	••	••	••	• •	11,767,000
	Tota	d	••	• •	• •	• •.	••	••	152,679,791
				···					

Annexe 2 au 4º Compte-Rendu.

Monténégro.

De la montagne de Dobrostitza, sur la frontière sud des Zubci, la ligne de frontière ira le long de la route Mokrine-Gral, en traversant les villages: Bielici, Krividvori, Krousévice et Grab (Bielici, Krousévice et Grab resteront aux Turcs et Krividvori aux Monténégrins); de Grab la frontière irait toujours en longeant la route sur Orasjé et Koniska, qui resteraient aux Turcs. De Koniska en droite ligne par Borova, Glava et Koriénici vers le confluent de la Suetsitza avec la Trebichnitza (Pont de Hassanaguitch).

De cette manière la majeure partie des Zubci resterait aux Turcs et Suttorina serait reliée avec la partie Turque des Zubci et par là avec le reste de l'Herzégovine Turque. Les Monténégrins ne recevraient que les montagnes occupées et fortifiées par eux actuelle-

ment le long de leur frontière.

Du pont de Hassan-Aguitch la frontière longerait la rivière de Trebichnitza jusqu'à sa source orientale et irait de là vers le Bilek, qui resterait dans la frontière Turque. [195]

Bilek, en suivant la route jusqu'à Korito, la ligne de frontière taisant un coude vers le nord-est irait sur Ravno en passant par la côte de Somina Planina, le village de Vratkovici et Ravno, ce dernier resterait aux Turcs. De Ravno, par la route jusqu'au village de Yassen, en traversant le village de Lissina (les deux derniers appartiendraient aux Monténégrins). De Yassen au nord-est vers un petit affluent de la Piva, dont le thalweg servirait de frontière jusqu'à l'embouchure de cette petite rivière dans la Piva (près de Pluchinié ou Loïna); de Pluchinié à Pirnidol, au Mont Dormitor, qui resterait aux Monténégrins; de là un coude vers le nord-est jusqu'à Leveri, petit village sur la Tara, qui serait dans la frontière Turque; de là par le thalweg de la Tara, au sud, jusqu'au village de Moikovici (ou Moïkovac). De Moïkovici en droite ligne sur Lioubavitza (affluent du Lim), par le thalweg du Lim jusqu'à sa jonction avec la rivière d'Odolia, puis en longeant la route vers le sud-ouest jusqu'au Khan de Propa sur le Zem (Ziévna)). Puis par le thalweg du Zem jusqu'au village de Serci; de Serci, qui resterait aux Monténégrins, en droite ligne à Foundina, en laissant le village de Dinochi au Monténégro; de là par le thalweg de la Ribnitza jusqu'à sa jonction avec la Moratcha, puis par le thalweg de la Moratcha jusqu'au Lac de Scutari.

A partir de l'embouchure de la Moratcha jusqu'au Mont Dobrostitza (près Suttorina)

la frontière Monténégrine avec la Turquie reste telle qu'elle était avant la guerre.

(Translation.)

Minutes of 4th Sitting.—December 14, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

THE Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

An observation having been made, in the course of reading them, as to the distinction to be laid down between direct and indirect taxes in Bulgaria, the President read a note on the taxation of the Empire (Annex No. 1), and it was agreed that the tithe, the beglik (sheep-tax), the tax on "tapous," or title-deeds, the bédél-askérié (tax for exemption from military service), could not be regarded in any other light than as direct

taxes, the amount of which should be distributed and levied by the villages.

One of the Plenipotentiaries, referring to the previous procès-verbal in which the question was raised of the arrangement of the Montenegrin territory, observed that as regarded the Zubci, he should wish it to be agreed that only a very small portion of this territory should be left to Montenegro. For greater clearness a special map with a definite tracing, will be annexed to this procès-verbal (Annex No. 2). On this occasion the Russian Ambassador, while expressing regret that a port could not be granted to Montenegro, read a note on the navigation of the Boïana, and on the expediency of destroying the forts established by the Turks at the point where this river flows into the Lake of Scutari. He communicated at the same time to the meeting a telegram from the Prince of Servia requesting admission to the Conference for a Servian Delegate. It was agreed that the President should answer this request in the negative.

The meeting next decided on the formation of two special committees to consider the organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the one hand, and the organization of Bulgaria on the other. The Plenipotentiary of Germany, one of the Plenipotentiaries of Austria-Hungary, of France, of Great Britain, and the Plenipotentiary of Italy were selected for the Committee on Bosnia and Herzegovina; one of the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France, of Great Britain, and the Plenipotentiary of Russia were selected for the Com-

mittee on Bulgaria.

The task of preparing the conditions of peace between Turkey, Servia, and Monte-

negro was entrusted to one of the French Plenipotentiaries.

The meeting then proceeded to consider the question of the guarantees which are to be required in order to ensure the execution of the conclusions come to by the Conference.

The Russian Ambassador, as a preliminary to the discussion about to be opened on this point, read a memorandum relative to the events which preceded the disturbances

in Bulgaria, and to the excesses committed by the irregulars in the province in 1841. His Excellency added that there were two distinct points in the question now under the consideration of the meeting: first, the preliminary measures to be taken; then, the means to guarantee the execution of the new arrangement which is to be established. As regards the preliminary measures they had already been agreed to by the meeting, which had accepted the summary of the articles or table of contents, which the Plenipotentiaries had adopted as a basis for the organization of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. These articles, moreover, were annexed to the minutes of the second meeting.

The Russian Ambassador next approached the question of the necessity of guarantees, and read two memoranda, in which the dangers which threatened the Christians of European Turkey were described; the conclusion to which these memoranda lead, in view of the inability of the Turkish Government to apply the reforms and of the threatening disposition which existed in the Mussulman population, is the absolute necessity of material guarantees—that is to say, the presence of a material foreign force to defend the Christians against the violence of the Mussulmans.

After hearing this communication, one of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain declared that his instructions obliged him to oppose any military occupation on the part of the Guaranteeing Powers, but that without those limits he was ready to examine the methods of organizing a sufficient force to obviate dangers the gravity of which he fully

appreciated.

The Russian Ambassador, in order to sum up the views of his Government, said that his august Sovereign had no other principles in view than those of humanity and moral duty. The Imperial Government, without seeking any exclusive influence, or claiming any monopoly of occupation, only desired to obtain a real amelioration in the lot of the Christians with effectual guarantees. It remained resolute as to the absolute necessity of a material guarantee, the importance of which was acknowledged by all those who knew the real state of the country.

He was afraid that they would allow time to slip away in discussions, and he was persuaded that the execution of the reforms would require from the beginning the support of a sufficient force. Europe could not bring the dead to life; she would have for the future upon her conscience any new catastrophe which might occur. Convinced that Europe desired to perform a serious task, the Russian Ambassador hoped that she would seek for sufficient guarantees to insure the fulfilment of this task, and he would take ad referendum those which might be proposed, reserving to the Imperial Govern-

ment the power to consider and weigh them.

The meeting then proceeded to examine the different combinations which might lead to the result which it had in view. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain at first expressed the opinion that the presence of the regular Ottoman troops would be sufficient; but the meeting having agreed that the presence of these troops would be ineffectual, and the idea of a military occupation encountering opposition, one of the Plenipotentiaries of France asked the number of men which was thought necessary for the armed force. On this latter point the meeting was of opinion that from 3,000 to 4,000 men, supported by the unanimous consent of Europe, would constitute a nucleus of a more considerable force which might serve as a sufficient support for the local Christian militia. As to the nationality of these troops, a long discussion took place.

The Plenipotentiary of Italy asked if it would not be possible to form the force in question with Roumanian troops. This plan, though favourably received by the Russian Ambassador, appeared to the meeting to be hardly compatible with the dignity of the

Porte.

The idea of Belgian troops was then put forward by one of the Plenipotentiaries of France, and appeared to meet with a certain amount of support. It did not appear to be contrary to the principle of the neutrality of Belgium, and the meeting thought moreover, that this force, which ought to be considered as a guard to the International Commission, would not be constituted on a permanent footing, but only temporarily, and to create a special police.

The Russian Ambassador observed that the militia of a secondary State which might be placed at the disposition of the European Commission of Control could not answer the purpose in view, except in so far as it might be under the control of and be supported by a local Christian militia, which would require time for its formation. The unanimity of Europe and the continual and energetic pressure of all the Great Powers ought to preserve it from being massacred on the spot in the exercise of its duties.

The Plenipotentiaries declared that they accepted this plan ad referendum, and

decided that, pending the receipt of instructions from their Governments, they would meet on Saturday in separate Committees to examine the bases of the arrangements for

Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

WERTHER. (Signed) ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. HENRY ELLIOT. SALISBURY. L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Annex 1 to Minutes of 4th Meeting.

Bulgaria.—Note on the Taxes.

The Budget of the revenue of the Ottoman Empire for the year 1875-6 resolves itself into the following items:-France

								rancs.
Direct taxes		• •	• •	• •		• •		94,955,500
Indirect taxes	• •	• •	• •	••	••			387,990,220
Various receipts	• •	• •	• •		••		• •	45,554,340
Tribute	••	• •			• •		• •	18,807,560

The Direct taxes comprise: (1) the verghi; (2) the Constantinople land tax; and

(3) the tax for military exemption (bedel-askerié).

The Indirect taxes comprise: (1) the tithes; (2) sheep tax, &c.,; (3) tax on silk; (4) Customs; (5) tobacco; (6) tapou (title-deeds); (7) spirituous liquors; (8) stamps; (9) judicial taxes; and (10) various dues.

The various receipts comprise: (1) the salt mines; (2) State lands; (3) forests, mines, &c.; and (4) postal service and telegraphs.

The indirect taxes are, therefore, of the most importance, and on their distribution

and collection depends chiefly the alleviation of the burden on the taxpayer.

The abuses connected with the collection of the tithe are sufficiently well known. It would be necessary that the Cantonal Councils should be authorized either to collect it themselves or to substitute for it some other tax. At the present time the tithe represents from 20 to 30 per cent. of the produce of the soil, and is levied with annoyances which render it especially odious to the population.

The beglik (tax on sheep, &c.,) is fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per head of cattle. In case of disease, the proprietor is obliged to pay for the dead cattle.

Each title-deed or tapou is charged 4 piastres. In case of sale or succession, the rezmilie is levied 5 per cent. on the value of the property.

It is to be observed that the officials who deliver the tapous having no fixed salary, but receiving 18 per cent. of the produce of this tax, have every inducement to augment

The system of taxing wine and brandy was the cause of the cultivation of the vine being abandoned in several localities. The following payments have, in fact, to be made: (1) the tithe on the grape; (2) the tax on the sale; (3) the consumption duty fixed at 10 per cent. on the price of the spirit and practically raised to 20 per cent.

As regards tobacco, its cultivation is impeded by the innumerable vexations of the

officials charged with the collection of the taxes.

As regards the direct taxes, the bedéli-askérié, notwithstanding all the promises made by the Government, continues to be paid by persons from fifteen to seventy-five years of age, and does not consequently represent in any way exemption from military service, which it is understood to signify.

The verghi is composed of: (1) the imlak, which is at the rate of 4 per mille in the value of real property, and of 4 per cent. on the amount of rents; and (2) the temetu,

on professions, at 3 per cent. on the amount of the salary.

Putting aside the customs, postal service and telegraphs, which would remain in their present condition as regards the local authorities, except that the receipts would form part of the 30 per cent. intended to meet the necessities of the Central Government, all the other taxes, both as regards their distribution and their collection, ought to be

left entirely to the Assembly and to the Cantonal Councils who would have entire jurisdiction on this point. Any modification of the existing system of finance would be profitable to the country: the State would have the 30 per cent. to which it has a right, and the country would be benefitted by an assessment of taxes adapted to its situation and its necessities, and by a system of collection less corrupt and less arbitrary than that which exists at present.

The revenue of the Vilayet of the Danube, including that of Sofia, resolves itself into the following items:—

Ü								Piastres.
Verghi		••						26,965,701
Bédéli-Askérié	• •	••	••	•••	•••	••	• •	23,165,775
Beglik •		• •	••	••	•••		• •	32,143,226
Tithe	• •	• •	••	•••		••	••	
Various receipts	• •	•••	• • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• •	• •	• •	129,233,978
•		••	••	••	••	••	• •	11,351,782
Total	• •	••	••	••	• •	••		222,860,465
	(The	Roussoum	at does n	ot enter i	nto this ca	alculation.	.)	
The revenue of	tha 17:	1	4.7. *.	,	,			
The revenue of	the vi	iuyei oj	Aarian	opie:				
Bédéli-Askérié ar	nd Vara	h:						Piastres.
Tithe and Rousso	nmet		••	• •	• •	••	• •	37,624,337
Various receipts		••	••	• •	• •	••	• •	102,672,159
various receipts	••	••	• •	• •	• •	• •	• •	272,504
Total	••	••	••	••	••	• •	••	140,569,000
The revenue of t	the Vi	lanet of	Salonic	·m ·				
		ager of	~~~~	· · ·				Piastres.
Verghi		• •						22,310,610
Bédéli-Askérié				••	•••	••	••	7,792,140
Tithe				••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			60,859,534
Beglik	••	••	••	•••	••	• •	••	16,638,500
Roussoumat		••	•••	•••		••	••	
Various receipts	• •	••	••	••	••	•	• •	33,312,007
			••		••	• •	••	11,767,000
Total	••	••	••	••	• •	••	• •	152,679,791
				,				

Annex 2 to Minutes of 4th Meeting.

Montenegro.

From the mountain of Debrostitza, on the south frontier of the Zubci, the frontier line will go along the Mokvine-Gral road, passing through the villages of Bielici, Krividvori, Krousévice, and Grab (Bielici, Krousévice, and Grab will be retained by the Turks, and Krividvori by the Montenegrins). From Grab the frontier will keep along the road to Orasje and Koniska, which will belong to the Turks. From Koniska, in a straight line by Borova Glava and Koriénici, towards the confluence of the Suetsitza with the Trebichnitza (Bridge of Hassanaguitch).

In this way the greater part of the Zubci would belong to the Turks, and Suttorina would be united with the Turkish part of the Zubci, and so with the rest of Turkish Herzegovina. The Montenegrins would only have the mountains actually occupied and

fortified by them along their frontier.

From the Bridge of Hassanaguitch the frontier would keep along the river of Trebichnitza to its eastern source, and would go from there towards Bilek, which would remain within the Turkish boundary. From Bilek, following the road as far as Korito, the boundary line would make a bend towards the north-east in the direction of Ravno, passing by the hill of Somina Planina, the village of Vratkovici and Ravno, the latter being retained by the Turks. From Ravno by the road to the village of Yarsen, crossing the village of Lirsina (the two latter to belong to Montenegro). From Yarsen to the north-east towards a little affluent of the Piva, the "thalweg" of which would be the frontier as far as the confluence of this little stream with the Piva (near Pluchinie or Loina); from Pluchinie to Pirnidol, at Mount Dormitor, which would belong to the Montenegrins; from thence a bend towards the north-east as far as Leveri, a little village on the Tara, which would be within the Turkish boundary; thence by the valley of the Tara to the south as far as the village of Moikovici (or Moikovac). From Moikovici in a straight line to Lioubavitza (an affluent of the Lim), by the "thalweg" of the

Lim as far as its juncture with the Odolia), thence along the road towards the south-west as far as the Khan of Propa, on the Zem (Zievna). Then by the "thalweg" of the Zem to the village of Serci; from Serci, which would belong to the Montenegrins, in a straight line to Fondina, leaving the village of Dinochi to Montenegro; thence by the valley of the Ribnitza to its junction with the Moratcha; then by the valley of the Moratcha to the Lake of Scutari.

From the mouth of the Moratcha to Mount Dobrostitza (near Suttorina) the Monte-

negrin and Turkish frontier would remain as it was before the war.

No. 113.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

The Maryuna of Sunabury to the Mart of Deroy.—(Iceconcus December 51

My Lord, Pera, December 22, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th instant, I transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the final agreement respecting the Provinces of Bulgaria, which was agreed to at the preliminary meeting of the Plenipotentiaries yesterday.

I inclose also a copy of the instructions, which were agreed to at the same meeting,

for the guidance of the members of the proposed International Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 113.

Final Agreement of Preliminary Conference respecting the Provinces of Bulguria.

[See p. 153.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 113.

Instructions for the guidance of the Members of the proposed International Commission.

[See p. 157.]

No. 114.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Pera, December 22, 1876.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy of the terms which, at their meeting of yesterday, the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers agreed to submit to the Conference for the conclusion of peace between the Porte and Montenegro.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 114.

Terms of Peace for Montenegro. [See page 148.]

No. 115.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord, Vienna, December 27, 1876.

ALEKO PASHA, the Turkish Ambassador, who had an interview with Count

Andrassy two days ago, tells me that his Excellency expressed to him an earnest hope

that the Porte would accept the proposals agreed on by the European Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople, and that, on his objecting to the employment of foreign gendarmes as a guard for the Commission which will be appointed to superintend the execution of the reforms to be effected in the province, his Excellency said their number would only amount to 2,000 or 3,000 men, and that they might be looked on as being employed by the Porte, as they could not remain in the country without its sanction.

I said to the Pasha that I knew nothing except from the newspapers and from information received at the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the proposals made to the Porte, but that I quite agreed with Count Andrassy that as the foreigners to be employed might form the nucleus, on which a well organized native police force might be formed of Mussulmans and Christians, on a European model, I could not see why it should be considered derogatory to the dignity and independence of the Turkish Government

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 116.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31, 11:30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, December 30, 1876, midnight. GENERAL IGNATIEW is anxious we should sign an Act, of which operative

clause is the following:—

"Plenipotentiaries declare that propositions laid before the Porte have been deliberated in common, and that they contain the essential bases of the arrangements to be concluded with the Porte. They all engage consequently to sustain them in Conference, and to support them 'auprès de la Porte.' To give an evident proof of the union of their Governments, which should contribute powerfully to the maintenance of peace, the Plenipotentiaries have signed this Act."

No. 117.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 1, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 22, 1876.

THE late Grand Vizier, just before his resignation, spoke to Mr. Sandison about the report which had reached him of propositions being made for the employment of a small body of Belgians in Bulgaria.

His Highness said that, in addition to the other objections which he should be obliged to make to such a measure, there was a consideration which must not be lost sight of.

It might in two different ways bring about collisions, not to be effectually guarded against by any precaution on the part of the Porte, and which would inevitably lead to formidable complications and to results disastrous to Turkey.

The presence of these troops would exasperate the Mussulmans, a portion of whom, especially the Pomaks, are a set of semi-savages, who would be quite capable of waylaying and killing some of them in the passes of the Balkans without regard to consequences.

Collisions might, moreover, be easily brought about by revolutionary emissaries, or others, who might hope that they would be immediately followed by a foreign occupation.

The danger apprehended by Mehemet Ruschdi Pasha can certainly not be regarded as groundless or slight.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

[195]

No. 118.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 1, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 23, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the official translation in French of the Constitution, which was proclaimed this morning.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 118.

Constitution promulguée le 7 Zilhidjé 1293 (11/23 Décembre, 1876.)

De l'Empire Ottoman.

Article 1. L'EMPIRE Ottoman comprend les contrées et possessions actuelles et les provinces privilégiées.

Il forme un tout indivisible dont aucune partie ne peut jamais être détachée par quelque motif que ce soit.

Art. 2. Constantinople est la capitale de l'Empire Ottoman.

Cette ville ne possède, à l'exclusion des autres villes de l'Empire, aucun privilége ni

immunité qui lui soit propre.

Art. 3. La souveraineté Ottomane qui réunit dans la personne du Souverain le Kalifat Suprême de l'Islamisme, appartient à l'aîné des Princes de la dynastie d'Osman, conformément aux règles établis ab antiquo.

Art. 4. Sa Majesté le Sultan est, à titre de Kalife Suprême, le protecteur de la

religion Musulmane.

Il est le Souverain et le Padichah de tous les Ottomans.

Art. 5. Sa Majesté le Sultan est irresponsable; sa personne est sacrée.

Art. 6. La liberté des membres de la dynastie Impériale Ottomane, leurs biens personnels, immobiliers et mobiliers, leur liste civile pendant toute leur vie, sont sous la garantie de tous.

Art. 7. Sa Majesté le Sultan compte au nombre de ses droits souverains les préroga-

tives suivantes:

Il nomme et révoque les Ministres; il confère les grades, les fonctions et les insignes de ses ordres; il donne l'investiture aux Chefs des Provinces privilégiées, dans les formes déterminées par les priviléges qui leur ont été concédés; il fait frapper la monaie; son nom est prononcé dans les mosquées pendant la prière publique; il conclut les Traités avec les Puissances; il déclare la guerre; il fait la paix; il commande les armées de terre et de mer; il ordonne les mouvements militaires; il fait exécuter les dispositions du chéri (la loi sacrée) et des lois; il fait les règlements d'administration publique; il remet ou commue les peines prononcées par les Tribunaux criminels; il convoque et proroge l'Assemblée Générale; il dissout, s'il le juge nécessaire, la Chambre des Députés, sauf à faire procéder à la réélection des Députés.

Du Droit Public des Ottomans.

Art. 8. Tous les sujets de l'Empire sont indistinctement appelés Ottomans, quelle que soit la religion qu'ils professent.

La qualité d'Ottoman s'acquiert et se perd suivant les cas spécifiés par la loi.

Art. 9. Tous les Ottomans jouissent de la liberté individuelle, à la condition de ne pas porter atteinte à la liberté d'autrui.

Art. 10. La liberté individuelle est absolument inviolable.

Nul ne peut, sous aucun prétexte, subir une peine quelconque, que dans les cas déterminés par la loi et suivant les formes qu'elle prescrit.

Art. 11. L'Islamisme est la religion de l'Etat.

Tout en sauvegardant ce principe, l'Etat protége le libre exercice de tous les cultes reconnus dans l'Empire, et maintient les priviléges religieux accordés aux diverses communautés, à la condition qu'il ne soit pas porté atteinte à l'ordre public ou aux bonnes mœurs.

Art. 12. La presse est libre dans les limites tracées par la loi.

Art. 13. Les Ottomans ont la faculté de former des associations commerciales, indus-

trielles ou agricoles, dans les limites déterminées par les lois et les règlements.

Art. 14. Une ou plusieurs personnes appartenant à la nationalité Ottomane ont le droit de présenter des pétitions à l'autorité compétente au sujet d'infractions aux lois ou règlements, commises soit à leur préjudice personnel soit au préjudice de l'intérêt public, et pourront également adresser, sous forme de réclamation, des pétitions signées à l'Assemblée Générale Ottomane pour se plaindre de la conduite des fonctionnaires ou employés de l'Etat.

Art. 15. L'enseignement est libre.

Chaque Ottoman peut faire des cours publics ou privés, à la condition de se conformer aux lois.

Art. 16. Toutes les écoles sont placées sous la surveillance de l'Etat.

Il sera avisé aux moyens propres à unifier et à régulariser l'enseignement donné à tous les Ottomans; mais il ne pourra pas être porté atteinte à l'enseignement religieux des diverses communautés.

Art. 17. Tous les Ottomans sont égaux devant la loi.

Ils ont les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs envers le pays, sans préjudice de ce qui concerne la religion.

Art. 18. L'admission aux fonctions publiques a pour condition la connaissance du Turc, qui est la langue officielle de l'Etat.

Art. 19. Tous les Ottomans sont admis aux fonctions publiques suivant leurs aptitudes, leur mérite et leur capacité.

Art. 20. L'assiette et la répartition des impôts s'établissent, conformément aux lois et aux règlements spéciaux, en proportion de la fortune de chaque contribuable.

Art. 21. La propriété immobilière et mobilière, régulièrement établie, est garantie.

Aucune expropriation ne peut avoir lieu que pour cause d'utilité publique, dûment constatée et contre le paiement préalable, conformément à la loi, de la valeur de l'immeuble à exproprier.

Art. 22. Le domicile est inviolable.

L'autorité ne peut pénétrer de force dans le domicile de qui que ce soit, que dans les cas déterminés par la loi.

Art. 23. Nul ne peut être astreint à comparaître devant un Tribunal autre que le Tribunal compétent suivant la Loi de Procédure qui sera édictée.

Art. 24. La confiscation des biens, la corvée et le Djérimé (exaction sous forme de pénalité pécuniaire) sont prohibés.

Toutefois les contributions levées légalement en temps de guerre et les mesures nécessitées par l'état de guerre, sont exceptées de cette disposition.

Art. 25. Aucune somme d'argent ne peut être perçue, à titre d'impôt ou de taxe, ou sous toute autre dénomination, qu'en vertu d'une loi.

Art. 26. La torture et la question, sous toutes les formes, sont complètement et absolument prohibées.

Des Ministres.

Art. 27. Sa Majesté le Sultan investit de la charge de Grand Vézir et de celle de Chéik-ul-Islam, les personnages que sa haute confiance croit devoir y appeler.

La nomination des autres Ministres a lieu par Iradé (Ordonnance) Impérial. Art. 28. Le Conseil des Ministres se réunit sous la présidence du Grand Vézir.

Les attributions du Conseil des Ministres comprennent toutes les affaires importantes, intérieures ou extérieures, de l'Etat.

Celles de ses délibérations qui doivent être soumises à la sanction de Sa Majesté le Sultan, sont rendues exécutoires par Iradé Impérial.

Art. 29. Chaque chef de Département Ministériel administre, dans la limite de ses attributions, les affaires qui ressortissent à son Département.

Pour celles qui dépassent cette limite, il en réfère au Grand Vézir.

Le Grand Vézir donne suite aux rapports qui lui sont adressés par les chefs des divers Départements, soit en les déférant, s'il y a lieu, au Conseil des Ministres et ensuite en les présentant à la sanction Impériale, soit, dans le cas contraire, en statuant lui-même ou en les soumettant à la décision de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Un règlement spécial déterminera ces diverses catégories d'affaires pour chaque Département Ministériel.

Art. 30. Les Ministres sont responsables des faits ou actes de leur gestion.

Art. 31. Si un ou plusieurs membres de la Chambre des Députés veulent porter plainte contre un Ministre, en raison de sa responsabilité et à l'occasion de faits dont la Chambre [195]

a le droit de connaître, la demande contenant la plainte est remise au Président, qui la renvoie, dans les trois jours, au bureau chargé, en vertu du règlement intérieur d'examiner la plainte et de décider s'il y a lieu de la soumettre aux délibérations de la Chambre.

La décision du bureau est prise à la majorité des voix, après que les renseignements nécessaires ont été obtenus et que des explications ont été fournies par le Ministre en cause.

Si le bureau est d'avis de soumettre la plainte à la Chambre, le rapport constatant cette décision est lu en séance publique, et la Chambre, après avoir entendu les explications du Ministre en cause appelé à assister à la séance, ou de son délégué, vote à la majorité absolue de deux tiers des voix, sur les conclusions du rapport.

En cas d'adoption de ces conclusions, une adresse, demandant la mise en jugement du Ministre en cause, est transmise au Grand Vézir, qui la soumet à la sanction de Sa Majesté le Sultan, et le renvoi devant la Haute Cour, a lieu en vertu d'un Iradé

Impérial.

Art. 32. Une loi spéciale déterminera la procédure à suivre pour le jugement des Ministres.

Art. 33. Il n'existe aucune différence entre les Ministres et les particuliers en ce qui concerne les procès privés et qui sont en dehors de leurs fonctions.

Les procès de ce genre sont déférés à la juridiction ordinaire.

Art. 34. Le Ministre dont la mise en jugement a été prononcée par la Chambre d'Accusation de la Haute Cour, est suspendu de ses fonctions jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été déchargé de l'accusation portée contre lui.

Art. 35. En cas de rejet, par un vote motivé de la Chambre des Députés, d'un projet de loi pour l'adoption duquel le Ministère croit devoir insister, Sa Majesté le Sultan ordonne, dans l'exercice de sa souveraineté, soit le changement du Ministère, soit la dissolution de la Chambre, à charge de réélection des députés dans le délai fixé par la loi.

Art. 36. En cas de nécessité urgente, si l'Assemblée Générale n'est pas réunie, le Ministère peut prendre des dispositions en vue de prémunir l'Etat contre un danger, ou de sauvegarder la sécurité publique.

Ces dispositions, sanctionnées par Iradé Impérial, ont provisoirement force de loi, si

elles ne sont pas contraires à la Constitution.

Elles doivent être soumises à l'Assemblée Générale dès que celle-ci est réunie.

Art. 37. Chaque Ministre a le droit d'assister aux séances du Sénat et de la Chambre des Députés ou de s'y faire représenter par un fonctionnaire supérieur de son département.

Il a également le droit d'être entendu avant tout membre de la Chambre qui aurait

demandé la parole.

Art. 38. Lorsqu'à la suite d'une décision prise à la majorité des voix, un Ministre est invité à se rendre à la Chambre des Députés pour fournir des explications, il est tenu de répondre aux questions qui lui sont adressées, soit en se présentant personnellement, soit en déléguant un fonctionnaire supérieur de son département.

Néanmoins, il a le droit d'ajourner sa réponse, s'il le juge nécessaire, en prenant sur

lui la responsabilité de cet ajournement.

Des Fonctionnaires Publics.

Art. 39. Toutes les nominations aux diverses fonctions publiques auront lieu conformément aux règlements qui détermineront les conditions de mérite et de capacité exigées pour l'admission aux emplois de l'Etat.

Tout fonctionnaire nommé dans ces conditions ne pourra être révoqué ou changé:

S'il n'est pas prouvé que sa conduite justifie légalement sa révocation;

S'il n'a pas donné sa démission, ou bien encore si sa révocation n'est pas jugée

indispensable par le Gouvernement.

Les fonctionnaires qui auront fait preuve de bonne conduite et d'honnêteté, ainsi que ceux dont la mise en disponibilité aura été jugée indispensable par le Gouvernement, auront droit, soit à l'avancement, soit à la pension de retraite, soit au traitement de disponibilité, conformément aux dispositions qui seront déterminées par un règlement spécial.

Art. 40. Les attributions des différentes fonctions seront fixées par des règlements

spéciaux.

Chaque fonctionnaire est responsable dans la limite de ses attributions.

Art. 41. Tout fonctionnaire est tenu de respecter son supérieur; mais l'obéissance n'est due qu'aux ordres donnés dans les limites tracées par la loi.

Pour les actes contraires à la loi, le fait d'avoir obéi à un supérieur ne peut dégager la responsabilité du fonctionnaire qui les a exécutés.

De l'Assemblée Générale.

Art. 42. L'Assemblée Générale se compose de deux Chambres: la Chambre des Seigneurs ou Sénat et la Chambre des Députés.

Art. 43. Les deux Chambres se réunissent le 1 Novembre de chaque aunée;

l'ouverture a lieu par Iradé Impérial.

La clôture, fixée au l Mars suivant, a également lieu en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial.

Aucune des deux Chambres ne peut se réunir hors le temps de session de l'autre

Chambre.

Art. 44. Sa Majesté le Sultan peut, suivant l'exigence des circonstances, avancer

l'époque de l'ouverture et abréger ou prolonger la Session.

Art. 45. La solennité de l'ouverture a lieu en présence de Sa Majesté le Sultan, soit en personne, soit représenté par le Grand Vézir et en présence des Ministres et des membres des deux Chambres.

Il est donné lecture d'un discours Impérial exposant la situation intérieure de l'Empire et l'état de ses relations extérieures, dans le cours de l'année écoulée, et indiquant les

mesures dont l'adoption, pour l'année suivante, est jugée nécessaire.

Art. 46. Tous les membres de l'Assemblée Générale prêtent le serment d'être fidèles à Sa Majesté le Sultan et à la patrie, d'observer la Constitution, de remplir le mandat qui leur est confié et de s'abstenir de tout acte contraire à ces devoirs.

La prestation du serment a lieu, pour les nouveaux membres, à l'ouverture de la Session, en présence du Grand Vézir et, après l'ouverture, en présence de leurs présidents respectifs, et en séance publique de la Chambre dont ils font partie.

Art. 47. Les membres de l'Assemblée Générale sont libres dans l'émission de leurs

opinions ou de leurs votes.

Aucun d'eux ne peut être lié par des instructions ou promesses, ni influencé par des menaces.

Il ne peut être poursuivi pour les opinions ou les votes émis par lui au cours des délibérations de la Chambre dont il fait partie, à moins qu'il n'ait contreveuu au règlement intérieur de cette Chambre, auquel cas les dispositions édictées par le règlement lui sont appliquées.

Art. 48. Tout membre de l'Assemblée Générale qui, à la majorité absolue des deux tiers de la Chambre dont il fait partie, est accusé de trahison, de tentative de violation de la Constitution ou de concussion, ou qui a été frappé légalement d'une condamnation à l'emprisonnement ou à l'exil, est déchu de sa qualité de Sénateur ou de Député.

Le jugement et l'application de la peine appartiennent au Tribunal compétent. Art. 49. Chaque membre de l'Assemblée Générale émet son vote en personne.

Il a le droit de s'abstenir au moment du vote.

Art. 50. Nul ne peut être à la fois membre des deux Chambres.

Art. 51. Aucune délibération ne peut avoir lieu, dans l'une ou l'autre Chambre, qu'autant que la moitié plus un de ses membres se trouvent réunis.

Hors le cas où la majorité des deux tiers est requise, toute résolution est prise à la majorité absolue des membres présents.

En cas de partage, la voix du Président est prépondérante.

Art, 52. Toute pétition relative à des intérêts privés, présentée à l'une ou à l'autre Chambre, est rejetée si les recherches auxquelles elle donne lieu ont eu pour résultat de constater que le pétitionnaire ne s'est pas adressé en premier lieu aux fonctionnaires publics que la demande concerne ou à l'autorité de laquelle relèvent ces fonctionnaires.

Art. 53. L'initiative de la proposition d'une loi ou de la modification d'une loi

existante appartient au Ministère.

Le Sénat et la Chambre des Députés peuvent aussi demander une nouvelle loi ou la modification d'une loi existante sur des matières comprises dans leurs attributions.

Dans ce dernier cas, la demande est soumise par le Grand Vézir à Sa Majesté le Sultan et, s'il y a lieu, le Conseil d'Etat est chargé en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial, de préparer le projet de loi qui fait l'objet de la proposition, sur les renseignements et éclaircissements fournis par les départements compétents.

Art. 54. Les projets de loi élaborés par le Conseil d'Etat, sont soumis en premier lieu à la Chambre des Députés et, en second lieu, au Sénat.

Ces projets n'ont force de loi que si, après avoir été adoptés par les deux Chambres, ils sont sanctionnés par Iradé Impérial.

Tout projet de loi définitivement rejeté par l'une des deux Chambres ne peut être soumis à une nouvelle délibération dans le cours de la même session.

Art. 55. Un projet de loi n'est pas considéré comme adopté s'il n'a été voté successivement par la Chambae des Députés et le Sénat, à la majorité des voix, Article par Article, et si l'ensemble du projet n'a réuni la majorité des voix dans chacune des deux Chambres.

Art. 56. A l'exception des Ministres, de leurs délégués et des fonctionnaires convocués par une invitation en écials pul les route êtres introduit dans l'une ou l'entre

Art. 56. A l'exception des Ministres, de leurs délégués et des fonctionnaires convoqués par une invitation spéciale, nul ne peut être introduit dans l'une ou l'autre Chambre, ni admis à faire une communication quelconque, soit qu'il se présente en son nom, soit comme représentant un groupe d'individus.

Art. 57. Les délibérations des Chambres ont lieu en langue Turque.

Les projets sont imprimés et distribués avant le jour fixé pour la discussion.

Art. 58. Les votes sont émis : par appel nominal ; par des signes de manifestation extérieure, ou par voie de scrutin secret.

Le vote au scrutin secret est subordonné à une décision de la Chambre, prise à la

majorité des membres présents.

Art. 59. La police intérieure de chaque Chambre est exercée par son président.

Du Sénat.

Art. 60. Le Président et les membres du Sénat sont nommés directement par Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Le nombre des Sénateurs ne peut excéder le tiers des membres de la Chambre des

Députés.

Art. 61. Pour pouvoir être nommé Sénateur, il faut:

S'être rendu, par ses actes, digne de la confiance publique ou avoir rendu des services signalés à l'Etat;

Etre âgé d'au moins quarante ans.

Art. 62. Les Sénateurs sont nommés à vie.

La dignité de Sénateur peut être conférée aux personnages en disponibilité ayant exercé les fonctions de Ministre, Gouverneur-Général (Vali), Commandant de Corps d'Armée, Cazasker (Grand Juge), Ambassadeur ou Ministre Plénipotentiaire, Patriarche, Khakham-Bachi (Grand Rabbin), aux Généraux de Division des armées de terre et de mer et, en général, aux personnes réunissant les conditions requises.

Les membres du Sénat, appelés, sur leur demande, à d'autres fonctions, perdent leur

qualité de Sénateur.

Art. 63. Le traitement de Sénateur est fixé à la somme mensuelle de 10,000 piastres. Le Sénateur qui reçoit du Trésor un traitement ou des allocations à un autre titre, n'a droit qu'au complément, si leur montant est inférieur à 10,000 piastres.

Si ce chiffre est égal ou supérieur au traitement de Sénateur, il continue à en toucher

le montant.

Art. 64. Le Sénat examine les projets de loi ou de Budget qui lui sont transmis par

la Chambre des Députés.

Si dans le cours de l'examen d'un projet de loi, le Sénat relève une disposition contraire aux droits souverains de Sa Majesté le Sultan, à la liberté, à la Constitution, à l'intégrité territoriale de l'Empire, à la sûreté intérieure du pays, à l'intérêt de la défense de la patrie ou aux bonnes mœurs, il le rejette définitivement par un vote motivé, ou il le renvoie, accompagné de ses observations, à la Chambre des Députés, en demandant qu'il soit amendé ou modifié dans le sens de ces observations.

Les projets de loi adoptés par le Sénat sont revêtus de son approbation et transmis

au Grand Vézir.

Le Sénat examine les pétitions qui lui sont présentées; il transmet au Grand Vézir celles de ces pétitions qu'il croit mériter ce renvoi, en les accompagnant de ses observations.

De la Chambre des Députés.

Art. 65. Le nombre des Députés est fixé à raison d'un Député sur 50,000 individus du sexe masculin appartenant à la nationalité Ottomane.

Art. 66. L'élection a lieu au scrutin secret. Le mode d'élection sera déterminé par

une loi spéciale.

Art. 67. Le mandat de Député est incompatible avec les fonctions publiques, à

l'exception de celles de Ministre.

Tout autre fonctionnaire public, élu à la députation, est libre de l'accepter ou de la refuser, mais, en cas d'acceptation, il doit résigner ses fonctions.

Art 68. Ne peuvent être élus Députés:

1. Ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à la nationalité Ottomane;

2. Ceux qui, en vertu du règlement spécial en vigueur, jouissent des immunités attachées au service étranger qu'ils exercent;

3. Ceux qui ne connaissent pas le Turc;

4. Ceux qui n'ont pas l'âge de trente ans révolus;

5. Les gens attachés au service d'un particulier;

6. Les faillis non-réhabilités;

7. Ceux qui sont notoirement déconsidérés par leur conduite;

8. Les individus qui ont été frappés d'interdiction judiciaire, tant que cette interdiction n'est pas levée;

9. Ceux qui ne jouissent pas de leurs droits civils ;

10. Ceux qui prétendent appartenir à une nation étrangère.

Après l'expiration de la première période de quatre années, l'une des conditions de l'éligibilité à la députation sera de savoir lire le Turc, et autant que possible, écrire dans cette langue.

Art. 69. Les élections générales des Députés ont lieu tous les quatre ans. Le mandat de chaque Député ne dure que quatre ans; mais il est rééligible.

Art. 70. Les élections générales commencent, au plus tard, quatre mois avant le ler Novembre, qui est la date fixée pour la réunion de la Chambre.

Art. 71. Chaque membre de la Chambre des Députés représente l'universalité des

Ottomans et non exclusivement la circonscription qui l'a nommé.

Art. 72. Les électeurs sont tenus de choisir leurs Députés parmi les habitants de la province à laquelle ils appartiennent.

Art. 73. En cas de dissolution de la Chambre par Iradé Impérial, les élections générales doivent commencer en temps nécessaire pour que la Chambre puisse se réunir de nouveau, au plus tard, dans les six mois de la date de la dissolution.

Art. 74. En cas de décès, d'interdiction judiciaire, d'absence prolongée, de perte de la qualité de Député résultant d'une condamnation ou de l'acceptation de fonctions publiques, il est procédé à un remplacement, conformément aux préscriptions de la loi électorale, et dans un délai tel que le nouveau Député puisse exercer son mandat, au plus tard, dans la session suivante.

Art. 75 Le mandat des Députés élus pour remplir une place vacante ne dure que jusqu'aux prochaines élections générales.

Art. 76. Il sera alloué par le Trésor, à chaque Député, 20,000 piastres par session et

ses frais de voyage pour l'aller et le retour.

Le chiffre de ces frais sera établi conformément aux dispositions du règlement qui régit les indemnités de route payées aux fonctionnaires civils de l'Etat, et calculé sur la base d'un traitement mensuel de 5,000 piastres.

Art. 77. Le Président et les deux Vice-Présidents de la Chambre des Députés sont choisis, par Sa Majesté le Sultan, sur une liste de neuf candidats élus par la Chambre, à la majorité des voix, dont trois pour la Présidence, trois pour la première Vice-Présidence et trois pour la deuxième Vice-Présidence.

La nomination du Président et des Vice-Présidents a lieu par Iradé Impérial.

Art. 78. Les séances de la Chambre des Députés sont publiques.

Toutefois, la Chambre pourra se former en comité secret si la proposition en est faite par les Ministres, ou par le Président ou par quinze membres, et que cette proposition est votée en comité secret.

Art. 79. Aucun député ne peut, pendant la durée de la session, être arrêté ou poursuivi, sauf le cas de flagrant délit, que sur une décision prise par la majorité de la Chambre accordant l'autorisation de poursuivre.

Art. 80. La Chambre des Députés discute les projets de loi qui lui sont soumis.

Elle adopte, amende ou rejette les dispositions concernant les finances ou la Constitution.

Elle examine en détails les dépenses générales de l'Etat comprises dans la loi du Budget, et en arrête le montant avec les Ministres.

Elle détermine également, d'accord avec les Ministres, la nature, le montant et le mode de répartition et de réalisation des recettes destinées à faire face aux dépenses.

Du pouvoir Judiciaire.

Art. 81. Les juges nommés conformément à la loi spéciale sur cette matière et munis du brevet d'investiture (bérat) sont inamovibles; mais ils peuvent donner leur démission.

L'avancement des juges dans l'ordre hiérarchique, leur déplacement, leur mise à la

retraite, leur révocation en cas de condamnation judiciaire, sont soumis aux dispositions de la même loi.

Cette loi détermine les conditions et qualités requises pour exercer les fonctions de juge ou les autres fonctions de l'ordre judiciaire.

Art. 82. Les audiences de tous les tribunaux sont publiques.

La publication des jugements est autorisée.

Toutefois, dans les cas spécifiés par la loi, le Tribunal peut tenir l'audience à huisclos.

Art. 83. Tout individu peut, dans l'intérêt de sa défense, faire usage devant le Tribunal des moyens permis par la loi.

Art. 84. Aucun Tribunal ne peut se refuser, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, à

juger une affaire qui est de sa compétence.

Il ne peut non plus en arrêter ou ajourner le jugement, après qu'il a commencé à procéder à l'examen ou à l'instruction, à moins qu'il n'y ait désistement de la part du

Toutefois, en matière pénale, l'action publique continue à s'exercer conformément à la loi, dans le cas même où le demandeur s'est désisté.

Art. 85. Chaque affaire est jugée par le Tribunal auquel cette affaire ressortit.

Les procès entre les particuliers et l'Etat sont de la compétence des Tribunaux ordinaires.

Art. 86. Aucune ingérence ne peut être exercé dans les Tribunaux.

Art. 87. Les affaires concernant le Chéri sont jugés par les Tribunaux du Chéri; le jugement des affaires civiles appartient aux Tribunaux Civils.

Art. 88. Les diverses catégories de Tribunaux, leur compétence, leurs attributions et

les émoluments des juges, sont réglés par les lois.

Art. 89. En dehors des Tribunaux ordinaires, il ne peut être institué, sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, de Tribunaux extraordinaires, ni de commissions pour juger certaines affaires spéciales.

Toutefois, l'arbitrage (takkin) et la nomination de "muvella" (Juge délégué), sont

permis dans les formes déterminées par la loi.

Art. 90. Aucun juge ne peut cumuler ses fonctions avec d'autres fonctions rétribuées par l'Etat.

Art. 91. Il sera instituée des procureurs impériaux chargés d'exercer l'action publique.

Leurs attributions et leur hiérarchie seront fixées par la loi.

De la Haute Cour.

92. La Haute Cour est formée de trente membres, dont dix Sénateurs, dix Conseillers d'Etat, et dix membres choisis parmi les Présidents et les membres de la Cour de Cassation et de la Cour d'Appel.

Tous les membres sont désignés par le sort.

La Haute Cour est convoquée lorsqu'il y a lieu, par Iradé Impérial, et se réunit à l'Hôtel du Sénat.

Ses attributions consistent à juger :

Les Ministres;

Le Président et les membres de la Cour de Cassation;

Et toutes autres personnes accusées du crime de lèse-majesté ou d'attentat contre la

Art. 93. La Haute Cour se compose de deux Chambres: la Chambre d'Accusation et la Chambre de Jugement.

La Chambre d'Accusation est formée de neuf membres désignés par le sort parmi les membres de la Haute Cour, et dont trois Sénateurs, trois Conseillers d'Etat, et trois membres de la Cour de Cassation ou de la Cour d'Appel.

Art. 94. Le renvoi devant la Chambre de Jugement est prononcé par la Chambre d'Accusation, à la majorité de deux tiers de ses membres.

Les membres appartenant à la Chambre d'Accusation ne peuvent prendre part aux

délibérations de la Chambre de Jugement.

Art. 95. La Chambre de Jugement est formée de vingt-un membres, dont sept Sénateurs, sept Conseillers d'Etat, et sept membres de la Cour de Cassation ou de la Cour

Elle juge à la majorité des deux tiers de ses membres et conformément aux lois en

vigueur les procès qui lui sont renvoyés par la Chambre d'Accusation.

Ses jugements ne sont susceptibles ni d'appel ni de recours en cassation.

Des Finances.

Art. 96. Aucun impôt au profit de l'Etat ne peut être établi, réparti, ni perçu qu'en vertu d'une loi.

Art. 97. Le Budget est la loi qui contient les prévisions des recettes et des dépenses de l'Etat.

Les impôts au profit de l'Etat sont régis par cette loi quant à leur assiette, leur répartition, et leur perception.

Art. 98. L'examen et le vote, par l'Assemblée Générale, de la Loi du Budget, a lieu

par articles.

Les tableaux annexes, comprenant le détail des recettes et des dépenses, sont divisés en sections, chapitres, et articles, conformément au modèle défini par les règlements.

Ces tableaux sont votés par chapitres.

Art. 99. Le projet de loi du budget est soumis à la Chambre des Députés immédiatement après l'ouverture de la session, afin de rendre possible sa mise à exécution à partir du commencement de l'exercice auquel il se rapporte.

Art. 100. Aucune dépense extra-budgétaire ne peut être effectuée sur les fonds de

l'Etat qu'en vertu d'une loi.

Art. 101. En cas d'urgence motivée par des circonstances extraordinaires, les Ministres peuvent, pendant l'absence de l'Assemblée Générale, créer, par Iradé Impérial, les ressources nécessaires et effectuer une dépense non prévue au budget, à la condition d'en saisir l'Assemblée Générale par un projet de loi, au début de sa plus prochaine réunion.

Art. 102. Le budget est voté pour un an; il n'a force de loi que pour l'année à

laquelle elle se rapporte.

Toutefois, si par suite de circonstances exceptionnelles, la Chambre des Députés est dissoute avant le vote du Budget, les Ministres peuvent, par un arrêté pris en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial, appliquer le budget de l'année précédente jusqu'à la session prochaine, sans que l'application provisoire de ce budget puisse dépasser le terme d'une année.

Art. 103. La loi de règlement définitif du Budget indique le montant des recettes réalisées et des paiements effectués sur les revenus et les dépenses de l'année à laquelle

elle se rapporte.

Sa forme et ses divisions doivent être les mêmes que celles du Budget.

Art. 104. Le projet de loi de règlement définitif est soumis à la Chambre des Députés, au plus tard, dans le terme de quatre ans, à partir de la fin de l'année à laquelle il se rapporte.

Art. 105. Il sera institué une Cour des Comptes chargée de l'examen des opérations des comptables de finances, ainsi que des comptes annuels dressés par les divers Départe-

ments Ministériels.

Elle adressera chaque année à la Chambre des Députés un rapport spécial comprenant le résultat de ses travaux, accompagné de ses observations.

A la fin de chaque trimestre, elle présentera, à Sa Majesté le Sultan, par l'intermédiaire du Grand Vézir, un rapport contenant l'exposé de la situation financière.

Art. 106. La Cour des Comptes sera composée de douze membres inamovibles,

nommés par Iradé Impérial.

Aucun d'eux ne pourra être révoqué sans que la proposition motivée de sa révocation ne soit approuvée par une décision de la Chambre des Députés, prise à la majorité des voix.

Art. 107. Les conditions et qualités exigées des membres de la Cour des Comptes, le détail de leurs attributions, les règles applicables en cas de démission, de remplacement, d'avancement et de mise à la retraite, ainsi que l'organisation des bureaux de la Cour, eront déterminés par une loi spéciale.

De l'Administration Provinciale.

Art. 108. L'administration des provinces aura pour base le principe de la décen tralisation.

Les détails de cette organisation seront fixés par une loi.

Art. 109. Une loi spéciale règlera sur des bases plus larges l'élection des Conseils Administratifs de province (vilayet). de district (sandjak), et de canton (caza), ainsi que celle du Conseil Général qui se réunit annuellement au chef-lieu de chaque province.

Art. 110. Les attributions du Conseil Général Provincial seront fixées par la même

loi spéciale et elles comprendront:

La faculté de délibérer sur les objets d'utilité publique, tels que l'établissement de voies de communications, l'organisation des caisses de crédit agricole, le développement de l'industrie, du commerce et de l'agriculture et la propagation de l'instruction publique.

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Le droit de porter plainte aux autorités compétentes pour obtenir le redressement des faits ou actes commis en contravention des lois et règlements, soit dans la répartition ou la perception des impôts, soit en toute autre matière.

Art. 111. Il y aura dans chaque caza un Conseil afférent à chacune des différentes

communautés. Ce Conseil sera chargé de contrôler:

1. L'administration des revenus des immeubles ou des fonds vakoufs (fondations pieuses) dont la destination spéciale est fixée par les dispositions expresses des fondateurs ou par l'usage;

2. L'emploi des fonds ou des biens affectés, par disposition testamentaire, à des actes

de charité ou de bienfaisance.

3. L'administration des fonds des orphelins, conformément au règlement spécial qui régit la matière.

Chaque Conseil sera composé de membres élus par la communauté qu'il représente,

conformément aux règlements spéciaux à établir.

Ces Conseils relèveront des autorités locales et des Conseils Généraux de province

Art. 112. Les affaires municipales seront administrées, à Constantinople et dans les provinces, par des Conseils Municipaux élus.

L'organisation des Conseils Municipaux, leurs attributions et le mode d'élection de

leurs membres, seront déterminés par une loi spéciale.

Dispositions Diverses.

Art. 113. En cas de constatation de faits ou d'indices de nature à faire prévoir des troubles sur un point du territoire de l'Empire, le Gouvernement Impérial a le droit d'y proclamer l'état de siége.

Les effets de l'état de siége consistent dans la suspension temporaire des lois civiles.

Le mode d'administration des localités soumises au régime de l'état de siége sera

réglé par une loi spéciale.

À Sa Majesté le Sultan appartient le pouvoir exclusif d'expulser du territoire de l'Empire ceux qui, à la suite d'informations dignes de confiance recueillies par l'administration de la police, sont reconnus comme portant atteinte à la sûreté de l'Etat.

Art. 114. L'instruction primaire sera obligatoire pour tous les Ottomans.

Les détails d'application seront déterminés par une loi spéciale.

Art. 115. Aucune disposition de la Constitution ne peut, sous quelque prétexte que

ce soit, être suspendue ou délaissée.

Art. 116, En cas de nécessité, dûment constatée, la Constitution peut être modifié dans quelques unes de ses dispositions. Cette modification est subordonnée aux conditions suivantes:—

Toute proposition de modification présentée soit par le Ministère, soit par l'une ou l'autre Chambre, devra être soumise en premier lieu aux délibérations de la Chambre des Députés

Si la proposition est approuvée à la majorité des deux tiers des membres de cette

Chambre, elle sera transmise au Sénat.

Dans le cas où le Sénat adopterait également la modification proposée à la majorité des deux tiers des Sénateurs, elle sera soumise à la sanction de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Si elle est sanctionnée par Iradé Impérial, elle aura force de loi.

Toute disposition de la Constitution faisant l'objet d'une proposition de modification reste en vigueur jusqu'au moment où la proposition, après avoir subi l'épreuve des délibérations des Chambres, a été sanctionnée par Iradé Impérial.

Art. 117. L'interprétation des lois appartient :-

A la Cour de Cassation pour les lois civiles et pénales;

Au Conseil d'Etat, pour les lois administratives;

Et au Sénat pour les dispositions de la Constitution.

Art. 118. Toutes les dispositions des lois, règlements, us et coutumes actuellement en vigueur continueront d'être appliquées, tant qu'elles n'auront pas été modifiées ou abrogées par des lois ou règlements.

Art. 119. L'instruction provisoire du 10 Chéval, 1293 (\frac{16}{28}\) Octobre, 1876) concernant l'Assemblée Générale, cessera d'avoir son effet à partir de la clôture de la première

Session.

(Translation.)

Constitution promulgated the 7th Zilhidje, 1293 ($\frac{11}{23}$ December, 1876).

The Ottoman Empire.

Article 1. THE Ottoman Empire comprises present territory and possessions, and semi-dependent (privilégiés) provinces. It forms an indivisible whole, from which no portion can be detached under any pretext whatever.

Art. 2. Constantinople is the capital of the Ottoman Empire. This city possesses no

privilege or immunity peculiar to itself over the other towns of the Empire.

Art. 3. The Ottoman Sovereignty, which includes in the person of the Sovereign the Supreme Caliphat of Islamism, belongs to the eldest Prince of the House of Osman, in accordance with the rules established ab antiquo.

Art. 4. His Majesty the Sultan, under the title of "Supreme Caliph," is the protector of the Mussulman religion. He is the Sovereign and Padisha of all the Ottomans

Art. 5. His Majesty the Sultan is irresponsible; his person is sacred.

Art. 6. The liberty of members of the Imperial Ottoman Dynasty, their property, real and personal, and their Civil List during their lifetime, are under the guarantee of all.

Art. 7. Among the Sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan are the following prerogatives:—He makes and cancels the appointments of Ministers; he confers the grades, functions, and insignia of his Orders, and confers investiture on the chiefs of the privileged provinces, according to forms determined by the privileges granted them; he has the coining of money; his name is pronounced in the mosques during public prayer; he concludes Treaties with the Powers; he declares war and makes peace; he commands both the land and sea forces; he directs military movements; he carries out the provisions of the Cheri (the sacred Law), and of the other laws; he sees to the administration of public measures; he respites or commutes sentences pronouncd by the Criminal Courts; he summons and prorogues the General Assembly; he dissolves, if he deems it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies, provided he directs the election of new members.

Public Law of the Ottomans.

Art. 8. All subjects of the Empire are called Ottomans, without distinction, whatever faith they profess; the status of an Ottoman is acquired and lost, according to conditions specified by law.

Art. 9. Every Ottoman enjoys personal liberty on condition of not interfering with

the liberty of others...

Art. 10. Personal liberty is wholly inviolable. No one can suffer punishment, under any pretext whatsoever, except in cases determined by law, and according to the forms prescribed by it.

Art. 11. Islamism is the State religion.

But, while maintaining this principle, the State will protect the free exercise of all faiths professed in the Empire, and uphold the religious privileges granted to various bodies, on condition of public order and morality not being interfered with.

Art. 12. The press is free, within limits imposed by law.

Art. 13. Ottomans have the power of forming commercial companies, industrial or

agricultural, within limits imposed by law and statute.

- Art. 14. One or more persons of Ottoman nationality have the right of presenting petitions in the proper quarter relating to the breaking of law and regulation, done either to their own or public detriment, and may likewise present in protest signed petitions to the General Ottoman Assembly, complaining of the conduct of State servants and functionaries.
 - Art. 15. Education is free.

Every Ottoman can attend public or private instruction on condition of conforming to the law.

Art. 16. All schools are under State supervision.

Proper means will be devised for harmonizing and regulating the instruction given to all the Ottomans, but without interfering with the religious education in the various districts.

Art. 17. All Ottomans are equal in the eye of the law. They have the same rights and owe the same duties towards their country, without prejudice to religion.

Art. 18. Eligibility to public offices is conditional on a knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the State.

Art. 19. All Ottomans are admitted to public offices, according to their fitness, merit, and ability.

[195] R 2 Art. 20. The assessment and distribution of the taxes are to be in proportion to the

fortune of each taxpayer, in conformity with the laws and special regulations.

Art. 21. Property, real and personal, of lawful title, is guaranteed. There can be no dispossession, except on good public cause shown, and subject to the previous payment, according to law of the value of the property in question.

Art. 22. The domicile is inviolable. The authorities cannot break into any dwelling

except in cases prescribed by law.

Art. 23. No one is bound to appear before any other than a competent Tribunal,

according to statutory form of procedure.

Art. 24. Confiscation of property, forced labour ("corvée"), and mulcting ("djéruné"), are prohibited. Nevertheless, contributions lawfully levied in time of war, and measures rendered necessary by the exigencies of war, are exempt from this provision.

Art. 25. No sum of money can be exacted under the name of a tax or impost, or

under any other title whatever, except by virtue of a law.

Art. 26. Torture and inquisition, under any form, are wholly and absolutely forbidden.

Ministers of the Crown.

Art. 27. His Majesty may appoint as Grand Vizier and Sheikh-ul-Islam whomsoever he confides in, and thinks right to nominate to those posts.

The other Ministers are appointed by Imperial Iradé (Decree). Art. 28. The Cabinet meets under the presidency of the Grand Vizier.

All weighty State affairs, whether domestic or foreign, come within the competency of the Council of Ministers. Those of their measures which must be submitted for the approval of His Majesty are made law by Imperial Decree.

Art. 29. Each head of department, within the limits of his powers, carries out the measures which appertain to his Department. In matters without this limit he must have

recourse to the Grand Vizier.

The Grand Vizier takes action on the measures presented to him by the heads of departments, either by referring them, if need be, to the Cabinet, and then presenting them for the Imperial sanction; or, on the other hand, by deciding on them himself, and referring them to the decision of His Majesty the Sultan.

Special enactments will, in the case of each department, determine under which of the

preceding heads the various business is to be distributed.

Art. 30. The Ministers are responsible for their acts and measures.

Art. 31. If one or more members of the Chamber of Deputies wish to lodge a complaint against any Minister, by reason of his responsibility, and with reference to matters within the Province of the Chamber, the petition and complaint must be handed to the President, who will refer it within three days to the Committee appointed by the rules of the House to investigate the charge, and determine whether it be right to submit the same to the decision of the Chamber. When the necessary investigation has taken place, and explanations have been laid before them by the Minister interested, the decision of the Committee will be taken by the vote of the majority. If the Committee advise that the complaint be laid before the Chamber, their report containing this decision is to be read at a public sitting, and the Chamber, after hearing the explanations of the accused Minister who shall be summoned to appear, or of his representative, will vote on the question at issue, a majority of two-thirds being requisite for a decision. In the event of the adoption of the Committee's Report, an address praying for the trial of the Minister is to be transmitted to the Grand Vizier, who will submit it for the sanction of His Majesty the Sultan, and remit it to the High Court by virtue of an Imperial Iradé.

Art. 32. A special law will settle the forms of procedure to be followed for the trial

of Ministers.

Art. 33. There shall be no distinction between Ministers and private individuals in respect of private suits which do not relate to their functions. Causes of such nature are to be referred to the ordinary Tribunals.

Art. 34. The Minister whose trial has been decreed by the Chamber of Accusation of the High Court is to be suspended from his functions until he has been acquitted of the

charges brought against him.

Art. 35. In the event of the Chamber of Deputies throwing out a Bill, and assigning its reasons therefor, upon the adoption of which Bill the Minister is of opinion he ought to insist, His Majesty the Sultan, in the exercise of his sovereignty, orders either a change of Ministers or a dissolution of the Chamber, subject to the re-election of Deputies within the period appointed by the law.

Art 36. In case of urgent necessity, if the General Assembly be not in Session, the

Minister may adopt measures to protect the State against danger or to preserve the public safety.

These measures, sanctioned by an Imperial Iradé, have provisionally the force of law if they be not contrary to the Constitution. They must be submitted to the General Assembly immediately upon its meeting.

Art. 37. Each Minister has the right to be present at the sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, or to be represented there by one of the chief officials of his Department.

He has also a right to be heard before any member of the Chamber who may have leave to speak.

Art. 38. When, in consequence of a decision adopted by a majority of votes, a Minister is requested to appear in the Chamber to give explanations, he is bound to reply to the questions addressed to him either by appearing there in person or by delegating this duty to one of the heads of his Department.

He has, nevertheless, the right to postpone his reply, if he shall deem it necessary to do so, by assuming the responsibility for such postponement.

Public Functionaries.

Art. 39. All appointments to various public functions shall be made in conformity with the regulations which shall determine the conditions of merit and capacity required for admission to employment under the State. No functionary appointed under these conditions can be dismissed or transferred; unless it can be proved that his conduct legally justifies such removal; unless he shall have resigned, or unless his retirement is considered indispensable by the Government.

Officials who may have given proof of good conduct and uprightness, as well as those whom the Government may have thought it indispensable to place on half-pay, shall have a right either to promotion, or to a pension, or to half-pay, according to the terms which will be laid down in a special regulation.

Art. 40. The duties of the several offices will be settled by special regulations. Each functionary is responsible within the limit of his duties.

Art. 41. Every functionary is bound to pay respect to his superior, but obedience is only due to orders given within the limits defined by the law. In respect of acts contrary to law, the fact of having obeyed a superior will not relieve the official who has carried them out from responsibility.

The General Assembly.

Art. 42. The General Assembly is composed of two Chambers, the House of Lords or Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 43. The two Chambers shall meet on the 1st of November of each year. The Session will be opened by an Imperial Iradé. The closing of the Session, fixed for the 1st of March following, will also be decreed by an Imperial Iradé. Neither Chamber can assemble when the other Chamber is not sitting.

Art. 44. His Majesty the Sultan according to the exigencies of circumstances, may anticipate the date of the opening or may abridge or prolong the Session.

Art. 45. The opening of the Session shall take place in the presence of His Majesty the Sultan, either in person or represented by the Grand Vizier, and in the presence of the Ministers and the Members of the two Chambers.

An Imperial Speech will be read, giving an account of the internal position of the Empire and the state of its foreign relations during the past year, and setting forth the measures the adoption of which for the following year is deemed to be necessary.

Art. 46. All the members of the General Assembly shall take an oath of fidelity to His Majesty the Sultan and to the country, shall bind themselves to observe the Constitution, to perform the duties intrusted to them, and to abstain from all acts opposed to those duties.

This oath shall be taken by new members at the opening of the Session in the presence of the Grand Vizier, and after the opening in the presence of their respective Presidents, and at a public sitting of the Chamber of which they are members.

Art. 47. Members of the General Assembly are free to express their opinions and to vote as they like.

They cannot be bound by conditions or promises, nor influenced by threats. They cannot be prosecuted for opinions or votes delivered in the course of debate, unless they have contravened the Standing Orders of the Chamber, when they are amenable to the provisions of the regulations in force.

Art. 48. Any member of the General Assembly who, by an absolute majority of two-thirds of the Chamber of which he is a member, is accused of treason, or attempting to violate the Constitution, or of peculation ("concussion"), or has been condemned to imprisonment or exile, loses his *status* as Senator or Deputy.

He will be tried and sentence passed by the competent Tribunal.

Art. 49. Every member of the General Assembly must vote in person.

He can refrain from voting.

Art. 50. No one can at the same time be a member of both Chambers.

Art. 51. No business can be done in either of the Chambers unless one member more than the moiety of the Chamber be present.

Except in cases where a majority of two-thirds is requisite, all resolutions must be carried by an absolute majority of members present.

When the votes are equally divided, the President shall have the casting vote.

Art. 52. All private petitions presented to either Chamber shall be rejected if in the course of inquiry it should be shown that the petitioner did not apply in the first instance to the public officers concerned, or to their superior officers.

Art. 53. The initiative of bringing forward a Bill or altering an existing law lies with

the Ministry.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies may also originate a new law, or the modification of an existing one, with reference to matters within their own province. In the latter case, the demand is submitted by the Grand Vizier to His Majesty the Sultan, and, if occasion requires, the Council of State is empowered by an Imperial Decree to prepare the proposed Project of Law, aided by information and details from the proper quarter.

Art. 54. Drafts of Bills elaborated by the Council of State are in the first instance laid before the Chamber of Deputies, and after that before the Senate. Though passing both Chambers, no Bill will become law until it has been sanctioned by the Imperial Iradé. No draft Bill, once thrown out by either of the Chambers, can be brought forward a second time in the course of the same Session.

Art. 55. A Bill is not regarded as carried if it has not been successively passed both by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate by a majority of votes, voting article by article, and if the whole Bill has not been voted by a majority in each of the two Chambers.

Art. 56. With the exception of the Ministers, of their deputies, and the functionaries summoned by a special call, no one can be introduced in either Chamber, nor allowed to make any communication whatever, whether he present himself in his own name or as the representative of a body.

Art. 57. The debates of the Chambers are conducted in the Turkish language. The

Bills are printed and circulated before the day fixed upon for discussion.

Art. 58. The votes are given at the call of the House ("par appel nominal"), by show of hands or by ballot. The vote by ballot is subject to the decision of a majority of the members present.

Art. 59. The maintenance of order in each Chamber is entrusted to its President.

Senate.

Art. 60. The President and members of the Senate are nominated directly by His Majesty the Sultan. The number of Senators cannot exceed a third of the members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 61. To be nominated a Senator it is necessary to have shown by one's acts that one is worthy of public confidence, or to have rendered signal services to the State, and to be, at least, forty years of age.

Art. 62. The Senators are nominated for life.

The rank of Senator may be conferred on persons "en disponibilité," having exercised the functions of Minister, Governor-General (Vali), Commandant of Corps d'Armée, Judge, Ambassador or Minister Plenipotentiary, Patriarch, Grand Rabbi, General of Division of armies by land or sea ("terre et de mer"), and generally on persons combining the requisite conditions.

Members of the Senate, called at their request to other functions, lose the position as

Senator.

Art. 63. The stipend of Senators is fixed at 10,000 piastres per month.

A Senator receiving from the Treasury salary or pay in any other capacity is entitled only to the difference if the sum is below 10,000 piastres. If the sum is equal to or above the pay of Senator, he continues to receive it.

Art. 64. The Senate examines the Bills or Budget transmitted to it by the Chamber

of Deputies. If in the course of the examination of a Bill the Senate finds a provision contrary to the sovereign rights of the Sultan, to liberty, the Constitution, the territorial integrity of the Empire, the internal security of the country, to the interests of the defence of the country, or to morality, it rejects it definitely by a vote, assigning its reasons; or it sends it back, accompanied by its observations, to the Chamber of Deputies, demanding that it should be amended or modified in the sense of those observations.

Bills adopted by the Senate are invested with its approval, and are transmitted to the Grand Vizier.

The Senate examines the petitions presented to it; it transmits to the Grand Vizier such as it thinks deserving of reference, accompanying them with its observations.

Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 65. The number of Deputies is fixed at one Deputy for every 50,000 males belonging to the Ottoman nationality.

Art. 66. The election is held by secret ballot. The mode of election will be deter-

mined by a special Law.

Art. 67. The mission of Deputy is incompatible with public functions, except those of Ministers. Any other public functionary elected Deputy is free to accept or refuse; but, in case of acceptance, he must resign his functions.

Art. 68. The following are ineligible as Deputies:-

1. Those who do not belonging to the Ottoman nationality; 2, those who, by virtue of the special regulation in force, enjoy immunities attached to the foreign service to which they belong; 3, those not understanding Turkish; 4, those not turned thirty years of age; 5, persons attached to the service of a private individual; 6, bankrupts not rehabilitated; 7, those notoriously in disrepute for their conduct; 8, persons visited with judicial interdiction, as long as that interdiction is not raised; 9, those not enjoying their civil rights; 10, those who lay claim to a foreign nationality. After the expiration of the first period of four years, one of the conditions of eligibility will be ability to read Turkish and, as far as possible, to write in that language.

Art. 69. General elections of Deputies are held every four years. The commission of

every Deputy lasts only four years, but he is re-eligible.

Art. 70. The general elections commence at the latest four months before the 1st of November, which is the date fixed for the meeting of the Chamber.

Art. 71. Every member of the Chamber of Deputies represents the whole body of Ottomans, and not exclusively the circumscription which has elected him.

Art. 72. The electors are bound to chose their Deputies from among the inhabitants of the province to which they belong.

Art. 73. In case of the dissolution of the Chamber by Imperial Iradé, the general elections are to commence in such time as that the Chamber may meet again at the latest within six months of the date of the dissolution.

Art. 74. In the case of death, judicial interdiction, prolonged absence, loss of the office of Deputy resulting from a condemnation or from the acceptance of public functions, a substitute shall be elected in conformity with the prescriptions of the electoral law, and in such time as that the new Deputy will be able to exercise his mandate at the latest in the following Session.

Art. 75. The mandate of Deputies elected to vacant places only lasts till the following general election.

Art. 76. The Treasury will allot to each Deputy 20,000 piastres per Session and the expense of his journeys. The amount of these expenses will be established conformably with the provisions of the regulations dealing with the repayment of travelling expenses incurred by civil functionaries of the State, and will be calculated on the basis of a monthly salary of 5,000 piastres.

Art. 77. The President and the two Vice-Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies are selected by His Majesty the Sultan from a list of nine candidates elected by the Chamber by a majority of votes, three for the Presidency, three for the first Vice-Presidency, and three for the second Vice-Presidency. The appointment of the President and Vice-Presidents is made by Imperial Iradé.

Art. 78. The sittings of the Chamber of Deputies are public.

At the same time the Chamber may form itself into Secret Committee if the proposition is made by the Ministers, or by the President, or by fifteen members, and that proposition is voted in Secret Committee.

Art. 79. No Deputy can, during the Session, be arrested or prosecuted, except in case

of flagrant delinquency, unless a majority of the Chamber grant an authorization to prosecute.

Art. 80. The Chamber of Deputies discusses the Bills submitted to it.

It adopts, amends, or rejects the provisions affecting finance or the Constitution.

It examines in detail the general expenditure of the State comprised in the Budget, and settles the amount with the Ministers.

It likewise determines, in accord with the Ministers, the nature, amount, and mode of assessment and collection of the receipts destined to meet the expenditure.

The Law Courts.

81. The Judges nominated in conformity with the special law on this subject and furnished with the patent of investiture are irremovable, but they can resign.

The promotion of Judges, their displacement, superannuation, and revocation, in case

of judicial condemnation, are subject to the provisions of the same law.

That law fixes the conditions and qualities requisite for exercising the functions of Judge or the other functions of a judicial order.

Art. 82. The sittings of all Tribunals are public.

The publication of judgments is authorized.

Nevertheless, in cases specified by law, the Tribunal may sit with closed doors.

Art. 83. Any person may, in the interest of his defence, make use before the Tribunal of the means permitted by the law.

Art. 84. No Tribunal can, under any pretext, refuse to judge an affair within its competency.

It cannot either arrest or adjourn judgment after having commenced the examination or instruction, unless the plaintiff desists.

Nevertheless, in penal matters the public prosecution continues to be carried on conformably to law, even in case the plaintiff has desisted.

Art. 85. Every affair is judged by the Tribunal to whose province it belongs. Suits between individuals and the State are within the competency of the ordinary Tribunals.

Art. 86. No interference is to be attempted with the Tribunals.

Art. 87. Affairs touching the Cheri are tried by the Tribunals of the Cheri. The judgment of civil affairs appertains to the Civil Tribunals.

Art. 88. The various categories of Tribunals, their competency, functions, and the emoluments of the Judges are settled by law.

Art. 89. Apart from the ordinary Tribunals, there cannot, under any title whatever, be formed Extraordinary Tribunals or Commissions to judge certain special cases.

Nevertheless, arbitration (takkin) and the nomination of a "muvella" (Judge delegate) are sanctioned in the forms established by law.

Art. 90. No Judge can combine his functions with other functions paid by the State.

Art. 91. Public Prosecutors will be appointed, charged with acting on behalf of the public. Their functions and grades will be fixed by law.

High Court of Justice.

Art. 92. The High Court is formed of thirty members, of whom ten are Senators, ten Councillors of State, and ten chosen among the Presidents and members of the Court of Cassation and Court of Appeal.

All the members are nominated by lot.

The High Court is convoked, when necessary, by Imperial Iradé, and assembles in the Senate building.

Its functions consist in trying the Ministers, the President, and the members of the Court of Cassation, and all other persons accused of treason or attempts against the safety of the State.

Art. 93. The High Court is composed of two Chambers—the Chamber of Accusation and the Chamber of Judgment.

The former is formed of nine members, nominated by lot among the members of the High Court, three of them being Senators, three Councillors of State, and three members of the Court of Cassation or Court of Appeal.

Art. 94. The decision of sending before the Chamber of Judgment is pronounced by the Chamber of Accusation by a majority of two-thirds of its members. The members belonging to the Chamber of Accusation cannot take part in the deliberations of the Chamber of Judgment.

Art. 95. The Chamber of Judgment is formed of twenty-one members, seven of whom are Senators, seven members State Councillors, and seven members of the Court of Cassation or Court of Appeal. It judges the cases that are sent to it by the Chamber of Accusation by a majority of two-thirds of its members, and conformably to the laws in operation.

Its decisions are not susceptible either of appeal or of recourse to Cassation.

Finance.

Art. 96. Taxes to the profit of the State can only be established, assessed, or collected in virtue of a law.

Art. 97. The Budget is the law which contains the estimates of the receipts and expenses of the State.

Taxes to the profit of the State are governed by that law as to their assessment, their distribution, and collection.

Art. 98. The examination and the vote by the General Assembly of the Budget Bill is carried through Article by Article. The tabular statements to be annexed, comprising the details of the receipts and expenditure, are to be divided into sections, chapters, and Articles, according to the model defined by the Regulations.

These tables are voted by chapters.

Art. 99. The Bill of the Budget is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies immediately after the opening of the Session, in order to make its execution possible from the commencement of the year to which it applies.

Art. 100. No extra budgetary expense can be defrayed out of the State funds except

by virtue of a law.

Art. 101. In the case of urgency caused by extraordinary circumstances, the Ministers may, if the General Assembly is not sitting, create by an Imperial Iradé the necessary resources, and defray expenses not provided for in the Budget, on the condition of immediately laying a Bill on the subject before the Assembly at the opening of the next

Art. 102. The Budget is voted for one year, and has only legal force for the year to which it refers.

At the same time, if, in consequence of exceptional circumstances, the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved before the Budget is voted, the Minister may, by a Decree issued in virtue of an Imperial Iradé, apply the Budget of the preceding year till the next Session, but the application of this provisional Budget shall never extend beyond the term of one

Art. 103. The Law definitely settling the Budget indicates the amount of receipts collected and payments made out of the revenue and expenditure of the year to which it

relates. Its form and provisions must be the same at those of the Budget.

Art. 104. The definitive Bill is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies at latest within

four years from the end of the year to which it relates.

Art. 105. A Court of Accounts shall be created charged with the examination of the operations of the finance functionaries, as also of the annual accounts drawn up by the various Ministerial Departments.

It will yearly address to the Chamber of Deputies a Special Report stating the results

of its labours, accompanied by its observations.

At the end of every quarter it will present to the Sultan, through the Grand Vizier, a report containing the explanation of the financial situation.

Art. 106. The Court of Accounts shall be composed of twelve irremovable members,

nominated by Imperial Iradé.

None of them can be revoked unless the explanatory proposition for his dismissal be approved by a decision of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 107. The conditions and qualities required of members of the Court of Accounts, the details of their functions, the rules applicable in case of resignation, replacement, promotion, and superannuation, as well as the organization of its bureaux, shall be determined by a special law.

Provincial Administration.

Art. 108. The administration of provinces shall be based on the principle of decentralization.

The details of this organization shall be fixed by a law.

Art. 109. A special law will settle on wider bases the election of the administrative [195]

Councils of provinces ("vilayets"), districts ("sandjaks"), and cantons ("cazas"), as also of the Council General, which meets annually in the chief town of each province.

Art. 110. The functions of the Provincial Council-General shall be fixed by the same

special law, and shall comprise:—

The right of deliberating on matters of public utility, such as the establishment of means of communication, the organization of "caisses de crédit agricole," the development of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and the diffusion of education.

The right of applying to the competent authorities for the redress of acts committed in contravention of the laws and regulations as regards assessment or collection of taxes or

any other matter.

Art. 111. There shall be in every canton a Council appertaining to each of the

different confessions. This Council will be charged with controlling—

1. The administration of the revenues of the real property of pious foundations ("vakoufs"), the special destination of which is fixed by the express provisions of the founders or by custom.

2. The employment of funds or properties assigned by testamentary provision to acts

of charity or beneficence.

3. The administration of funds for orphans, in conformity with the special regulation

governing the matter.

Each Council shall be composed of members elected by the community it represents, conformably to special rules to be established. These Councils will be subordinated to the local authorities and the Councils General of provinces.

Art. 112. Municipal business will be administered at Constantinople and in the

provinces by elected Municipal Councils.

The organization of the Municipal Councils, their functions, and the mode of election of their members, will be determined by a special law.

Various Provisions.

Art. 113. In the case of the perpetration of acts, or the appearance of indications of a nature to presage disturbance at any point on the territory of the Empire, the Imperial Government has the right to proclaim a state of siege there.

The state of siege consists in the temporary suspension of the civil laws.

The mode of administration of localities under a state of siege will be regulated by a

special law.

His Majesty the Sultan has the exclusive right of expelling from the territory of the Empire those who, in consequence of trustworthy information obtained by the police, are recognized as dangerous to the safety of the State.

Art. 114. Primary education will be obligatory on all Ottomans. The details of

application will be fixed by a special law.

Art. 115. No provision of the Constitution can, under any pretext whatsoever, be suspended or neglected.

Art. 116. In case of duly proved necessity, the Constitution may be modified in some of its provisions. This modification is subordinated to the following conditions:—

Every proposal of modification, whether presented by the Minister or by either of the two Chambers, must be, in the first instance, submitted to the deliberations of the Chamber of Deputies.

If the proposition is approved by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber it shall be forwarded to the Senate.

In case the Senate also adopts the proposed modification by a two-thirds majority, it shall be submitted for the sanction of His Majesty the Sultan.

If it is sanctioned by Imperial Iradé, it shall have force of law.

Articles of the Constitution, which it is proposed to modify, remain in force, until the modification, after having been voted by the Chambers, shall have been sanctioned by Imperial Iradé.

Art. 117. The Court of Cassation will interpret the civil and penal laws; the Council

of State administrative laws; and the Senate the articles of the Constitution.

Art. 118. All the provisions of the laws, regulations, usages, and customs now in force shall continue to be applied, so long as they shall not have been modified or abrogated by other laws and regulations.

Art. 119. The preliminary order of 10 Cheval, 1293 ($\frac{16}{28}$ th October, 1876), concerning the General Assembly, will cease to have effect from the end of the first Session.

No. 119.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 1, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 25, 1876.

I RECEIVED two days ago from Vice-Admiral Sir James Drummond a telegram,

stating that he proposed to proceed with the fleet to Salonica on the 26th instant.

The Marquis of Salisbury, to whom I communicated it, having received your Lordship's instructions that the Porte should be given to understand that they need expect no support from Her Majesty's Government should a rupture with Russia occur if it rejected the proposals to be made by the Powers in Conference, considered that it would be desirable for the fleet to go to Athens instead of remaining in Turkish waters, and I intimated his Lordship's wish to Admiral Drummond by telegram.

With a chance, however, of the Conference closing in a manner likely to cause much exasperation among the Turks towards foreigners, and especially towards Great Britain, I thought that, for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects, in case of need, two ships ought to remain at Besika, from whence they might be called up to Constantinople if

required, one at Smyrna and one at Salonica.

The Marquis of Salisbury having asked whether I thought there would be any danger if the four ships did not go to the stations I had suggested till next Monday, I said that I saw none whatever, and I this morning sent the Admiral a further telegram.

I have, &c. (Signed) H

HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 120.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 1, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 26, 1876.

IN consequence of Mr. Reade's report of the unsatisfactory manner in which the Commission under Ismaïl Bey was conducting the inquiry into Chefket Pasha's proceedings at Boyadjikeui, I made a strong representation to the Porte of the necessity of stringent orders being at once sent to Ismaïl Bey.

I am informed that a telegram in the sense I demanded was forwarded to him, directing him at the same time to inquire into the depredations of the Bashi-Bazouks under

Chefket Pasha at Yamboli.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 121.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 1, 1877.)

My Lord, Ragusa, December 24, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th instant, respecting the mutilation of the Turkish soldiers by the Montenegrins, I have the honour to inclose copy of a note, dated the 21st instant, which I have received from the Prince of Montenegro, and of my reply thereto.

Your Lordship will see that His Highness wishes the testimony of the foreign officers present at his head-quarters during the campaign as to the behaviour of his troops; and I have already reported to your Lordship that Colonel Thömmel while at Cettigné entirely

corroborated the Prince's statements on this head.

My own despatches written from Cettigné will have represented to Her Majesty's Government the humane treatment of the prisoners captured at Medun, and I feel sure that the concluding sentence in the note which His Highness has now sent me, and in which he expresses his determination to enforce upon his army the observance of the laws of humanity, declares an intention on the part of the Prince which he will do his utmost to prove to be no idle promise.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 121.

The Prince of Montenegro to Mr. Monson.

M. le Consul-Général,

Cettigné, le $\frac{9}{21}$ Décembre, 1876.

PAR votre lettre du 15 courant, vous me transmettez, de la part de sa Seigneurie, le Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, des recommendations relatives à l'observation des devoirs de l'humanité vis-à-vis des ennemis, en prévision

du cas où la guerre recommencerait entre le Monténégro et la Turquie.

Je vois avec plaisir que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine rend justice à mes sentiments personnels à cet égard, et vos propres rapports, Monsieur, ont dû certainement le confirmer dans cette impression. Vous avez pû voir par vous-même comment sont traités nos prisonniers. Nous en avons en tout un millier environ qui ont été restaurés, soignés, vétus même: puis mis en liberté. Vous avez pu comparer nos procédés avec ceux des Turcs, qui n'ont point fait de prisonniers, ou qui ne les ont conservés que quelques jours, pour les décapiter ensuite, ainsi qu'ont dû vous le rapporter certains de vos compatriotes, témoins oculaires de faits semblables au camp de Moukhtar Pasha.

Je regrette de ne trouver dans votre lettre aucune indication sur les cas spéciaux de cruauté qui ont été portés à la connaissance de l'Ambassadeur Anglais auprès de la Sublime

Porte.

En l'absence de tous renseignements à cet égard, je dois présumer qu'il s'agit de certains blessés, dont il est fait mention dans tous les journaux, et qui ont été exhibés dans les hôpitaux de Constantinople, où ils avaient été transférés d'Albanie. Or, ces mêmes hommes, au nombre de sept, avaient été, sur l'invitation du Vali, visités dans les ambulances de Scutari par les Consuls Européens, qui ont constaté chez eux la mutilation du nez; mais il n'a jamais été question alors de prisonniers empalés, et d'autres hachés vivants ou déchiquetés à coups de couteau; toutes ces horreurs ont été ajoutées depuis que les blessés ont été transportés et exposés aux regards dans la capitale.

Certes, j'ai été indigné et irrité quand j'ai sû que nos auxiliaires Kutchi avaient traité ainsi des soldats laissés pour morts sur le champ de bataille; et j'ai donné les ordres les plus strictes pour que des faits semblables ne se reproduisissent pas. Dès le commencement de la guerre je n'ai négligé aucun moyen de faire rénoncer nos populations aux

mœurs barbares qu'elles avaient apprises de leurs adversaires eux-mêmes.

Ceux-ci ne m'ont pas rendu la tâche facile dans les dernières affaires, car dès le premier jour des hostilités actives, ils ont exposé sur le pont de Podgoritza les têtes de vingt-deux Monténégrins, décapités vivants; et le Commandant en Chef Turc, en personne, a refusé de rendre ces sinistres trophées à quatre de nos femmes, qui ont eu le courage d'aller les lui réclamer pour les enterrer.

Ils ont, en outre, soumis le prêtre Grec Orthodox d'un de nos villages à un des supplices

qu'ils nous accusent d'avoir employé; ils l'ont dépécé vivant à coups de sabre.

Malgré cela, avec l'assistance de mes officiers, j'ai fait tout mon possible pour empêcher les représailles. Les nombreux étrangers, y compris les représentants de divers Etats, qui ont suivi mon quartier-général, peuvent dire à quel point j'ai réussi; je m'en rapporte à eux.

En tout cas, et dans les moments les plus terribles d'une lutte à outrance de plusieurs siècles, jamais les Monténégrins ne se sont laissés entraîner par l'exemple de leurs ennemis, à exercer sur ceux-ci les horribles cruautés dont les journaux ont parlé.

Si donc c'est sur ces récits que se base le rapport de son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, il est de mon devoir de déclarer que sa bonne foi a été surprise par des dépositions mises dans la bouche des blessés à Constantinople et auxquelles j'oppose le démenti le plus formel.

Dans le cas où il s'agirait d'autres faits, qui me sont inconnus, je compte sur votre bon vouloir, M. le Consul-Général, et sur les sentiments de justice du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, pour qu'il m'en soit donné connaissance. Je tiens à pouvoir m'en enquérir positivement, afin de les punir, s'ils sont vrais, même en partie; et que, s'ils sont faux, je puisse répondre aux calomnies.

Si, d'autre part, l'Ambassadeur Anglais n'a pas d'autres faits distincts à alléguer, je ne peux m'empêcher de regretter qu'il se soit laissé aller, sur des bases aussi erronées, à lancer une accusation générale si grave contre un petit peuple qui lutte depuis des générations, non seulement pour son existence, mais aussi pour se faire sa place dans la communauté des nations Chrétiennes.

Je vous prie, M. le Consul-Général, de vouloir bien porter ce qui précède à la connaissance de Lord Derby, et de l'assurer, de ma part, que je suis toujours déterminé à faire observer par mon armée les lois de l'humanité.

Je saisis, &c. Le Prince de Monténégro, (Signé) NICHOLAS.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul Général,

Cettigné, December $\frac{9}{21}$, 1876.

1N your letter of the 15th instant, you convey to me on the part of his Lordship, her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, some recommendations relative to the observance, towards enemies, of the duties of humanity, in case of war again com-

mencing between Montenegro and Turkey.

I observe with pleasure that the Government of her Majesty the Queen does justice to my personal feelings in this respect, and this impression, Sir, will certainly have been confirmed by your own reports. You have yourself been able to see how our prisoners are treated. In all we have had about a thousand, who have been fed, cared for, even clothed; and afterwards set at liberty. You have been in a position to compare our proceedings with those of the Turks, who have made no prisoners or have only kept them a few days to behead them afterwards, as you will have been informed by some of your fellow countrymen, eye-witnesses of such deeds in Mouktar Pasha's camp.

I regret to find in your letter nothing indicating the special cases of cruelty which have been brought to the knowledge of the English Ambassador at the Sublime Porte.

In the absence of all information on this point, I must presume that certain wounded are referred to of whom mention has been made in the papers, and who have been exhibited in the hospitals of Constantinople, whither they had been conveyed from Albania. Now these same men, to the number of seven, have, at the request of the Vali, been inspected in the ambulances at Scutari by the European Consuls who have borne witness to their noses having been mutilated; but at that time there was no question of prisoners being empaled and others cut to pieces alive or slashed with knives; all these horrors were added after the wounded had been conveyed to the capital and exposed to view there.

Certainly, I was very indignant and angry upon learning that our auxiliaries the Kutchi had treated in such a way soldiers left for dead on the field of battle, and I gave most strict orders that such acts should not be repeated. From the commencement of the war I have neglected no means to induce our people to renounce the barbarous habits

which they had been taught by their adversaries themselves.

In the late actions the latter have not rendered this task an easy one, for, from the first day of active hostilities, the heads of twenty-two Montenegrins, beheaded alive, have been exposed by them on the bridge of Podgoritza; and the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, personally, refused to give up these sinister trophies to four of our women who had the courage to go to him and claim them for interment.

Besides this, the Orthodox Greek priest of one of our villages, has been subjected by them to one of the tortures which they accuse us of having employed; they have hacked

him to pieces alive with the sabre.

Notwithstanding this, assisted by my officers, I have done all I can to prevent The many strangers, including the Agents of various States, who have followed my head-quarters, can attest how far I have succeeded; I leave myself in their hands.

In every case, even in the most terrible moments of a mortal struggle of centuries, have the Montenegrins never allowed themselves to be carried away by the example of their enemies, so as to commit upon them the horrible cruelties of which the papers have spoken.

If, then, the report of his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot is founded solely upon these statements, it is my duty to declare that his good faith has been abused by depositions placed in the mouths of the wounded at Constantinople, and which I, in the most formal manner, contradict.

In case of other facts being referred to unknown to me, I rely upon your good will, M. le Consul-Général, and the sentiments of justice of Her Majesty's Government, to have them brought to my knowledge. I desire to be in a position to make positive inquiries on the matter, that punishment may be inflicted even if the stories are only partly true, and, if false, that I may be able to reply to the calumnies.

If, on the other hand, the English Ambassador has no other distinct facts that he can quote, I cannot refrain from regretting that he should have allowed himself, on such erroneous grounds, to launch so grave and general a charge against a little people struggling for generations not only for existence but also to make its way into the community of Christian nations.

I beg you, M. le Consul-Général, to be good enough to bring the above to the knowledge of Lord Derby and to assure him from me that I am still determined to make

the laws of humanity always observed by my army.

I take, &c. The Prince of Montenegro, (Signed) NICHOLAS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 121.

Mr. Monson to the Prince of Montenegro.

Monseigneur, Raguse, ce 24 Décembre, 1876.

JE m'empresse d'accuser réception de la lettre que votre Altesse a daigné m'adresser le 21 du courant, et dans laquelle elle a bien voulu me faire l'exposé des faits ayant rapport à la mutilation des soldats Turcs, dont il a été question dans ma communication du 15 de ce mois.

Par le courrier de ce soir j'aurai soin de transmettre au Comte de Derby la copie de cette pièce, et je ne manquerai pas d'y ajouter—ce que du reste j'ai déjà signalé à sa Seigneurie à plusieurs reprises—que je suis à même de constater que les prisonniers Turcs, pendant leur détention en Monténégro, ont été traités avec une humanité et une

générosité vraiment admirables.

Comme j'ai eu l'honneur de déclarer dans ma première lettre, le Gouvernement de la Reine rend pleine justice aux sentiments personnels de votre Altesse. Il agréera, j'en suis également convaincu, avec la plus vive satisfaction, les assurances que votre Altesse a eu la bonté de me réitérer, qu'elle est toujours déterminée à faire observer par son armée les lois de l'humanité.

Je prie, &c. (Signé) EDMUND MONSON.

(Translation.)

Monseigneur, Ragusa, December 24, 1876.

I HASTEN to acknowledge the letter which your Highness deigned to address to me on the 21st instant, in which you were good enough to explain the facts concerning the mutilation of Turkish soldiers to which my communication of the 15th instant referred.

I shall transmit to the Earl of Derby by this evening's mail copy of this paper, and I shall not fail to add, what I have already stated on several occasions to his Lordship, that I am in a position to prove that the Turkish prisoners, during their detention in

Montenegro, were treated with truly admirable humanity and generosity.

As I had the honour to state in my previous letter, Her Majesty's Government renders full justice to your Highness's personal sentiments. It will receive, I am convinced, with the most lively satisfaction, the assurances which your Highness has had the kindness to renew to me, that you are still determined to make your army respect the laws of humanity.

I beg, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 122.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

YOUR telegram of the 30th ultimo, on the subject of the act which General Ignatiew, wishes the Plenipotentiaries to sign, has been received; and I have to state to your Excellency that I have telegraphed to Her Majesty's Minister at Vienna, to ascertain the views

of the Austrian Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 123.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 1, 1877.

IT has been proposed by General Ignatiew that the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers,

who attended the Preliminary Conference at Constantinople, should sign an act of which

the following is the operative clause:-

"Plenipotentiaries declare that propositions laid before the Porte have been deliberated in common, and that they contained the essential bases of the arrangements to be concluded with the Porte. They all engage, consequently, to sustain them in Conference,

and to support them 'auprès de la Porte,' to give an evident proof of the union of their Governments which should cultivate powerfully to the maintainance of peace, the Plenipotentiaries have signed this Act."

Her Majesty's Government wish your Excellency to ascertain and report to me what

course the Austro-Hungarian Government are disposed to adopt.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 124.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 2, 1877.)

My Lord,

Vienna, December 30, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the copy of a private letter which I have received from Mr. James Long, charged with the administration of a fund subscribed in England for the relief and assistance of houseless Bulgarians.

The inclosures may interest your Lordship, as showing the success with which Mr. Long has carried out the object of his mission, and the assistance which he has

received from the Turkish authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 124.

Mr. Long to Sir A. Buchanan.

Monsieur.

Tatar Bazardjik, le 20 Décembre, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que je suis actuellement parmi les Bulgares trèsoccupé à la construction d'abris en bois, destinés à protéger contre les rigueurs de l'hiver les malheureux qui ont perdu leurs habitations pendant la dernière insurrection.

Mon centre actuel d'opérations est établi à Tatar-Bazardjik, entre Philippopoli et les

Balkans, et à quelques 500 kilomètres de Constantinople.

J'ai achevé mes constructions dans trois villages, et j'espère avant la fin de l'année

avoir 200 maisons et sept écoles bien terminées.

Je me suis approvisionné des bois nécessaires à mon œuvre à la forêt de Belowa, qui se trouve à la tête de la ligne du chemin de fer établi de Constantinople dans ces contrées.

J'ai en outre installé dans cette forêt une sciérie à vapeur, que j'ai fait venir de France, et qui me rend de grands services en façonnant rapidement les bois que j'emplois à mes constructions. La compagnie du chemin de fer s'est montrée très-bien disposée en ma faveur, et m'accorde le transport gratuit de tout mon matériel.

Je n'ai eu qu'à me louer de l'appui que les autorités Turques ont bien voulu me Elles m'ont donné avec beaucoup d'obligeance les renseignements dont j'avais

besoin, et se sont montrées prêtes à me rendre service en toutes circonstances.

Je vais recevoir prochainement d'Angleterre des envois assez considérables de couvertures en laine, de drap, et de vêtements confectionnés. Je ne doute pas que les couvertures seront de la plus grande utilité aux Bulgares, mais j'ai peur que les vêtements confectionnés ne conviennent guère à ce peuple encore peu civilisé.

J'ai, &c.

JAMES LONG. (Signé)

(Translation.)

Sir,

Tatar-Bazardjik, December 20, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I am now among the Bulgarians, much occupied in the construction of wooden sheds, destined to protect against the rigours of the winter the unfortunates who have lost their dwellings during the last insurrection.

My present centre of operations is established at Tatar-Bazardjik, between Philippopolis

and the Balkans, and some 500 kilom. from Constantinople.

I have completed my buildings in three villages, and I hope before the end of the year to have 200 houses and seven schools well finished.

I have provided myself with the wood necessary for my work in the forest of Belowa,

which is situated at the extremity of the line of railway established from Constantinople to these districts.

I have, in addition, set up in this forest a steam saw-mill, which I have had sent out from France, and which renders me great services in rapidly shaping the wood which I employ in my buildings.

The Railway Company has shown itself very well disposed towards me, and has

granted me the free transport of all my material.

I cannot but congratulate myself on the support which the Turkish authorities have been good enough to give me. They have given me most obligingly the information which I needed, and have shown themselves ready to render me service under all circumstances.

I shall receive shortly from England considerable quantities of woollen blankets, cloth, and made-up clothes. I have no doubt that the blankets will be of the greatest use to the Bulgarians, but I fear that the made-up clothes will be little suited to this as yet little-civilized people.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAMES LONG.

No. 125.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 2.)

AS the act referred to in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday declares what has been already notified to the Porte, Count Andrassy does not clearly understand its object. He has received no report respecting it from Count Zichy, and until he does so he cannot express a positive opinion as to expediency of signing the proposed instrument. He thinks, however, it might be signed without danger or inconvenience if, after the word "peace" a clause were added stating "it is, however, understood that it shall be open to the Porte to propose modifications in the details and as to the manner of carrying out the views of the Powers." Without a clause of this kind to show that the proposals made to the Porte shall be subject to discussion, he said that the Conference would be a useless formality. When he hears from Count Zichy he will instruct him to communicate with Lord Salisbury in order that they may arrange such common action on the subject as their respective instructions may point out.

No. 126.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(Extract.) Foreign Office, January 2, 1877.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon to know what I had heard as to the proceedings of the Conference, and to see whether his reports agreed with mine,

which they did in every detail.

I told his Excellency that, so long ago as last summer, I had warned Musurus Pasha that the Porte must not expect material assistance from England in the event of a Russian war, and if we had held that language then, much more should we do so now, when the Porte by refusing English advice had forfeited even such claim to English help as it might be previously supposed to possess. On the other hand, I could not, I said, hold out any expectation to the French Government that we should join in measures of coercion against Turkey; and such being the case, we could not directly or indirectly use menaces which we did not intend to carry into execution.

No. 127.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 3, 1877.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon wishing to know, on behalf of his Government, what answer I was prepared to give to the proposal put forward by Italy that in the event of Turkey refusing the proposals of the Conference the Representa-

tives should not separate, but leave Constantinople, and hold their meetings in some

place outside the Turkish dominions.

I said that I had not heard the idea discussed until yesterday, nor did I know what was likely to be thought of it by the Powers generally. I could, therefore, express only a personal opinion; but to me the proposal appeared open to grave objections, and attended by no single advantage. Her Majesty's Government, I said, had from the first objected to a Conference sitting on Turkish affairs in which a Representative of the Porte should not be present. Nor was it clear what the new, or revived, Conference was to do. It was not to bring about an agreement among the Powers, for they were agreed already; it was not to coerce the Porte, for the use of coercive measures had been expressly disclaimed by England. What, then, was to be the result of its meetings? I added, as a third reason against the scheme, that the English Representative at the Conference was a member of the Cabinet, and the Head of an important public Department, and that his absence from England could not be unduly prolonged.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 128.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, Foreign Office, January 3, 1877.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me yesterday, and stated that an idea had been thrown out, which his Government was inclined to look upon with favour, to the effect that, in the event of the Conference now being held at Constantinople breaking up without result, the Representatives of the Powers should not separate, but continue their meetings at some place outside the Ottoman dominions, so that concert between them might still

be possible, and isolated action on the part of any one of them be avoided.

I said that I was not prepared at once to discuss a proposal which—though it had been casually referred to in conversation and in the newspapers—had never yet, so far as I was aware, been seriously brought forward. Expressing a merely personal opinion, and subject to further consideration, I thought it open to obvious and grave objections. Her Majesty's Government had never consented to the principle of a Conference on Turkish affairs from which the Porte should be excluded, and, in the case of the English Representative, his continued absence from official and Parliamentary duty would be a serious inconvenience to the Government and to the public.

General Menabrea said that he would again raise the question in a few days hence.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 129.

Midhat Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 4, 1877.)

My Lord, Sublime Porte, le 26 Décembre, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur, conformément aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan et aux résolutions du Cabinet Impérial, d'accréditer près de votre Seigneurie son Excellence Odian Effendi, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Travaux Publics, chargé d'une mission spéciale motivée par les circonstances présentes

motivée par les circonstances présentes.

Au moment où le Gouvernement du Sultan se trouve contraint, par le soin de sa conservation et de son honneur, de prendre une décision contraire aux vues des Puissances Européennes, telles qu'elles se sont formulées à la Conférence, il a considéré comme un devoir impérieux de fournir au Cabinet de St. James des explications plus complètes et plus intimes.

Votre Seigneurie voudra donc bien prêter à notre Envoyé Spécial sa bienveillante attention et recevoir de sa bouche tous les éclaircissements et toutes les informations qu'il est chargé de lui présenter au nom de notre Gouvernement, pour expliquer et justifier les résolutions rédoubtables, mais malheureusement inévitables, qui s'imposent au Cabinet Ottoman.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, tout en s'éclairant sur le véritable état des choses en Turquie, tel qu'il sera exposé par son Excellence Odian Effendi, acquierra la preuve qu'au milieu de la crise qu'elle traverse, la Turquie a gardé fidèlement le souvenir

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d'une alliance à la fois heureuse et féconde, dont le peuple Ottoman respectera toujours les traditions.

En remerciant à l'avance votre Seigneurie de l'accueil qu'elle voudra bien réserver à notre Envoyé, je la prie d'agréer, &c.

(Signé)

MIDHAT.

(Translation.)

My Lord, Sublime Porte, December 26, 1876.

I HAVE the honour, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty the Sultan, and with the resolutions of the Imperial Cabinet, to accredit to your Lordship his Excellency Odian Effendi, Under Secretary of State in the Department of Public Works, charged with

a special mission caused by present circumstances.

At the moment when the Government of the Sultan finds itself forced, impelled by a sense of self-preservation and honour, to take a decision contrary to the views of the European Powers, as formulated at the Conference, it has considered it an imperative duty to furnish the Cabinet of St. James with more complete and more particular explanations.

Your Lordship will therefore have the goodness to give your kind attention to our special Envoy, and receive from his mouth all the explanations and information with which he is charged in the name of our Government, to explain and justify the resolutions, dangerous but, unfortunately, inevitable, which the Ottoman Government are forced to

adopt.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty, while receiving information concerning the true position of affairs in Turkey, as set forth by his Excellency Odian Effendi, will acquire the proof that, in the midst of the crisis she is passing through, Turkey has faithfully guarded the recollection of an alliance both happy and successful, the traditions of which the Ottoman people will always respect.

In thanking your Lordship beforehand for the reception you will kindly grant to our

Envoy, I beg you to accept, &c.

(Signed)

MIDHAT.

No. 130.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 4, 1877.

A REPORT has reached me in an indirect and confidential manner that the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers have agreed upon certain modifications in the proposals made to the Porte.

These concessions are said to be-

1. That, as regards Servia, the terms of peace should be based on the status quo, and that there should be no question of the cession of Little Zvornik to that Principality.

2. A reduction of the proposed territorial cessions to Montenegro.

3. That the introduction of a foreign police force should be abandoned, and a Turkish gendarmerie should be substituted for it, which should, however, be provided with European officers.

4. That there should be but one Commission, and that a Commission of the resident

Consuls, to supervise the execution of the intended reforms.

There are said to be some further concessions of detail, and that if the original plan, thus modified, is still resisted by the Porte, the Plenipotentiaries have agreed that they must leave Constantinople.

I have thought it best to telegraph to your Excellency the substance of the above.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 131.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir,

Foreign Office, January 4, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and presented to me Odian Effendi, who has arrived in England on a Special Mission from the Porte, and who delivered to me a letter from Midhat Pasha, of which I inclose a copy herewith.

Odian Effendi addressed me at considerable length, recapitulating the history of the recent events, and stating the reasons which had compelled the Turkish Government to reject the proposals made in Conference by the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers.

I said that I would not enter into argument upon the subject, as it was in discussion at Constantinople. I would, however, allow myself to express the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government that the Porte seemed disposed to reject absolutely the essential portions of the proposals, instead of taking them as a basis of discussion, in which case modifications and compromises might perhaps be possible.

Odian Effendi observed that it was not so much to the reforms proposed that his

Government objected, as to the guarantees demanded for their execution.

I replied that I could well understand that such guarantees might be distasteful to the Turkish Ministers and people. It must, however, be borne in mind that the promises made by the Porte during the last twenty years as regards internal reforms had been, to say the least, very incompletely fulfilled, and that many of the measures actually decreed had practically remained a dead letter. This may doubtless have been owing, in a greater or less degree, to the shortcomings of the late Sultan, and of former Grand Viziers.

At the same time, it could scarcely be considered unreasonable that the Powers on the present occasion should ask for and expect some better security than a mere promise like those which had previously proved so futile. I added that I was ready to make two admissions. I believed that Midhat Pasha was sincerely desirous of introducing real reforms in the administration of the Empire, and I saw that his position and that of the new Sultan in face of the demands of the Powers, and called upon at the same time to deal with an excited feeling among the Mussulman subjects of the Empire, was a painful and difficult one. I would, however, beg him to recollect that the object of Her Majesty's Government in proposing and going into the Conference had been to find a means for averting the contingency, which otherwise appeared inevitable, of a war between Russia and Turkey. It was for the Porte to consider whether it was not in the interest of Turkey to make the proposed concessions in order to avoid such an eventuality.

To this both Musurus Pasha and Odian Effendi replied that the Sultan and his advisers must submit to the will of Providence; that, if the result of a contest were to their disadvantage, they must take the consequences, but that they could not assent to terms which they considered dishonourable without a struggle; that Turkey had now 600,000 men under arms, and that they were not afraid to face a campaign with Russia if

it became necessary.

I could only answer that this was a matter of which the Porte was the best judge, but that, having joined with the rest of the Powers in pressing upon the Turkish Government certain proposals which we considered reasonable, I could not encourage them to expect that Her Majesty's Government would now abandon them, or separate their action in regard to the matter from the collective course taken by the rest of the Powers.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 132.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, Foreign Office, January 4, 1877.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and strongly urged upon me, on behalf of his Government, the proposal which he had mentioned to me two days ago, that in the event of the Conference at Constantinople breaking up, the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers should resume their deliberations at some place out of the Turkish dominions.

I went into the subject at length with General Menabrea, repeating to him the same objections which I had mentioned yesterday in conversation with the French Ambassador. Your Excellency will find these observations recorded in my despatch to Lord Lyons of

vesterday's date, of which a copy has been forwarded to you.

I told General Menabrea that for the reasons I had given, I was personally opposed to the course suggested by his Government. If, however, the idea were taken up by the Governments of other Powers, it would become a question of European policy, and I should in that case wish to take the opinion of my colleagues upon it, which I had not at present had an opportunity of doing. I must, therefore, be understood in what I had

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said to him as expressing my individual views only, and as reserving the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 133.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have learned with satisfaction the success with which Mr. Long, who has been charged with the administration of a fund subscribed in England for the relief and assistance of houseless Bulgarians, has carried out his mission, and the assistance which he has received from the Turkish authorities.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 134.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5.)

My Lord, Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 5 Janvier, 1877. JE m'empresse d'accuser réception de la lettre que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'écrire en date d'aujourd'hui.

Jamais votre Excellence ne m'a dit dans nos différentes entrevues, jamais, dans mes communications avec le Gouvernement Impérial, je n'ai donné à entendre que la Sublime Porte devait ou pouvait s'attendre à l'assistance ou à la protection du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine dans le cas où son refus d'accepter les propositions des Puissances

amènerait une guerre entre l'Empire Ottoman et d'autres pays.

Quant à la partie de la dépêche télégraphique de son Excellence Safvet Pacha du 24 du mois dernier, où il est dit que "la Sublime Porte compte plus que jamais sur l'appui bienveillant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans les circonstances difficiles que nous traversons," c'est l'expression d'un vœu, d'un espoir qu'inspirent à la Sublime Porte les dispositions bienveillantes du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine et la politique traditionnelle de la Grande Bretagne; et votre Excellence ne m'a jamais rien dit qui indiquât une altération dans ces dispositions amicales et bienveillantes du Cabinet dont elle fait partie.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) MUSURUS.

(Translation.)

My Lord, Imperial Ottoman Embassy, London, January 5, 1877.

I HASTEN to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which your Excellency has been

good enough to write to me dated this day.

Never did your Excellency tell me in any of your different interviews, never in my communications with the Imperial Government did I give it to be understood that the Sublime Porte ought or could expect help or protection from Her Majesty's Government in case its refusal to accept the propositions of the Powers should lead to a war between the Ottoman Empire and other countries.

As to that part of the telegram sent by his Excellency Safvet Pasha, on the 24th of last month, where he says that "the Sublime Porte counts more than ever on the kindly support of Her Majesty's Government, in the difficult state of affairs which we are passing through," it is the expression of a wish, of a hope inspired by the kindly disposition of Her Majesty's Government and the traditional policy of Great Britain; and your Excellency has never said anything to me to indicate an alteration in those amicable and kindly feelings of the Cabinet of which you are a member.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) MUSURUS.

No. 135.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

(Extract.)

Pera, December 23, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of the Minutes of the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth Preliminary Meetings of the Plenipotentiaries.

Inclosure 1 in No. 135.

5º Compte-Rendu.—Séance du 18 Decembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne,
d'Autriche-Hongrie,
de France,
de la Grande Bretagne,
d'Italie, et
de Russie.

LE Compte-Rendu de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie dépose sur la table de la Réunion deux cartes de Bulgarie où se trouvent retracées les deux provinces qui devront être organisées et une carte indiquant les nouvelles limites du Monténégro. Ce dernier travail devra être annexé au

précédent Compte-Rendu.

A cette occasion l'un des Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie déclare que son Gouvernement serait d'avis que les territoires cédés au Monténégro devraient l'être sans la condition de vasselage partiel qui avait été énoncée dans une précédente séance. Il fait remarquer les inconvénients que pourrait amener pour les Puissances limitrophes la double situation qui serait créée à la Principauté. Sur les observations de l'un de ses membres la Réunion pense que cette question doit être ajournée jusqu'au moment où elle pourra être discutée avec les Représentants de la Porte.

La Réunion procède ensuite à l'examen des projets élaborés par les deux Commissions

Spéciales de Bosnie-Herzégovine, et de Bulgarie.

Lecture est donnée d'abord du travail relatif à la Bosnie-Herzégovine. Divers points de ce travail sont l'objet de discussions approfondies et un échange d'idées se produit notamment sur le fermage des dîmes qui doit être interdit sous des peines déterminées, sur le cas de mort ou de démission du Gouverneur-Général, sur le droit de révocation ou de suspension des différents fonctionnaires, sur les changements de religion et l'âge à fixer pour qu'ils soient valables. La Réunion étudie également la question des milices locales Chrétiennes, décide qu'elles ne sauraient être sous les armes qu'un espace de temps fort court dans l'année, ne pourraient être assimilées à une gendarmerie et seront commandées par des officiers Ottomans lorsqu'elles se trouveront réunies sur un point déterminé par groupes supérieurs à un millier d'hommes.

Le projet relatif à la Bulgarie déjà connu des Plénipotentiaires et analogue d'ailleurs dans la plupart de ses parties à celui de la Bosnie n'est pas l'objet d'un examen spécial et la Réunion passe à la lecture des instructions pour la Commission Internationale de

Surveillance.

Plusieurs observations sont faites sur quelques paragraphes de ce travail. La Réunion discute en particulier la question de savoir s'il y aura une Commission pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine, et une seconde pour la Bulgarie, et décide qu'il y aura deux Commissions, un seul Délégué de chaque pays dans chacune d'elles, et que les Délégués seront nommés pour un an avec faculté de prolongation. Les Plénipotentiaires reconnaissent ensuite que les armes distribuées par l'Etat à la population Musulmane, et particulièrement aux Circassiens depuis 1867, devraient être restituées aux dépôts. Il en sera de même après les exercices des armes remises aux milices locales. La mention de cette décision aussi bien que de celle relative à l'institution d'une force matérielle étrangère devra être insérée dans les instructions pour la Commission de Surveillance.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie prend ce dernier point ad referendum.

Il est, en outre, admis que la Commission aura le droit de proposer la suspension de employés qui sera prononcée par le Vali, et que dans le cas de divergence entre les Com missaires il en sera référé aux Représentants des Puissances à Constantinople.

En ce qui concerne le repatriement des émigrés, il est entendu que la Commission devra rechercher les moyens de venir en aide autant que possible à la population tombé

dans la misère par suite des derniers événements.

La question agraire, celle de l'amnistie, celle des Circassiens, dont la Porte devr favoriser le départ pour ses provinces Asiatiques, seront respectivement réparties dans le mémoires dont il a été donné lecture. L'un des Plénipotentiaires chargé de la rédaction des conditions de la paix à intervenir entre la Porte, la Serbie, et le Monténégro donne connaissance de ce travail, qui est accepté après quelques modifications.

Les divers documents lus dans la séance de ce jour, et qui ont été l'objet de la discus sion précédente, seront annexés à un Compte-Rendu ultérieur, après avoir été amendé conformément aux observations présentées par les Plénipotentiaires et adoptées par le

Réunion.

Les Plénipotentiaires fixent leur prochaine séance à demain, 19 Décembre.

(Signé) WERTHER.

ZICHY. CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. HENRY ELLIOT.

SALISBURY.

L. CORTI. N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

5th Compte-Rendu.—Meeting of December 18, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

THE Minutes of the proceedings of the previous meeting are read and agreed to.

The Russian Ambassador lays upon the table of the meeting two maps of Bulgaria, tracing the limits of the two provinces which are to be organized, and a map showing the new boundaries of Montenegro. This last to be annexed to the previous Compte-Rendu.

On this occasion one of the Plenipotentiaries of Austria-Hungary declares it to be the opinion of his Government that the territory ceded to Montenegro should be so ceded without the condition of partial vassalage, which had been spoken of at a previous meeting. He drew attention to the inconvenience which might arise for the neighbouring Powers from the two-sided situation which would be created for the Principality.

After some observations from one of its members, the meeting thinks that this question should be adjourned till the time when it can be discussed with the Representa-

tives of the Porte.

The meeting then proceeds with the examination of the plans drawn up by the two

Special Commissions for Bosnia-Herzegovina and for Bulgaria.

The work relating to Bosnia-Herzegovina is first read. Various points of this work are the subject of detailed discussion, and an exchange of ideas took place in particular on the farming of the tithes, which is to be prohibited under fixed penalties; on the death or resignation of the Governor-General; on the right of recalling or suspending the different functionaries; on the change of religion, and the age to be fixed when it might be allowed. The meeting studied also the question of the local Christian militias; decided that they should only be under arms during a very short period of the year; that they should not be assimilated to a police force, and should be commanded by Turkish officers whenever they are stationed at a particular point in bodies of over 1,000 men.

The project relating to Bulgaria, already familiar to the Plenipotentiaries, and analogous, moreover, for the chief part, to that for Bosnia, was not the object of a special

examination, and the meeting went on to read the instructions for the "Commission Internationale de Surveillance."

Several observations are made on some paragraphs of this work. The meeting discussed in particular the question as to whether there should be one Commission for Bosnia-Herzegovina and a second for Bulgaria, and decided that there should be two Commissions, one delegate from each country in each, and that the delegates should be nominated for one year, with power of extension. The Plenipotentiaries then agreed that the arms distributed by the State to the Mussulman population, and especially to the Circassians since 1867, should be returned to the depôts. The same rule shall apply to the arms of the local militia after their training. Mention of this decision, as well as of that relative to the institution of a foreign material force, to be made in the instructions for the "Commission de Surveillance."

The Russian Ambassador takes this last point ad referendum.

It was, besides, admitted that the Commission will have the right to propose the suspension of the employés, which will be pronounced by the Vali; and that in case of a difference of opinion among the Commissioners, reference should be made to the Representatives of the Powers at Constantinople.

As regards the repatriation of emigrants, it was settled that the Commission should seek means to assist those who had fallen into a state of destitution in consequence of recent events.

The agrarian question, that of the amnesty, that of the Circassians, whose departure for its Asiatic provinces the Porte is to facilitate, will be respectively treated in the Memoranda which have been read.

One of the Plenipotentiaries charged with drawing up the conditions of peace between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, brought forward his work, which was accepted with some modifications.

The various papers read at this day's meeting, and which have formed the subject of the above discussion, will be annexed to a later Minute, after having been amended in accordance with the observations made by the Plenipotentiaries, and adopted by the meeting.

The Plenipotentiaries fixed their next meeting for to-morrow, December 19.

(Signed) WERTHER.

ZICHY. CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY.

HENRY, ELLIOT. SALISBURY.

L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 135.

6º Compte-Rendu.—Séance du 19 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne,

d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie.

LE Compte-Rendu de la séance du 18 Décembre est lu et approuvé.

L'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne déclare que le Gouvernement de la Reine, auquel a été soumis le projet de l'envoi d'un corps Belge de 3,000 à 6,000 hommes, ainsi que le projet d'organisation de Bosnie-Herzégovine et de la Bulgarie, les a acceptés l'un et l'autre en principe.

La Réunion en prenant acte de cette adhésion, décide que le corps étranger prendra le

titre d'escorte de la Commission Internationale et gendarmerie.

Les Plénipotentiaires discutent la question des sommes qui devront être immédiatement fournies pour subvenir aux frais du voyage et du premier entretien de cette escorte. Il est entendu qu'une avance sera faite remboursable sur les revenus des provinces de Bosnie-Herzégovine et de Bulgarie, et qui pourrait être garantie par les Puissances; après examen des dépenses nécessaires, cette avance est évaluée à environ 1,000,000 fr., le chiffre du premier appel étant de 2,000 à 3,000 hommes.

Il est également admis que la 'gendarmerie placée actuellement au service de la Commission Internationale pourra ensuite passer au service Turc, et former les cadres de la

gendarmerie que la Porte constituera ultérieurement.

La Réunion examinant ensuite divers détails de l'organisation de la Commission Internationale, est d'avis que la présidence sera renouvelée tous les mois, et sera dévolue ainsi alternativement à tous les Commissaires. Quant à la ville où la Commission tiendra ses séances, c'est aux Commissaires eux-mêmes qu'est réservé le soin de désigner selon les circonstances le point qui leur semblera le plus favorable à la bonne gestion des intérêts qui leur seront confiés.

La Réunion, après avoir déterminé les pièces emanées de ses délibérations qui devront être soumises à l'acceptation de la Sublime Porte, qui seront annexées au prochain procèsverbal, pense que, vu l'état de la négociation, le moment est venu de s'entendre avec les Représentants de Sa Majesté le Sultan. En conséquence, le Doyen du Corps Diplomatique est chargé de faire savoir au Gouvernement Ottoman qu'à partir de Jeudi, 21 Décembre les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes sont prêts à entrer en Conférence avec les Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte.

La prochaine séance de la Réunion est fixée à demain, 20 Décembre.

(Signé) WERTHER.

ZICHY. CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. HENRY ELLIOT.

SALISBURY.

L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

6th Compte-Rendu.—Meeting of December 19, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

THE Minutes of the meeting of December 18 were read and agreed to.

One of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain declared that the Government of the Queen, to whom the plan for the dispatch of a Belgian corps of from 3,000 to 6,000 men had been submitted, as well as the plan for the reorganization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria, accepted both of them in principle.

The meeting in taking cognizance of this adhesion, decided that the foreign corps should take the title of escort of the International Commission and be called a gendarmerie.

The Plenipotentiaries then discussed the question of the money which would have to be at once furnished to meet the expenses of the journey, and the maintenance, in the first instance, of this escort. It was agreed that an advance should be made payable out of the revenues of the provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria, and which should be guaranteed by the Powers; after a calculation of the necessary expenses, this advance was estimated at about 1,000,000 francs, the number of the first contingent being from 2,000 to 3,000 men.

It was also agreed that the gendarmerie now placed at the service of the International Commission should eventually enter the Turkish service, and constitute the nucleus of the police force that the Porte will ultimately form.

The meeting then examined different details of the organization of the International Commission, and came to the conclusion that the Presidency should be changed monthly, and by this means would devolve alternately on each of the Commissioners. With regard to the town where the Commission should hold its sittings, it was reserved to the

Commissioners themselves to decide according to circumstances upon the place which seemed to them the best suited for watching over the interests which were confided to them.

The meeting, after having determined which of the instruments, which are the result of their deliberations, should be submitted for the acceptance of the Sublime Porte, and which will be annexed to the next Minutes, were of opinion, considering the state of the negotiation, that the time was come for consultation with the Representatives of His Majesty the Sultan. The Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps was, therefore, authorized to inform the Ottoman Government that after Thursday, the 21st December, the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers were ready to commence the Conference with the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte.

(Signed)

The next sitting of the meeting was fixed for to-morrow, December 20.

WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 135.

7º Compte-Rendu.—Séance du 20 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, L'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, Les Plénipotentiaires d'Italie, et de Russie.

LE Procès-Verbal de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

Le Président de la Réunion donne lecture à ses collègues de la lettre qu'il a adressée au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Sublime Porte, ainsi qu'il a été convenu dans la séance d'hier, pour lui faire savoir que les Représentants des Puissances Garantes sont prêts à entrer en Conférence avec les Représentants du Gouvernement Ottoman. La Réunion, désirant hâter autant que possible le moment de l'ouverture de la Conférence, décide que les Drogmans des Missions se rendront demain auprès du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Sultan pour insister auprès de son Excellence sur l'opportunité de convoquer au plus tôt les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes et de la Porte Ottomane.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie prenant ensuite la parole déclare au nom de son Gouvernement que le programme arrêté en commun est pour le Gouvernement Impérial un minimum irréductible. Pour que les propositions élaborées par les Représentants des Grandes Puissances aient des chances de succès, l'accord des Cabinets doit être complet. La sécurité des Chrétiens ainsi que l'exécution réelle des réformes doivent être garanties par la présence des Commissaires Européens appuyés par l'attitude identique, et, s'il le faut, comminatoire, de toute l'Europe. Tenant à donner un nouveau témoignage de son bon vouloir et de son vif désir de contribuer à l'établissement d'un accord parfait entre toutes les Grandes Puissances le Gouvernement Impérial a autorisé son Plénipotentiaire à adhérer aux propositions prises d'abord ad referendum. C'est un essai qu'il consent à tenter par déférence pour les Puissances qui en ont pris l'initiative, mais il n'est nullement convaincu du succès final qu'il désire sincèrement.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie donne ensuite lecture de la conclusion suivante d'un

télégramme qu'il a reçu du Chancelier de l'Empire :-

"L'Empereur est inébranlable dans sa décision pour une amélioration réelle et palpable du sort des Chrétiens dans les trois provinces sur les bases acceptées par tous les Cabinets. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne doute pas que les Représentants Chrétiens tiendront à honneur d'imposer à la Porte une franche acceptation des proposi-

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tions communes par un langage unanime et ferme. Il espère qu'ils ne perdront pas de

vue la grave responsabilité qui pèse sur eux devant l'histoire et l'humanité."

A la suite de cette communication la Réunion examine diverses observations qui ont été faites sur le texte des projets d'organisation des provinces de Bosnie-Herzégovine et de Bulgarie. Les principaux passages sur lesquels portent les rectifications sont relatifs :--

1. A la destitution éventuelle des Gouverneurs-Généraux qui ne pourra être

prononcée par la Cour d'Appel qu'après leur mise en jugement.

2. A la nomination des juges par le Vali, qui devra être faite sans intervention de l'Assemblée, mais avec l'assentiment de la Commission Internationale, à qui incombera la tâche de trouver des hommes honorables pour remplir les fonctions de la magistrature.

3. A la surveillance générale que la Commission aura la faculté d'exercer soit directement, soit en déléguant des drogmans et secrétaires sur les points où son action directe

ne pourrait se produire avec assez de rapidité.

4. A la reconstruction des églises et convents brûlés en Bulgarie à laquelle les Com-

missaires devront veiller avec une active sollicitude.

La Réunion, dans la pensée de réaliser au plus tôt l'organisation qu'elle a préparée, décide que la nouvelle Administration devra être installée au plus tard dans un délai de

trois mois après la décision qui sera prise par la Conférence.

L'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne témoigne le désir que le crime de concussion et de corruption soit l'objet d'une répression particulièrement sévère, qui pourrait être provoquée soit par l'un des Représentants des Puissances Garantes à Constantinople, soit par la Commission Internationale. L'un des membres de la Réunion ayant fait observer que la législation Ottomane en vigueur contient déjà à cet égard un ensemble de pénalités développées, la Réunion est d'avis qu'avant de se prononcer sur cette proposition il y a lieu d'examiner la valeur des dispositions édictées par les lois actuelles.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie ayant à cette occasion exprimé le vœu qu'il puisse être formé une Commission Mixte, composée d'avocats Chrétiens et de jurisconsultes Musulmans, pour aviser à la réforme des lois, et notamment faire un code de procédure, promis depuis longtemps par le Gouvernement Turc et indispensable à l'exécution des jugements, la Réunion reconnaît que l'expérience démontre en effet l'urgence de la réforme proposée et qu'il sera opportun de la recommander ultérieurement à l'attention de la Porte.

Une dernière séance étant jugée nécessaire pour procéder à l'adoption définitive des

projets présentés au Gouvernement Ottoman, elle est fixée à demain 21 Décembre.

WERTHER. (Signé) ZICHY.

CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY.

L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

7th Compte-Rendu.—Meeting of December 20, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary,

France,

One of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain,

The Plenipotentiaries of Italy, and

Russia.

THE Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The President of the meeting read to his colleagues the letter which he had addressed to the Foreign Minister of the Sublime Porte, as agreed upon in yesterday's sitting, informing him that the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers were ready to commence the Conference with the Representatives of the Ottoman Government. meeting, desiring to accelerate as much as possible the opening of the Conference, decided that the Dragomans of the Missions should call to-morrow on the Foreign Minister of His

Majesty the Sultan and impress on his Excellency the necessity of calling together as soon as possible the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers and of the Ottoman Porte.

The Russian Ambassador then spoke and declared in the name of his Government that the programme drawn up by common consent was for the Imperial Government an irreducible minimum ("minimum irréductible"). In order that the proposals sketched out by the Representatives of the Great Powers might have a chance of success, the agreement between the Powers should be complete. The security of the Christians and the effective execution of the reforms should be guaranteed by the presence of European Commissioners backed by the identic and, if necessary, menacing attitude of the whole of Europe. Wishing to give a fresh proof of its good intentions and of its earnest desire to contribute to the establishment of an entire agreement between the Great Powers the Imperial Government authorised its Plenipotentiary to adhere to the proposals which had been accepted in the first instance ad referendum. His Government consented to this out of deference to the Powers who had taken the initiative, but was in no way confident of that final success which it earnestly desired. The Russian Ambassador then read the following conclusion of a telegram he had received from the Chancellor of the Empire:-

"The Emperor is unshaken in his determination for an effective and palpable improvement in the lot of the Christians in the three provinces on the bases accepted by all the The Imperial Government does not doubt that the Christian Representatives will feel themselves bound to impose upon the Porte by firm and unanimous language a frank acceptance of the common proposals. It hopes that they will not lose sight of the grave

responsibility which devolves upon them before history and before humanity."

After this communication the meeting examined various observations which had been made upon the text of the projects for the organization of the Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and of Bulgaria. The principal passages which were amended were those

1. To the contingency of the dismissal of the Governors-General, which can only be

decided by the Court of Appeal after their trial.

2. To the nomination of the Judges by the Vali, which shall take place without the intervention of the Assembly, but with the approval of the International Commission, on whom will devolve the task of finding honourable men to fulfil magisterial duties.

3. To the general supervision which the Commission will have the power to exercise either directly, or by despatching dragomans and secretaries to the points where its direct

action would not otherwise make itself felt with sufficient rapidity.

4. To the rebuilding of churches and convents burnt in Bulgaria, about which the

Commissioners shall take especial care.

The meeting, with the idea of effecting as soon as possible the reorganization which it has prepared, decided that the new Administration should be installed within three months at the latest after the decision arrived at by the Conference.

One of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain expressed the desire that the crime of extortion and corruption should be most severely punished: the punishment might be exacted either by one of the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople or by the International Commission. One of the members of the meeting having observed that the Ottoman Legislation already contained in this respect a collection of detailed penalties, the meeting decided that before pronouncing an opinion on this proposal the value of the provisions of the law already in force should be examined.

The Italian Plenipotentiary having on this occasion expressed the wish that a mixed Commission should be formed, composed of Christian and Mussulman lawyers, to consider the question of legal reforms, and especially to draw up a code of procedure, long since promised by the Turkish Government, and indispensable for the carrying out of judgments, the meeting acknowledged that experience did in fact show the pressing need of the proposed reforms, and that it would be fitting later to recommend them to the consideration of the Porte.

A last meeting being deemed necessary for the definitive adoption of the proposals to be presented to the Ottoman Government, it was fixed for to-morrow, December 21.

(Signed)

WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. L. CORTI. N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 4 in No. 135.

8° Compte-Rendu.—Séance du 21 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, L'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, Les Plénipotentiaires d'Italie, et de Russie.

LE Procès-Verbal de la séance du 20 Décembre est lu est approuvé.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie dit qu'il a reçu une députation de notables Grecs de la Macédoine recommandant à la Réunion les intérêts de leurs co-religion naires. Les Plénipotentiaires ayant à s'occuper du sort des Chrétiens des trois provinces de Bosnie, Herzégovine, et de Bulgarie, sans distinction de culte et de race, il ne saurait être donné. suite à aucune demande de cette nature.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie expose que son Gouvernement regarderait comme opportun la rédaction par la Réunion d'un acte de médiation qui résumerait l'ensemble des mesures à proposer à la Porte et constaterait l'accord des Puissances Garantes.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie adhère à cette suggestion, qui rencontre l'opposition des autres Représentants; après avoir discuté la question de savoir s'il y a lieu, pour la Réunion, de se considérer comme médiatrice, les Plénipotentiaires sont d'avis que le fait seul de la présentation collective à la Porte des documents qu'ils ont préparés, constate parfaitement leur accord et qu'il serait à craindre d'ajouter, par un acte diplomatique plus accentué, aux difficultés de la situation.

La Réunion procède ensuite à la lecture de cinq pièces qui seront soumises à l'accepta-

tion de la Porte et qui sont:-

1. Les conditious de la paix à intervenir entre la Porte, la Serbie, et le Monténégro (Annexe No. 1).

2. L'organisation projetée pour la Bosnie-Herzégovine (Annexe No. 2).

3. L'organisation projetée pour la Bulgarie (Annexe No. 3).

4. Les instructions pour la Commission Internationale en Bosnie (Annexe No. 4).

5. Les instructions pour la Commission Internationale en Bulgarie (Annexe No. 5.)

Après avoir réglé quelques détails de la rédaction de ces pièces qui représentent le résumé de ses travaux, la Réunion déclare le texte définitivement arrêté et l'adopte à l'unanimité.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie ayant fait remarquer que l'armistice expire dans un espace de dix jours, la Réunion pense qu'il y aura lieu, lorsque la Conférence avec les Plénipotentiaires de la Porte sera commencée, de demander une prolongation de quinze jours.

Les Plénipotentiaires décident de se réunir encore demain 22 Décembre.

(Signé) WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Annexe 1 au Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Monténégro.

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Pour écarter les difficultés qui se sont malheureusement trop souvent produites entre la Turquie et le Monténégro, les frontières de la Principauté seront rectifiées de façon à placer sous le Gouvernement du Prince de Monténégro les territoires suivants:—

1. Dans la province de l'Herzégovine, la partie orientale du district des Zubtzi, la Suttorina restant soumise au Gouvernement direct de la Sublime Porte, les territoires des Baniani, Piva, Drobniak, la partie du territoire des Scharanzi située sur la rive

gauche de la Tara, le district de Kolaschin. Il est entendu que Niksitch étant comprise dans les territoires assignés au Monténégro, les habitants Musulmans de cette ville auront la faculté d'y rester ou de la quitter.

2. Du côté de l'Albanie, les territoires des Kutchi-Drékalovitchi, les Kutchi-Kraïni, et celui des Wassoïewitchi de la Zievna au Lim, et sur la rive droite de la Moratcha le

territoire des Mali et Veli Brdo, et les places de Spouz et de Jabliak.

La nouvelle frontière est indiquée avec plus de détails dans la pièce et dans la carte annexées au présent Protocole, dont elles doivent être considérées comme partie intégrante (Annexe No. 1).

Une Commission Internationale réunie à Raguse dans les trois semaines de l'acceptation du présent Protocole par les deux parties procèdera à la nouvelle délimitation.

II.

La navigation de la Boïana sera parfaitement libre de façon à garantir à la Principauté l'accès à la mer. Les fortins placés dans les îles du Lac de Scutari seront désarmés. Dès que la Porte le pourra, des travaux seront exécutés pour rendre la rivière partout navigable et accessible.

Un arrangement spécial interviendra entre les deux parties dans lequel les facilités accordées au Monténégro devront se concilier avec la sauvegarde des intérêts fiscaux de

la Porte.

III.

Les troupes Ottomanes évacueront la position de Zaslap dans l'espace de quinze jours à partir de Les Monténégrins évacueront également dans le même délai les points qu'ils occupent sur le territoire Ottoman en dehors de la ligne ci-dessus indiquée.

La Porte s'entendra avec le Prince de Monténégro dans le délai d'un mois au sujet de l'évacuation des places et fortins situés du côté Monténégrin de la nouvelle frontière. S'il s'élevait des difficultés, la Commission Internationale servirait d'arbitre et les

résoudrait sur place.

IV.

Les prisonniers de guerre seront immédiatement rendus de part et d'autre.

Une amnistie pleine et entière sera accordée à ceux des sujets Ottomans qui auraient été employés au service Monténégrin pendant la guerre, ou aux sujets Monténégrins qui auraient été employés au service Ottoman.

Serbie.

I.

Les relations entre la Sublime Porte et la Principauté de Serbie seront rétablies telles qu'elles existaient au 13 Juin dernier.

II.

Les frontières de la Principauté resteront les mêmes qu'à cette époque. Toutefois une Commission Mixte Turco-Serbe sera nommée pour régler les difficultés de limites qui se sont élevées au sujet de la fixation de la partie de la frontière entre la Bosnie et la Servie formée par la Drina. La Commission se guidera sur le principe que le thalweg de la Drina est la ligne de démarcation.

III.

Les troupes Ottomanes évacueront le territoire Serbe dans l'espace d'un mois à partir Les Serbes évacueront également dans le même délai les points qu'ils de occupent sur le territoire Ottoman.

IV.

ers de guerre seront immédiatement rendus de part et d'autre. Les priso

V.

Une amnistie pleine et entière sera accordée à ceux des sujets Ottomans ou Serbes qui auraient été compromis par une participation quelconque aux événements de la dernière guerre en faveur de la cause ennemie.

Il est expressément entendu que cette amnistie s'étendra aux sujets Ottomans qui auraient été employés au service Serbe pendant la guerre ou aux sujets Serbes qui

auraient été employés au service Ottoman.

Annexe 2 au Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bosnie-Herzegovine.—Règlement Organique.

I.

Les vilayets de la lBosnie et de l'Herzégovine seront réunis et ne feront qu'une seule province, gouverné par un Gouverneur-Général (Vali).

II.

L'unité administrative sera le canton (Nahié, Mudirlik).

Le canton sera administré par un Maire élu pour quatre ans, parmi les membres du Conseil Cantonnal et par le Conseil lui-même.

Les Maires devront être Musulmans ou Chrétiens (Orthodoxes ou Catholiques)

suivant la majorité de la population.

Le Conseil Cantonnal sera composé des représentants de chaque commune, qui

seront élus pour quatre ans, sans distinction de religion.

L'émigration considérable des Chrétiens et l'excitation des esprits ne permettant pas en ce moment de procéder à des élections immédiates, les autorités cantonnales seront provisoirement nommées par le Gouverneur-Général.

Toutes les questions relatives aux intérêts du canton (telles que voies de communication, répartition et perception de certaines contributions) qui seront jugées de sa compétence par la Commission de Surveillance, seront du ressort des Conseils de Canton sous le contrôle des autorités supérieures.

Le Conseil Cantonnal se réunira une fois par mois.

Deux de ses membres désignés par le Conseil pour quatre ans, assisteront le Maire dans ses fonctions sous le titre de Conseillers.

La Commission Internationale se préoccupera, autant que possible, de trouver une combinaison pouvant assurer dans les cantons la représentation des minorités.

Tant que les Conseils Cantonnaux ne pourront pas être élus, leurs attributions seront

remplies par les Maires et leurs Conseillers.

Les villes et les bourgs, ayant une population de plus de 10,000 habitants, auront des institutions municipales analogues à celles des cantons.

III.

Plusieurs cantons (Nahiés, Mudirliks) seront réunis en sandjaks (départements), gouvernés par des Mutessarifs ou des Caïmacams (Gouverneurs), qui seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans selon la majorité de la population du sandjak et nommés par la Sublime Porte, sur la présentation du Gouverneur-Général (Vali) pour un terme de quatre ans.

Leur tâche sera de surveiller l'ordre et la marche des affaires dans les Conseils

Cantonnaux.

Le Gouverneur (Mutessarif ou Caïmacam) aura une Chancellerie et deux Conseillers nommés par le Gouverneur-Général, sur une liste de candidats, en nombre double, formée par l'Assemblée Provinciale.

Le Vali pourra suspendre les Gouverneurs pour un terme de trois mois et proposer à la Sublime Porte leur révocation.

IV.

A la tête de la province sera placé un Vali (Gouverneur-Général), qui sera nommé pour un terme de cinq ans par la Sublime Porte, avec l'assentiment des Puissance. Garantes

Il sera retribué convenablement.

En cas de mort ou de démission du Gouverneur-Général, ses fonctions seront provisoirement remplies par un des Gouverneurs, désignés à cet effet par la Sublime Porte.

Le Vali ne pourra être destitué que par arrêt de la Cour d'Appel, après avoir été mise en jugement.

Le Vali représentera l'autorité suprême, et veillera à l'exécution des lois de l'Empire

et du règlement spécial de la Province.

Il pourra, tant que le principe électif n'aura pas été introduit entièrement dans le

pays, révoquer les Maires et leurs Conseillers.

Une Assemblée Provinciale se composant de deux-cinquièmes de Musulmans, de deux-cinquièmes d'Orthodoxes, et de une-cinquième de Catholiques, se réunira chaque année pour examiner et contrôler le budget et la répartition des impôts. Les membres de l'Assemblée seront élus pour quatre ans. Chaque département nommera deux membres

L'Assemblée nommera pour quatre ans une Commission Administrative, qui servira de Conseil au Gouverneur-Général. Les chefs des communautés religieuses reconnus

seront de droit membres de ce Conseil, un pour chaque religion.

Il y aura au moins un membre de ce Conseil Administratif pour chaque sandjak (département), mais ce Conseil ne pourra être composé de plus de dix membres. Il auront un traitement fixe.

Le Gouverneur-Général prendra l'avis du Conseil Administratif dans tous les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires.

V.

L'Assemblée se réunira une fois par an pour examiner et contrôler le budget de la province et la répartition des impôts. Un compte-rendu financier annuel devra lui être présenté par le Vali et sera soumis à la Sublime Porte.

Le système de perception et de répartition des impôts sera modifié en vue de faciliter le développement des richesses du pays en allégeant toutefois les charges que pèsent sur les populations.

Le bédéli-askérié n'atteindra que les hommes valides de vingt à quarante ans, qui

ne seront pas sous les armes.

Le paiement des arriérés jusqu'au 1er Janvier, 1877, ne sera point exigé.

Les Douanes, postes, et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et les spiritueux, et la régie ne dépendront des autorités provinciales que suivant les règles observées actuellement dans le reste de l'Empire. L'affermage des impôts demeurera aboli sous des peines déterminées.

La perception des autres contributions sera réglée par l'Assemblée Provinciale et par les Conseils Cantonnaux.

Le Vali et l'Assemblée fixeront d'un commun accord, tous les cinq ans, le budget des recettes de la province, en vue de déterminer les sommes à remettre à la Sublime Porte en tenant compte, autant que possible, des revenus des dix dernières années et de l'augmentation de la prospérité du pays.

Les autorités cantonnales feront la répartition entre les communes, et réuniront les

sommes afférentes à chacune d'entr'elles aux époques déterminées.

Ces sommes, déduction faite des dépenses cantonnales, seront transmises aux caisses du Département. Le mode de perception des impôts sera laissé à la décision des autorités cantonnales.

Une somme à déterminer par la Commission de Surveillance et n'excédant pas 30 pour cent des revenus de la province sera versée dans les succursales de la Banque Ottomane, pour être affectée au paiement de la dette publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement Central. Le reste des revenus sera destiné aux besoins intérieurs de la province.

VI.

En attendant qu'un règlement de justice spécial soit élaboré par la Commission de

Surveillance, les Tribunaux seront organisés de la façon suivante:-

La Justice de Paix sera rendue par les Maires et leurs Conseillers. Ils connaîtront des affaires civiles sans appel jusqu'à 1,000 plastres, et, en matière pénale, des contraventions. Avec appel, ils connaîtront jusqu'à 5,000 plastres. Ils jugeront selon les usages et les coutumes qui ne sont pas en contradiction directe avec les lois existantes.

Les Juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels seront nommés par le Gouverneur-

Général, avec l'assentiment de la Commission de Surveillance, et plus tard, de l'avis du Conseil Administratif.

Ils seront retribués convenablement.

Ils seront nommés pour trois ans. Après ce temps, ils pourront être confirmés dans leurs fonctions, et dans ce cas ils deviendront inamovibles. Mais si leur conduite judiciaire n'est pas à la hauteur de leurs fonctions, ils pourront être destitués par la Cour d'Appel, après avoir été mis en jugement.

Il y aura au chef-lieu de la province une Cour d'Appel. Les membres et le Président de cette Cour seront nommés par la Porte, avec l'assentiment des Représentants des

Puissances Garantes.

Les membres de la Cour pourront être Musulmans ou Chrétiens, et statueront sur

la base du Code Ottoman.

L'élément Européen pourra y être admis. Dans ce cas le Magistrat Européen sera muni d'un certificat émanant d'une autorité juridique compétente et justifiant de ses connaissances.

La durée des fonctions des membres de la Cour d'Appel sera de même et réglée par

les mêmes conditions que pour les Juges des Tribunaux.

Les Tribunaux connaîtront de toutes les causes civiles et pénales, sauf appel à la Haute Cour d'Appel instituée dans le chef-lieu de la province.

Les séances des Tribunanx seront publiques, et l'enquête judiciaire sera obliga-

toire.

Les causes appartenant spécialement à une confession quelconque seront de la juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques de la communauté, et les décisions rendues par elles seront considérées comme exécutoires.

VII.

Il y aura une entière liberté de culte. L'entretien du clergé aussi bien que celui des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique sera à la charge de chaque communauté.

Pour pouvoir changer de religion, un jeune homme devra avoir dix-huit ans ou une jeune fille seize ans. Mais pour être autorisé à faire la déclaration de son changement de religion, le jeune homme ou la jeune fille devra avoir passé une semaine chez le chef spirituel de son premier culte.

Il ne pourra être porté aucune entrave à la construction des édifices religieux et à

l'exercice des cérémonies du culte.

Le devoir des Assemblées de Province ou de Canton sera de pourvoir aux nécessités de l'instruction publique en s'imposant spécialement pour la création et l'entretien des écoles.

La langue du pays sera employée au même titre que la langue Turque dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration.

VIII.

L'armée régulière Ottomane sera cantonnée dans les forteresses et dans les villes principales. Elle sera destinée à la défense extérieure du pays. Elle pourra être employée à l'intérieur, en cas de guerre, ou sur la demande du Gouverneur-Général de la Province.

Une gendarmerie entretenue par la Province, suffisante pour maintenir la sécurité publique et pour faire la police, sera formée de façon à ce que le nombre des Chrétiens et des Musulmans qui en feront partie soit proportionné à la population de chaque culte.

Elle aura des officiers Musulmans et Chrétiens nommés par le Gouverneur-Général et sera distribuée dans le pays.

IX.

Une amnistie générale sera accordée aux personnes qui ont été incarcérées sans jugement ou qui ont subi des condamnations sommaires (exil, déportation, emprisonnement) prononcées par des autorités administratives ou par des Commissions Ottomanes.

X.

Une Commission Internationale sera nommée pour un an par les Puissances Garantes afin de veiller à l'exécution de ce Règlement, qui devra être mis en vigueur dans les trois mois de la signature du Protocole.

Annexe 3 au Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bulgarie.—Règlement Organique.

I.

Il sera formé des territoires ci-dessous désignés, et conformément à la carte ci-jointe.

deux vilayets (provinces) qui seront administrés sous les formes détaillées plus bas.

Le Vilayet Oriental, qui aura pour chef-lieu Tirnovo, sera composé des Sandjaks de Roustchouk, Tirnovo, Toultcha, Varna, Slivno, Philippopolis (excepté Sultan-Yeri et Achir-Tchelebi), et des Cazas de Kirk-Kilissé, Moustapha-Pacha, et Kizil-Agatch.

Le Vilayet Occidental, qui aura pour chef lieu Sofie corre composée des Sandjaks de

Le Vilayet Occidental, qui aura pour chef-lieu Sofia, sera composée des Sandjaks de Sofia, Viddin, Nisch, Uscub, Bitolia (excepté deux cazas du sud), une partie du Sandjak de Sérès (trois cazas du nord), et des Cazas de Stroumnitza, Tikvech, Velessa, et Kastoria.

II.

L'unité administrative sera le canton (Nahié, Mudirlik), avec 5,000 à 10,000

En respectant, autant que possible, les divisions administratives existantes, on tâchera de grouper les Chrétiens et les Musulmans dans des cantons distincts.

Le canton sera administré par un Maire, élu pour quatre ans parmi les membres du Conseil Cantonal et par le Conseil lui-même.

Le Conseil Cantonal sera composé des représentants de chaque commune, qui seront élus pour quatre ans, sans distinction de religion
La commune conservera l'organisation qu'elle a actuellement.

Toutes les questions relatives aux intérêts du canton (telles que voies de communication, répartition et perception de certaines contributions), qui seront jugées de sa compétence par la Commission de Surveillance, seront du ressort des Conseils de Canton sous le contrôle des autorités supérieures.

Le Conseil Cantonal se réunira une fois par mois.

Deux de ses membres, désignés par le Conseil pour quatre ans, assisteront le Maire dans ses fonctions, sous le titre de Conseillers.

La Commission Internationale se préoccupera, autant que possible, de trouver une combinaison pouvant assurer dans les cantons la représentation des minorités.

Les villes et les bourgs, ayant une population de plus de 10,000 habitants, auront des institutions municipales analogues à celles des cantons.

III.

Plusieurs cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) seront réunis en sandjaks (départements), gouvernés par des Mutessarifs ou des Caïmacams (Gouverneurs), qui seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans, selon la majorité de la population du sandjak, et nommés par la Sublime Porte, sur la proposition du Gouverneur-Général (Vali) pour un terme de quatre ans.

Leur tâche sera de surveiller l'ordre et la marche des affaires dans les Conseils Cantonaux.

Le Gouverneur (Mutessarif ou Caïmacam) aura une Chancellerie et deux Conseillers. nommés par le Gouverneur-Général sur une liste de candidats en nombre double, sormée par l'Assemblée Provinciale.

Le Vali pourra suspendre les Gouverneurs pour un terme de trois mois, et proposer à la Sublime Porte leur révocation.

IV.

A la tête de chacune des provinces sera placé un Vali (Gouverneur-Général), qui sera nommé pour un terme de cinq ans par la Sublime Porte, avec l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes.

Il sera rétribué convenablement.

En cas de mort ou de démission du Gouverneur-Général, ses fonctions seront provisoirement remplies par un des Gouverneurs Chrétiens désigné à cet effet par la Sublime Porte.

Le Vali ne pourra être destitué que par arrêt de la Cour d'Appel, après avoir été mis en jugement.

Le Vali représentera l'autorité suprème, et veillera à l'exécution des lois de l'Empire. et du règlement spécial de la province.

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Il sera Chrétien, et pourra être sujet Ottoman ou étranger.

Le Gouverneur-Général (Vali) administrera la province avec le concours d'une Assemblée Provinciale, dont les membres, sans distinction de race et de culte, seront librement élus, pour un terme de quatre ans, par les Conseils Cantonaux groupés par arrondissements, comme il va être expliqué plus bas, et en dehors de toute ingérence gouvernementale.

Les plaintes qui surgiraient relativement aux élections, seront résolues par l'Assemblée

elle-même.

Les arrondissements électoraux des Conseils Cantonaux seront formés par la réunion de plusieurs cantons.

Ils devront compter en moyenne de 30,000 à 40,000 habitants. Chaque groupe ainsi

constitué, nommera un député.

Seront électeurs et éligibles:

1. Tous les habitants de la province, à partir de l'âge de vingt-cinq ans, possédant une propriété ou payant une contribution quelconque.

2. Le clergé et les ministres des différents cultes.

3. Les professeurs et maîtres d'école.

Les délibérations de l'Assemblée seront publiques.

L'Assemblée nommera pour quatre ans une Commission Administrative, qui servira de Conseil au Gouverneur-Général. Les chefs des communautés religieuses reconnues seront de droit membres de ce Conseil, un pour chaque religion.

Il y aura au moins un membre de ce Conseil Administratif pour chaque sandjak (département), mais ce Conseil ne pourra être composé de plus de dix membres.

auront un traitement fixe.

Le Gouverneur-Général prendra l'avis du Conseil Administratif, dans tous les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires.

V.

L'Assemblée se réunira une fois par an, pour examiner et contrôler le budget de la province et la répartition des impôts. Un compte-rendu financier annuel devra lui être présenté par le Vali, et sera soumis à la Sublime Porte.

Le système de perception et de répartition des impôts sera modifié, en vue de faciliter le développement des richesses du pays, en allégeant toutefois les charges qui pèsent sur les populations.

Le Bédéli-Askérié n'atteindra que les hommes valides de vingt à quarante ans, qui

n'entreront pas dans la milice locale.

Le paiement des arriérés jusqu'au 1er Janvier, 1877, ne sera point exigé.

Les douanes, postes et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac, et les spiritueux, et la régie ne dépendront des autorités provinciales que suivant les règles observées actuellement dans le reste de l'Empire.

L'affermage des impôts demeurera aboli sous de peines déterminées.

La perception des autres contributions sera réglée par l'Assemblée Provinciale et

par les Conseils Cantonaux.

Le Vali et l'Assemblée Provinciale fixeront d'un commun accord, tout les cinq ans, un budget de recettes de la province, en vue de déterminer les sommes à remettre à la Sublime Porte, en tenant compte, autant que possible, des revenus des dix dernières années, et de l'augmentation de la prospérité du pays.

Les autorités cantonales feront la répartition entre les communes, et réuniront les

sommes afférentes à chacune d'entre elles aux époques déterminées.

Ces sommes, déduction faite des dépenses cantonales, seront transmises aux caisses du département.

Le mode de perception des impôts sera laissé à la décision des autorités cantonales.

Une somme à déterminer par la Commission de Surveillance, et n'excédant pas 30 pour cent des revenus de la province, sera versée dans les succursales de la Banque Ottomane, pour être affectée au paiement de la Dette Publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement central. Le reste des revenus sera destiné aux besoins intérieurs de la province.

VI.

En attendant qu'un règlement de justice spécial soit élaboré par la Commission de Surveillance, les Tribunaux seront organisés de la façon suivante :

La Justice de Paix sera rendue par les Maires et leurs Conseillers. Ils connaîtront des affaires civiles sans appel jusqu'à 1,000 piastres, et en matière pénale des contraventions. Avec appel ils connaîtront jusqu'à 5,000 piastres. Ils jugeront selon les usages et les coutumes qui ne sont pas en contradiction directe avec les lois existantes.

Les Juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels seront nommés par le Gouverneur-Général, avec l'assentiment de la Commission de Surveillance, et plus tard de l'avis du Conseil Administratif.

Ils seront rétribués convenablement.

Ils seront nommés pour trois ans. Après ce temps, ils pourront être confirmés dans leurs fonctions, et dans ce cas ils deviendront inamovibles. Mais si leur conduite judiciaire n'est pas à la hauteur de leurs fonctions, ils pourront être destitués par la Cour d'Appel, après avoir été mis en jugement.

Il y aura au chef-lieu de la province une Cour d'Appel. Les membres et le Président de cette Cour seront nommés par la Sublime Porte, avec l'assentiment des Représentants

des Puissances Garantes.

Les membres de la Cour pourront être Musulmans ou Chrétiens, et statueront sur la base du Code Ottoman.

L'élément Européen pourra y être introduit. Dans ce cas le Magistrat Européen sera muni d'un certificat émanant d'une autorité juridique compétente, et justifiant de ses connaissances.

La durée des fonctions des membres de la Cour d'Appel sera la même et réglée par les mêmes conditions que pour les Juges des Tribunaux.

Les Tribunaux connaîtront de toutes les causes civiles et pénales, sauf appel à la Haute Cour d'Appel instituée dans le chef-lieu de le province.

Les séances des Tribunaux seront publiques, et l'enquête judiciaire sera obligatoire.

Les causes appartenant spécialement à une confession quelconque seront de la juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques de la communauté, et les décisions rendues par elles seront considérées comme exécutoires.

VII.

Il y aura une entière liberté de culte. L'entretien du clergé, aussi bien que celui des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique, sera à la charge de chaque communauté.

Pour pouvoir changer de religion un jeune homme devra avoir dix-huit ans et une jeune fille seize ans. Mais pour être autorisé à faire la déclaration de son changement de religion, le jeune homme ou la jeune fille devra passer une semaine chez le chef spirituel de son premier culte.

Il ne pourra être aucune entrave à la construction des édifices religieux et à l'exercice

des cérémonies du culte.

Le devoir des Assemblées de Province et de Canton sera de pourvoir aux nécessités de l'instruction publique, en s'imposant spécialement pour la création et l'entretien des écoles.

La langue du pays sera employée au même titre que la langue Turque dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration.

Dans les cantons où l'usage de la langue Grecque est général, les autorités cantonale pourront s'en servir.

VIII.

L'armée régulière Ottomane sera cantonnée dans les fortresses et dans les villes principales. Elle sera destinée à la défense extérieure du pays. Elle pourra être employée à l'intérieur en cas de guerre, ou sur la demande du Gouverneur-Général de la Province.

Il sera formé une milice ou garde nationale, composée proportionnellement à la population, de Chrétiens et de Musulmans, et dont le nombre ne devra pas dépasser 1 pour cent des habitants mâles. Elle fera ses exercices séparément sous la direction d'officiers nommés par le Vali. Si, par son ordre, les corps de milice se trouvaient réunis en nombre de plus de mille hommes sur un point déterminé, les officiers supérieurs (commandants et au-dessus) seront nommés par la Sublime Porte.

Une gendarmerie entretenue par la province, suffisante pour maintenir la sécurité publique et pour faire la police, sera formée de façon à ce que le nombre des Chrétiens et des Musulmans qui en feront partie, soit proportionné à la population de chaque culte. Elle aura des officiers Musulmans et Chrétiens nommés par le Gouverneur-Général, et sera distribué dans le pays.

La Sublime Porte s'interdira à l'avenir la colonisation des Circassiens dans ses possessions d'Europe. Quant aux familles de cette nation, qui y sont fixées en ce moment,

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elle encouragera leur éloignement, en favorisant leur établissement dans les provinces Asiatiques Musulmanes.

IX.

Une amnistie générale sera accordée aux personnes qui ont été incarcérées sans jugement, ou qui ont subi des condamnations sommaires (exil, déportation, emprisonnement), prononcées par les autorités administratives ou par diverses Commissions Ottomanes.

X.

Une Commission Internationale sera nommé pour un an par les Puissances Garantes, afin de veiller à l'exécution de ce règlement, qui devra être mis en vigueur dans les trois mois de la signature du Protocole.

Annexe 4 au Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bosnie-Herzégovine.—Instructions pour la Commission.

La Commission Internationale pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine sera chargée de prendre part à l'enquête que devra faire le Gouvernement Ottoman sur les fauteurs des massacres et autres excès, de rechercher les coupables, de surveiller les interrogatoires et d'assurer leur punition.

La Commission prendra part à la révision des sentences prononcées contre les

Chrétiens par les Tribunaux Extraordinaires.

La Commission jugera s'il est nécessaire de prohiber dans certaines parties du territoire le port des armes et de veiller à la restitution dans les dépôts de l'Etat des armes distribuées à différentes époques par les autorités Ottomanes à la population Musulmane. Elle proposera toute autre mesure de police qu'elle croira utile pour assurer la sécurité des habitants et ses résolutions seront exécutées à l'aide d'une gendarmerie spéciale. Cette gendarmerie payée sur les revenus de la Province, devra être au début organisée avec le concours d'officiers, sous-officiers et soldats pris dans les armées Européennes et au nombre de 500 à 1,000 hommes, qui serviront de cadres pour faciliter une organisation plus complète à l'aide de volontaires indigènes de tout l'Empire, suivant ce que la Commission de Surveillance croira nécessaire. Quand la Commission de Surveillance aura fini ses travaux, cette gendarmerie restera au service de la Sublime Porte.

La Commission fera l'estimation des pertes subies par les Chrétiens et déterminera la façon dont on pourrait les indemniser. Elle recherchera les moyens de venir en général au sécours de la population tombée dans la misère.

Elle veillera à ce qu'autant que possible, des matériaux lui soient fournis pour la

reconstruction des églises et des maisons.

Elle s'efforcera de travailler à l'amélioration du sort du laboureur et du fermier Chrétien, soit en facilitant le rachat des terrains appartenant aux grands propriétaires, soit en obtenant du Gouvernement la vente des terrains de l'Etat avec délai pour les paiements.

A cet effet des Commissions Mixtes indigènes seront formées sur la base du principe électif pour l'estimation du prix de ces terrains et la fixation du mode de paiement. Le rachat des prestations en nature et des corvées, si leur existence était constatée,

s'opérerait de la même façon.

L'autorité Ottomane entrera en pourparlers avec les insurgés et les émigrés sous le contrôle de ces mêmes commissions pour faciliter leur rentrée dans leurs foyers et assurer leur entière sécurité.

La Commission examinera les plaintes portées contre les autorités et pourra proposer

leur suspension et leur révocation, qui sera prononcée par le Vali.

La Commission surveillera en général l'exécution des règlements rédigés par la Conférence et en particulier le fonctionnement de l'administration de la justice ainsi que les élections.

La Commission réunira des données statistiques pour contrôler la répartition équitable des contributions et tracera sur place avec le concours des autorités Ottomanes les limites de la province et les divisions des cantons et des départements.

La Commission tiendra des protocoles de ses séances et, en cas de divergences

sérieuses entre commissaires, en référera aux Représentants à Constantinople.

La Commission pourra envoyer ses membres ou ses délégués pour exercer a surveillance qui lui incombe.

En outre, la Commission Intérnationale élaborera un programme détaillé de l'œuvre

dont elle est chargée.

Ce programme approuvé par les Représentants à Constantinople des Puissances Garantes, d'accord avec la Sublime Porte, servira d'instructions supplémentaires.

La Présidence de la Commission sera renouvelée tous les mois et sera exercée

successivement par chacun des commissaires.

Les commissaires désigneront eux-mêmes la ville où, suivant les circonstances, la Commission tiendra ses séances.

Annexe 5 au Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bulgarie.—Instructions pour la Commission.

La Commission Internationale pour les deux vilayets, Oriental et Occidental, sera chargée de prendre part à l'enquête que devra faire le Gouvernement Ottoman sur les fauteurs des massacres et autres excès, de rechercher les coupables, de surveiller les interrogatoires et d'assurer leur punition.

La Commission prendra part à la révision des sentences prononcées contre les

Chrétiens par les Tribunaux Extraordinaires.

La Commission jugera s'il est nécessaire de prohiber, dans certaines parties du territoire, le port des armes et de veiller à la restitution dans les dépôts de l'Etat des armes distribuées à différentes époques par les autorités Ottomanes à la population Musulmane et aux Circassiens. Elle proposera toute autre mesure de police qu'elle croira utile pour assurer la sécurité des habitants, et ses résolutions seront exécutées à l'aide d'une gendarmerie spéciale. Cette gendarmerie, payée sur les revenus de la province, devra être au début organisée avec le concours d'officiers, sous-officiers, et soldats pris dans les armées Européennes et au nombre de 2,000 à 4,000 hommes, qui serviront de cadres pour faciliter une organisation plus complète à l'aide de volontaires indigènes de tout l'Empire, suivant ce que la Commission de Surveillance croira nécessaire. Quand la Commission aura fini ses travaux cette gendarmerie restera au service de la Sublime Porte.

La Commission fera l'estimation des pertes subies par les Chrétiens, et déterminera la façon dont on pourrait les indemniser. Elle recherchera les moyens de venir en général au secours de la population tombée dans la misère. Elle veillera à ce qu'autant que possible des matériaux lui soient fournis pour la reconstruction des églises et des

Elle revisera les titres de certaines propriétés pour faire restituer aux Chrétiens celles qui leur auraient été enlevées pendant l'insurrection.

La Commission examinera les plaintes portées contre les autorités et pourra proposer

leur suspension et leur révocation, qui sera prononcée par le Vali.

La Commission surveillera en général l'exécution des règlements rédigés par la Conférence, et, en particulier, le fonctionnement de l'administration et de la justice, ainsi que les élections.

La Commission prendra part, en se conformant au règlement, à la nomination de

divers employés.

La Commission réunira des données statistiques pour contrôler la répartition équitable des contributions et tracera sur place, avec le concours des autorités Ottomanes, les limites

de la province et les divisions des cantons et des départements.

En se conformant à ces dispositions, la Commission pourra ajouter ou éliminer des cantons dans les cazas situés sur les limites des provinces, ainsi que modifier les divisions en sandjaks et cantons, si elle le juge nécessaire pour des raisons géographiques, ethnographiques ou administratives.

La Commission tiendra des protocols de ses séances et, en cas de divergences

séricuses entre Commissaires, en réfèrera aux Représentants à Constantinople.

La Commission pourra envoyer ses membres ou ses délégués pour exercer la surveillance qui lui incombe.

Les Commissaires désigneront eux-mêmes la ville où, suivant les circonstances, la Commission tiendra ses séances.

La présidence de la Commission sera renouvelée tous les mois et sera exercée

successivement par chacun des Commissaires.

En outre, la Commission Internationale élaborera un programme détaillé de l'œuvre dont elle est chargée. Ce programme, approuvé par les Représentants à Constantinople des Puissances Garantes d'accord avec la Sublime Porte, servira d'instructions supplémentaires.

(Translation.)

8th Compte-Rendu.—Meeting of December 21, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany,

Austria-Hungary,

France,

One of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain,

The Plenipotentiaries of Italy, and

THE Minutes of the sitting of December 20 were read and approved.

The Russian Ambassador announced that he had received a deputation of eminent Greeks from Macedonia recommending to the Conference the interests of their co-religionists.

The Plenipotentiaries having to occupy themselves with the condition of the Christians of the three Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and of Bulgaria, without distinction of

creed or race, no demand of this nature could be entertained by them.

The Italian Plenipotentiary explained that his Government thought it expedient that the meeting should draw up an instrument of mediation which should sum up the measures to be proposed to the Porte, and which should set forth the agreement of the Guaranteeing Powers.

The Russian Plenipotentiary agreed to this suggestion, which met with opposition from other Representatives; after having discussed the question as to whether the meeting should consider itself as invested with powers of mediation, the Plenipotentiaries came to the conclusion that the simple fact of the collective presentation to the Porte of the documents they had drawn up showed clearly that they were agreed, and it was to be feared that a diplomatic step of a more marked character might only add to the difficulties of the situation.

The meeting then proceeded to read the five instruments which were to be submitted for the Porte's acceptance, and which were :-

1. The conditions of peace to be interposed between the Porte, Servia and Montenegro. (Annex No. 1).

The proposed organization for Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Annex No. 2.)
 The proposed organization for Bulgaria. (Annex No. 3.)

4. The instructions for the International Commission in Bosnia. (Annex No. 4.)

5. The instructions for the International Commission in Bulgaria. (Annex No. 5.)

After having settled some details respecting the drawing up of these documents, which represent the results of their labours, the meeting declared the text definitively agreed on, and unanimously adopted it.

The Russian Ambassador having drawn attention to the fact that the armistice would expire in ten days' time, the meeting thought it expedient, when the Conference with the Plenipotentiaries of the Porte should have commenced, to demand its prolongation for another fortnight.

The Plenipotentiaries decided to meet again to-morrow, the 22nd of December.

(Signed)

WERTHER. ZICHY.

CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY.

C. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Annex 1 to Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Montenegro.

In order to remove the difficulties which unhappily have too often arisen between Turkey and Montenegro, the frontiers of the Principality shall be rectified in such a manner as to place the following territories under the Government of the Prince of Montenegro:

1. In the Province of the Herzegovina, the eastern portion of the district of Zubtzi, the Sutorina remaining subject to the direct Government of the Sublime Porte, the territories of Baniani, Piva, Drobniak, the portion of the territory of the Scharanzi situated on the left bank of the Tara, the district of Kolaschin. It is understood that Nicksich, being comprised in the territories assigned to Montenegro, the Mussulman inhabitants of this town will be at liberty to remain there or leave it.

2. On the Albanian side, the territories of Kutchi-Drékalovitchi, the Kutchi-Kraini, and that of Wassoivitchi from the Zievna to the Lim, and on the right bank of the Moratcha the territory of the Mali and Veli Brdo, and the fortresses of Spouz and Jabliak.

The new frontier is laid down in greater detail in the document and map annexed to the present Protocol, of which they are to be considered as an integral part. (Annex No. 1.)

An International Commission, to be called together at Ragusa within three weeks of the acceptance of the present Protocol by both parties, shall proceed with the new delimitation.

II.

The navigation of the Boïana shall be entirely free, so as to guarantee to the Principality access to the sea.

The forts situated on the islands of the lake of Scutari shall be disarmed. As soon as the Porte shall be able to accomplish them, works shall be carried out so as to render the river thoroughly navigable and accessible.

A special arrangement shall be come to between the two parties, by which the privileges granted to Montenegro shall be prevented from interfering with the fiscal interests of the Porte.

III.

The Ottoman troops shall evacuate the position of Zaslap within the space of a

The Montenegrins shall also evacuate in the same space of time the positions that they occupy in Ottoman territory beyond the line indicated above.

The Porte shall concert with the Prince of Montenegro before a month elapses on the subject of the evacuation of the towns and forts situated on the Montenegrin side of the If difficulties should arise, the International Commission shall undertake new frontier. the duties of Arbitrator, and shall settle them on the spot,

IV.

A mutual exchange of prisoners of war shall at once take place.

A full and complete amnesty shall be granted to Ottoman subjects who have been employed in the service of Montenegro during the war, and to the Montenegrins who may have been employed in the Ottoman service.

Servia.

I.

The relations between the Sublime Porte and the Principalities of Servia shall be re-established on the same footing as they were on the 13 th of last June.

The frontiers of the Principality shall remain the same as they were at that time. A mixed Turco-Servian Commission shall be nominated to regulate the difficulties of limits which have arisen on the subject of fixing that portion of the frontier between Bosnia and Servia formed by the Drina. The Commission shall be guided by the principle that the mid-stream (thalweg) of the Drina is the line of demarcation.

III.

The Ottoman troops shall evacuate Servian territory within a month's time from

The Servians shall on their side evacuate those portions of the Ottoman teri tory that they occupy within the same space of time.

IV.

A mutual exchange of prisoners of war shall at once take place.

V.

A complete amnesty shall be granted to those Ottoman or Servian subjects who may have been compromised in any way by a participation in the events of the last war in favour of the enemy.

It is expressly to be understood that this amnesty shall extend to those Turkish subjects who may have been employed in the Servian service during the war, or to Servian subjects who may have been employed in the Turkish service.

Annex 2 to Compte-Rendu No. 8.

I.

The Vilayets of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be united and form one province, governed by a Governor-General (Vali).

II.

The Canton (Nahié, Mudirlik) shall be the administrative unit.

The Canton shall be administered by a Mayor, elected for four years by the Cantonal Council from among the members of the Council itself.

The Mayors to be Mussulmans or Christians (Orthodox or Catholic), according to the majority of the population.

The Cantonal Council shall be composed of Representatives of each commune, who shall be elected for four years, without distinction of religion.

As the number of Christian emigrants and the prevailing excitement does not allow of the elections taking place at this moment, the cantonal authorities shall be named provisionally by the Governor-General.

All questions relating to the interests of the canton (such as means of communication, assessment, and collection of certain taxes) which the Commission of Supervision shall deem them competent to deal with, shall be within the jurisdiction of the Cantonal Councils, under the control of the superior authorities.

The Cantonal Council shall meet once a month.

Two of its members, appointed by the Council for four years, shall assist the Mayor in his duties, with the title of Councillors.

The International Commission shall endeavour, as far as possible, to find means whereby the minorities in the Cantons shall be represented.

So long as the Cantonal Councils shall not have been elected, their duties shall be undertaken by the Mayors and their Councillors.

The towns and burghs having a population of more than 10,000 shall have municipal institutions analogous to those of the Cantons.

III.

Several Cantons (Nahiés, Mudirliks) shall be united into Sandjaks (departments), governed by Mutessarifs or Caïmacams (Governors), who shall be Christians or Mussulmans, according to the majority of the population of the Sandjak, and appointed by the Sublime Porte, on the nomination of the Governor-General (Vali), for a term of four years.

Their duty shall be to preserve order and supervise the conduct of affairs in the Cantonal Councils.

The Governor (Mutessarif or Caïmacam) shall have a Chancery and two Councillors appointed by the Governor-General from a list of candidates of double the requisite number drawn up by the Provincial Assembly.

The Vali may suspend the Governors for a space of three months, and propose to the Sublime Porte their recall.

IV.

A Vali (Governor-General) shall be placed at the head of the province, and he shall be appointed for a term of five years by the Sublime Porte, with the approval of the Guaranteeing Powers.

He shall be suitably remunerated.

In case of the death or resignation of the Governor-General, his office shall be filled provisionally by one of the Governors appointed for that purpose by the Sublime Porte.

The Vali shall only be dismissed by decree of the Court of Appeal, after being

The Vali shall represent the Supreme authority, and shall watch over the execution of the Imperial laws and the particular regulations of the province.

He shall have the power to suspend the Mayors and their Councillors, so long as

the principle of election shall not have been regularly introduced into the country.

A Provincial Assembly composed, two-fifths of Mussulmans, two-fifths of Orthodox, and one-fifth of Catholics, shall meet each year to examine and check the Budget and the assessment of the taxes. The members of the Assembly shall be elected for four years. Each department shall appoint two members.

The Assembly shall appoint an Administrative Commission, which shall act as Council to the Governor-General. The recognized heads of religious communities shall be

de jure members of this Council, one for each religion.

There shall be at least one member in the Administrative Council for each Sandjak (department), but the Council cannot be composed of more than ten members. They shall have a fixed salary.

The Governor-General shall consult the Administrative Council in all cases which go beyond the simple execution of the provisions of the laws and regulations.

The Assembly shall meet once a year to examine and check the budget of the province and the assessment of the taxes. An annual financial account shall be presented to it by the Vali, and shall be submitted to the Sublime Porte.

The system of collecting and assessing the taxes shall be modified, with the view of facilitating the development of the wealth of the country, by alleviating, however, the burdens which weigh heavily on the population.

The Bedele-Askerie shall only extend to able-bodied men of from 20 to 40 years of age who are not under arms.

The payment of arrears up to the 1st of January, 1877, shall not be required.

The customs, post and telegraph services, taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the excise, shall not be managed by the provincial authorities, except in accordance with the regulations at present observed throughout the Empire. The farming of the taxes shall remain abolished under special penalties.

The collection of the other taxes shall be regulated by the Provincial Assembly, and

by the Cantonal Councils.

The Vali and the Assembly shall together determine every five years the Budget of the revenues of the province, in order to settle the sum to be remitted to the Sublime Porte, taking into consideration, as far as possible, the revenue of the last ten years, and the increase of the prosperity of the country.

The Cantonal Authorities shall assess the Communes, and shall collect the sums

alloted to each at stated intervals.

These sums, the cantonal expenses being deducted, shall be transmitted to the Treasuries of the Departments.

The mode of collecting the taxes shall be left to the decision of the Cantonal

A sum to be fixed by the Commission of Supervision, and not exceeding 30 per cent. of the revenue of the province, shall be paid into the branches of the Ottoman Bank, to be employed for the payment of the public debt, and for the wants of the Central Government.

The remainder of the revenue shall be appropriated to the internal needs of the Province.

VI.

Until special judicial regulations have been drawn up by the Commission of Supervision, the Tribunals shall be organized in the following manner:-

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Magisterial duties shall be performed by the Mayors and their Councillors. They shall have jurisdiction without appeal in civil matters involving amounts up to 1,000 piastres, and in criminal matters, in petty offences.

The Judges of the Civil and Criminal Tribunals shall be nominated by the Governor-General, with the assent of the Commission of Supervision, and later, by the authority of

the Administrative Council.

They shall be suitably paid.

They shall be nominated for three years.

After that period, they may be confirmed in their duties, and in that case their appointments would become permanent.

But if their judicial conduct should fall short of the proper standard required, they

may be dismissed by the Court of Appeal, after having undergone a trial.

There shall be a Court of Appeal at the capital of the Province. The Members and the President of this Court shall be nominated by the Porte, with the assent of the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers.

The members of the Court may be either Mussulmans or Christians, and shall base

their judgments on the Ottoman Code.

Europeans may be admitted as members. In this case the European magistrate shall be furnished with a certificate from some competent judicial authority testifying to his capabilities.

The duration of the functions of the members of the Court of Appeal shall be similar to, and regulated by, the same conditions as those of the Judges of the Tribunals.

The Tribunals shall adjudicate on all civil and criminal cases, with an appeal to the

High Court of Appeal held in the capital of the Provinces.

The sittings of the Tribunals shall be public ones, and judicial investigation shall be

compulsory.

Purely religious cases shall come within the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities of the community, and decisions come to by them shall be considered executory.

VII.

Religious worship shall be perfectly free. The expense of the maintenance of the clergy, as well as of religious establishments and public instruction shall be defrayed by each separate community.

To change religion, a young man must be 18 years old and a young woman 16 years. But in order to obtain authority to make a declaration of the change of religion, a young man or a girl must pass a week with the spiritual adviser of their original faith.

No hindrance whatever shall be offered to the erection of churches and to the exercise

of religious ceremonies.

The duty of the Assemblies of Provinces and Cantons shall be to provide for the wants of public instruction by taking special charge of the construction and maintenance of schools.

The language of the country shall be employed equally with the Turkish language in the Courts and the Administration.

VIII.

The regulars of the Ottoman army shall be quartered in the principal towns and fortresses. They shall be used for the exterior defence of the country. They may be employed in the interior, in case of war, or on the demand of the Governor-General of the Province. A police force, maintained by the Province, sufficient for the preservation of public security and police duties, shall be formed in such a manner that the Christians and Mussulmans who compose it shall be proportioned to the number of the population of each religion.

It shall be officered by Christians and Mussulmans nominated by the Governor-General, and shall be distributed over the country.

IX.

A general amnesty shall be accorded to those who have been imprisoned without trial or who have undergone summary condemnation (exile, deportation, imprisonment), pronounced by the Administrative authorities, or by various Ottoman Commissions.

X.

An International Commission shall be nominated for one year by the Guaranteeing

Powers to see these regulations carried out, which shall come into force within three months of the signature of the Protocol.

Annex 3 to Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bulgaria.—Regulations for its Reorganization.

T.

Territories shall be formed, as designated below; and, in conformity to the annexed map, two vilayets (provinces), which shall be administered in accordance with the plan detailed below. The Eastern Vilayet, which shall have for its capital Tirnovo, shall be composed of the Sandjaks of Rustchuk, Tirnovo, Toultcha, Varna, Slivno, Philippopolis (with the exception of Sultan-Yeri and Achir-Tchelebi), and the Cazas of Kirk-Kilissé, Moustapha-Pasha, and Kizil-Agatch.

The Western Vilayet, which shall have Sophia for its capital, shall be composed of of the Sandjaks of Sofia, Widdin, Nisch, Uscub, Bitolia, (with the exception of two Southern Cazas), a portion of the Sandjack of Seres (three Northern Cazas), and the Cazas of Stroumnitza, Tikvoech, Velessa and Kastoria.

IT.

The administrative unit shall be the canton (Nahié, Mudirlik), with 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.

While respecting, as far as possible, the existing administrative divisions, the Christians and Mussulmans shall, if possible, be grouped in separate cantons.

The canton shall be governed by a Mayor, elected for four years among the members of the Council of the canton and by the Council itself.

The Council of the canton shall be composed of representatives from each commune, who shall be elected for the space of four years, without religious distinction.

The commune shall retain the organization it now possesses.

All questions relating to cantonal matters (such as means of communication, assessment, and collection of various taxes), which shall be deemed by the Commission of Supervision to be within their province, shall be in the jurisdiction of the Councils of the canton under the control of the superior authorities.

The Cantonal Council shall meet once a month.

Two of its members, appointed by the Council for four years, shall assist the Mayor in his duties, and shall be styled Counsellors.

The International Commission shall take into consideration, as far as may be, an arrangement to bring about the representation of minorities in the cantons.

Towns and boroughs, having a population of upwards of 10,000, shall have municipal institutions similar to the cantons.

III.

Several cantons (Nahiés, Mudirliks) shall be united into sandjaks (departments), governed by Mutessarifs or Caïmacams (Governors), who may be either Christians or Mussulmans, according to the majority of the population of the sandjak, and who shall be appointed by the Sublime Porte on the nomination of the Governor-General (Vali) for a term of four years.

Their duty shall be to watch over order and the progress of business in the Cantonal Councils.

The Governor (Mutessarif or Caïmacam) shall have a chancery and two Counsellors, nominated by the Governor-General from a list of candidates comprising twice the number of those selected, drawn up by the Provincial Assembly.

The Vali is empowered to suspend the Governors for a term of three months, and propose their dismissal to the Sublime Porte.

IV.

At the head of each province a Vali (Governor-General) shall be placed, nominated by the Sublime Porte for a term of five years, with the assent of the Guaranteeing Powers.

He shall be suitably remunerated.

In the event of the death or retirement of the Governor-General his duties will be [195]

performed provisionally by one of the Christian Governors appointed for this purpose by the Sublime Porte.

The Vali shall not be dismissed exept by decree of the Court of Appeal after having been tried.

The Vali shall represent the supreme authority, and shall superintend the execution of the Imperial laws and the special government of the province.

He shall be a Christian, and may be either an Ottoman subject or a foreigner.

The Governor-General (Vali) shall administer the province with the assistance of a Provincial Assembly, of which the members shall be freely elected, without distinction of race or creed, for a period of four years, by the Cantonal Councils disposed in "arrondissements," as will be explained below, and free from all government interference.

Complaints which arise relating to the elections shall be decided by the Assembly

The electoral districts of the Cantonal Councils shall be formed by the union of several cantons.

They shall contain on an average from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants. Each union thus constituted shall elect one deputy.

The following shall be electors and eligible:—

1. All the inhabitants of the province from the age of twenty-five years who possess a property or paying any tax.

2. The clergy and the ministers of the different creeds.

3. Professors and schoolmasters.

The deliberations of the Assembly shall be public.

The Assembly shall appoint an Administrative Commission for four years, which shall act as Council to the Governor-General.

The heads of the recognized religious communities shall be ex officio members of this Council, one for each religion.

There shall be at least one member of this Administrative Council for each sandjak (department), but the Council shall not be composed of more than ten members. They shall have a fixed salary.

The Governor-General shall take the advice of the Administrative Council in all cases which exceed the simple execution of the provisions of the laws and regulations.

V.

The Assembly shall meet once a year in order to examine and check the provincial budget and the assessment of the taxes. An annual financial account shall be presented to it by the Vali, and shall be submitted to the Sublime Porte.

The system of collecting and assessing the taxes shall be modified with the view of facilitating the development of the wealth of the country, but the burdens which weigh upon the population shall be lightened. The Bédéli-Askérié shall extend only to ablebodied men of twenty to forty years of age, who do not belong to the local militia.

The payment of arrears up to January 1, 1877, shall not be exacted.

The customs, post and telegraph services, the taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the "régie" shall not be managed by the local authorities, except in accordance with the regulations at present in force throughout the Empire.

The farming of the taxes shall be abolished under fixed penalties.

The collection of the other taxes shall be regulated by the Provincial Assembly and by the Cantonal Councils. The Vali and the Provincial Assembly shall together draw up, every five years, a Budget of the revenue of the Province, with the view of settling the sums to be remitted to the Sublime Porte, taking into consideration, as far as possible, the revenues of the last ten years and the increase in the prosperity of the country.

The Cantonal Authorities shall assess the Communes, and collect the sums due from

each of them at stated intervals.

These sums, the Cantonal expenses being deducted, shall be transmitted to the departmental exchequer.

The mode of collecting the taxes shall be left to the decision of the Cantonal Authorities.

A sum to be fixed by the Commission of Supervision, and not exceeding 30 per cent. of the revenue of the province, shall be paid into the branches of the Ottoman Bank, to be appropriated to the payment of the Public Debt and to the wants of the Central Government. The remainder of the revenue shall be appropriated to the internal needs of the province.

VI.

Pending the drawing up of special judicial regulations by the Commission of Supervision, the Tribunals shall be organised in the following manner:-

Magisterial duties shall be performed by the Mayors and their Councillors. They shall adjudicate without appeal in civil matters in cases involving sums up to 1,000 piastres, and in criminal matters, in petty offences. With appeal they shall adjudicate up to 5,000 piastres. They shall give judgment according to the manners and customs which are not in direct contradiction to existing laws.

The Judges of the Civil and Criminal Tribunals shall be nominated by the Governor-General with the approval of the Commission of Supervision, and afterwards with the

assent of the Administrative Council. They shall be suitably remunerated.

They shall be appointed for three years. At the expiration of this period they may be confirmed in their duties, and in this case their appointment shall be permanent. But if their judicial conduct should fall short of the required standard, they may be dismissed by the Court of Appeal after having been placed on their trial.

There shall be a Court of Appeal in the capital of the province. The members and the President of this Court shall be appointed by the Sublime Porte with the approval of the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers. The members of the Court may be Mussulmans or Christians and shall give judgment on the basis of the Ottoman Code.

Europeans may be included. In this case the European Magistrate shall be provided with a certificate issued by a competent judicial authority, testifying to his capabilities.

The duration of the functions of the members of the Court of Appeal shall be the same as and regulated by the same conditions as those of the Judges of the Tribunals.

The Tribunals shall adjudicate on all civil and criminal cases, with an appeal to the High Court of Appeal, held in the chief town of the Province.

The sittings of the Tribunals shall be public, and a judicial inquiry shall be

All specially religious cases shall come within the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities of the community, and the decisions given by such authority shall be considered as executory.

VII.

There shall be entire religious liberty. The expense of the maintenance of the clergy, as also of establishments of religious and public instruction, shall be defrayed by

To empower change of religion a young man must be eighteen years of age, and a young woman sixteen. But to obtain authority to make the declaration of change of religion, the young man or the young women must pass one week with the spiritual head of the original faith.

There shall be no impediment to the erection of churches or to the exercise of religious ceremonies.

The duties of the Provincial snd Cantonal Assemblies shall be to provide for the wants of public instruction, by charging themselves with the construction and maintenance of schools. The language of the country shall be used equally with the Turkish language in the Tribunals and in the Administration.

In Cantons where the Greek language is generally employed the Cantonal Authorities may make use of it.

VIII.

The regular Turkish army shall be quartered in the fortresses and in the chief towns. It shall be destined to the external defence of the country. It may be employed in the interior in case of war, or upon the demand of the Governor-General of the Province.

A Militia or National Guard shall be formed, composed, according to the proportion of population, of Christians and Mussulmans, and of which the number shall not exceed one per cent. of the male inhabitants. It shall be drilled separately, under the direction of officers appointed by the Vali. If, by his order, the militia are assembled at a certain place over 1,000 strong, the superior officers (Commandants and above) shall be appointed by the Sublime Porte.

A Police Force, maintained by the province, sufficient for the preservation of public security and police duties, shall be formed in such a manner that the Christians and Mussulmans, who compose it, shall be in proportion to the number of the population of It shall be officered by Christians and Mussulmans, nominated by the Governor-General, and shall be distributed over the country.

The Sublime Porte shall forbid for the future the colonization of Circassians in its European Possessions. As regards the families of that nation, at present settled there, it will encourage their removal, by favouring their establishment in the Mussulman Asiatic Provinces.

IX.

A general amnesty shall be accorded to those who have been imprisoned without trial, and who have undergone summary condemnations (exile, deportation, imprisonment), pronounced by the Administrative authorities, or by various Ottoman Commissions.

X.

An International Commission shall be nominated for one year by the Guaranteeing Powers to see these regulations carried out, which shall come into force within three months of the signature of the Protocol.

Annex 4 to Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bosnia and Herzegovina.—Instructions for the Commission.

The International Commission for Bosnia and the Herzegovina will be directed to take part in the inquiry which the Ottoman Government will hold on the perpetrators of the massacres and other excesses, to find out the culprits, to overlook the examinations, and to ensure punishment.

The Commission will take part in the revision of the sentences pronounced against the

Christians by the Extraordinary Tribunals.

The Commission will judge if it is necessary to prohibit carrying arms in certain parts of the country, and to watch over the restitution to the State arsenals of the arms distributed at different times by the Ottoman authorities to the Mussulman population. It will propose any other police measures which it may think of use to secure the safety of the inhabitants, and its resolutions will be put in force with the help of a special gendarmerie. This gendarmerie, paid out of the revenues of the province, ought to be at first organized with the help of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates taken from European armies, to the number of from 500 to 1,000 men, who will serve as cadres to facilitate a more complete organization with the help of native volunteers from the whole Empire, in accordance with what the Commission of Superintendence may think necessary. When the Commission of Superintendence shall have finished its work, this gendarmerie will remain in the service of the Sublime Porte.

The Commission will estimate the losses undergone by the Christians, and will determine the way in which they should be indemnified. It will endeavour to discover the means of assisting generally the population fallen into distress.

It will take care that as far as possible materials be furnished for the rebuilding of

churches and houses.

It will labour to ameliorate the lot of the Christian labourer and farmer, whether in facilitating the purchase of lands belonging to the great landowners, or in obtaining from the Government the sale of State lands with payment deferred.

With this object mixed native Commissions will be formed on the base of the elective principle for the valuation of these lands and the determining of the method of payment. The redemption of payments in kind and of forced labour, if their existence is proved, would be made in the same manner.

The Ottoman authority will enter into negotiations with the insurgents and the emigrants under the control of the same Commissions to facilitate their return to their

homes and ensure their entire security.

The Commission will examine into the complaints brought against the authorities, and may propose their suspension and revocation, which will be pronounced by the Vali.

The Commission will generally superintend the execution of the regulations drawn up by the Conference, and specially the working of the administration of justice, as well as that of the elections.

The Commission will collect statistics to control the equitable allotment of taxes, and will lay down on the spot, with the help of the Ottoman authorities, the limits of the province, and the divisions of the Cantons and of the Departments.

The Commission will keep protocols of their sittings, and in cases of serious differences

between the Commissioners, will refer to the Representatives at Constantinople.

The Commission will be able to send its members or its delegates to exercise necessary superintendence.

Further, the International Commission will elaborate a detailed programme of the work with which it is entrusted.

This programme, approved by the Representatives at Constantinople of the Guaranteeing Powers, in agreement with the Sublime Porte, will serve as supplementary instructions.

The Presidency of the Commission will be renewed monthly, and will be successively filled by each Commissioner.

The Commissioners will themselves choose the town where, according to circumstances, the Commission will hold its sittings.

Annex 5 to Compte-Rendu No. 8.

Bulgaria.—Instructions for the Commission.

The International Commission for the two Vilayets, the Eastern and the Western, will be charged to take part in the inquiry which the Ottoman Government will institute on the authors of the massacres and other excesses, to find out the perpetrators, to superintend the examinations, and to insure punishment.

The Commission will take part in the revision of the sentences pronounced against

the Christians by the Extraordinary Tribunals.

The Commission will judge whether it is necessary to prohibit the carrying of arms in certain parts of the territory, and to see that the arms which have been distributed at different times by the Ottoman authorities to the Mussulman population and to the Circassians be restored to the depôts of the State. The Commission shall propose any other measure of police which it may think useful to ensure the safety of the inhabitants, and its resolutions shall be executed by the help of special gendarmerie.

This gendarmerie, paid by the revenues of the Province, ought at the outset to be organized with the concurrence of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers taken from European armies to the number of 2,000 to 4,000 men, who shall act as cadres to facilitate a more complete organisation, with the help of native volunteers chosen from the whole Empire, according as the Commission of Superintendence may deem necessary. When the Commission shall have finished its work, this gendarmerie will remain in the service of the Sublime Porte.

The Commission will make an estimate of the losses suffered by the Christians, and will determine the manner in which they may be indemnified. It will seek for means generally to assist a population fallen into misery. It will see that as far as possible materials be furnished for the rebuilding of churches and houses.

It will revise the titles of certain properties in order that restitution may be made to the Christians for those properties which have been taken from them during the insurrection.

The Commission will inquire into the complaints brought against the authorities, and is at liberty to propose their suspension and recal, which will be pronounced by the Vali.

The Commission will in a general way superintend the execution of the roles enacted by the Conference, and, in particular, the working of the administration of justice, and also the elections.

The Commission will take part, whilst conforming to rule, in the nomination of the various employés.

The Commission will collect statistical data to control the equitable apportionment of the taxes, and will trace out on the spot, with the concurrency of the Ottoman authorities, the limits of the province and the divisions of the cantons and departments.

In conformity with these arrangements, the Commission may add to, or subtract from, the cantons in the cazas situated on the limits of the provinces, as well as modify the divisions in sandjaks and cantons if it judges it necessary for geographical, ethnological, or administrative reasons.

The Commission will keep Protocols of its sittings, and in case of serious differences amongst the Commissioners will refer to the Representatives at Constantinople.

The Commission can send its members or delegates to exercise the necessary superintendence.

The Commissioners will themselves indicate the town where, according to circumstances, the Commission will hold its sittings.

The Presidency of the Commission will be renewed every month, and will be successively filled by each of the Commissioners.

Besides this, the International Commission will elaborate a detailed programme of the

work with which it is charged. This programme, approved by the Representatives at Constantinople of the Guaranteeing Powers, in agreement with the Sublime Porte, will serve as supplementary instructions.

Inclosure 5 in No. 135.

9° Compte-Rendu.—Séance du 22 Décembre, 1876.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne,
d'Autriche-Hongrie,
de France,
L'un des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne,
Les Plénipotentiaires d'Atalie, et
de Russie,

LE Procès-Verbal de la précédente séance est lu et approuvé.

Le Président de la Réunion donne lecture de la réponse que le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Sublime Porte lui a adressée au sujet de la convocation de la Conférence Plénière et dans laquelle son Excellence Safvet Pacha indique Samedi, 23 Décembre, à midi, pour la Réunion des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes et des Plénipotentiaires de la Porte Ottomane.

En faisant part de cette communication à ses collègues l'Ambassadeur de Russie ajoute que, grâce à l'esprit de conciliation apporté de toutes parts et à l'empressement éclairé avec lequel on cherchait à en rapprocher et à en fixer les manifestations, la Réunion se trouve en face de résultats sérieux. Les bases de la paix émanées de l'initiative du Cabinet de Londres et qui devaient servir de canevas, ont été précisées et développées. Une organisation assez complète a été élaborée, en conséquence, pour chacune des trois Provinces Chrétiennes qu'il s'agissait de réformer. La Réunion s'est conformée dans ce travail aux propositions de Vienne, qui avait déjà réuni l'adhésion des Puissances, au commencement de cette année. L'entente n'a été rendue possible que par des concessions réciproques. L'Ambassadeur de Russie a la conscience, pour ce qui le concerne spécialement, d'avoir atteint sous ce rapport les dernières limites. Aussi a-t-il la satisfaction de pouvoir se dire que si le résultat des Réunions constitue pour la Russie le minimum extrême et irréductible des exigences qu'elle croyait équitable et indispensable de réclamer en faveur des Chrétiens d'Orient, ce résultat ne représente plus les vœux de telle ou telle Puissance ni un programme personnel ou individuel. C'est l'œuvre commune de la grande Europe.

L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne fait savoir à la Réunion que son Gouvernement l'a invité à prendre ad referendum la proposition relative à la garantie des dépenses que pourrait amener le passage des troupes neutres destinées à servir d'escorte à la Commission Internationale. Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche-Hongrie exprimant à cette occasion la pensée que leur Gouvernement serait disposé à prendre aucun engagement à cet égard, le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne dit que pour les 1,000,000 fr. indiqués dans une précédente séance, il attend la réponse de son Gouvernement.

L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne reprenant la parole annonce que sur la demande de pleins pouvoirs spéciaux qu'il a adressée au Cabinet Impérial, le Prince Chancelier de l'Empire a été d'avis que cette formalité n'était point nécessaire puisqu'il ne s'agissait pas de la conclusion d'un Traité.

La Réunion charge un des Plénipotentiaires de France de remettre aux Représentants de la Sublime Porte à la première séance de la Conférence Plénière les documents

qui résument ses délibérations.

Après avoir réglé divers points relatifs à l'ordre des discussions dans la Conférence Plénière et s'être réservé la faculté de s'entendre ultérieurement entre eux sur les questions qui pourraient être soulevées, les Plénipotentiaires déclarent closes les séances de la Réunion préliminaire. Le Président a remercié ses collègues pour la bienveillance et l'indulgence qu'ils ont bien voulu lui témoigner durant les délibérations. "Vos bonnes dispositions," a-t-il dit en terminant, "ont permis de diriger nos occupations de façon à remplir aussi rapidement que possible la tâche difficile qui nous a été dévolue. Permettez-moi d'espérer que l'élément nouveau qui sera introduit dans nos délibérations ne saurait en aucun cas rompre l'accord établi entre nous aux prix de concessions notables. Le meilleur vœu que je puisse exprimer en vue de nos délibérations futures,

c'est d'y voir régner l'esprit de concorde et de conciliation qui a caractérisé nos Réunions préliminaires."

En se séparant les Plénipotentiaires remercient unanimement le Doyen du Corps Diplomatique de la sollicitude avec laquelle il a présidé leurs délibérations.

(Signé) WERTHER. ZICHY.

CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

9th Compte-Rendu.—Sitting of December 22, 1876.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany.

Austria-Hungary,

France.

One of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain,

The Plenipotentiaries of Italy, and

Russia.

THE Minutes of the preceding sitting were read and approved.

The President of the meeting reads the answer that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte had addressed to him respecting the convocation of the full Conference, and in which his Excellency Safvet Pasha names Saturday, December 23, at noon, for the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers and of the Plenipotentiaries of the Ottoman Porte.

In acquainting his colleagues with this communication, the Russian Ambassador adds that, thanks to the spirit of conciliation shown on every side, and to the earnest anxiety with which it was sought to come to an agreement, and to give proof of it, the meeting had arrived at tangible results. The bases of peace initiated by the Cabinet of London, and which were to serve as groundwork, have been formed and developed. A sufficiently complete organisation had been consequently developed for each of the three Christian provinces which they were occupied in reforming. The meeting had adhered in this labour to the Vienna propositions, which had already obtained the joint assent of the Powers at the beginning of this year. The agreement had only been rendered possible by reciprocal concessions. The Russian Ambassador is convinced, as far as concerns him specially, that he has on this point arrived at the furthest limits. He has also the satisfaction of reflecting that if the result of the meetings is, for Russia, the extreme and irreducible minimum of the demands which she considered it equitable and indispensable to claim in favour of the Christians of the East, this result no longer represents the wishes of any one Power, or a personal or individual programme. It is the common work of united Europe.

The German Ambassador informs the meeting that his Government has instructed him to take ad referendum the proposition relating to the guarantee of the expenses which the passage of neutral troops destined to act as escort of the International Commission might entail. The Austro-Hungarian Plenipotentiaries expressing the opinion that their Government would not be disposed to undertake any engagement in this respect, the Plenipotentiary of Great Britain says that he is waiting for the answer of his Government with respect to the 1,000,000 fr. mentioned in a previous meeting.

The German Ambassador, speaking again, announces that on the request for special full powers which he has addressed to the Imperial Cabinet, the Prince Chancellor of the Empire was of opinion that this formality was not at all necessary since there was no question of concluding a Treaty.

The meeting entrusts one of the French Plenipotentiaries to lay before the Representatives of the Sublime Porte at the first meeting of the full Conference the documents

reporting their deliberations.

After having regulated certain points with reference to the order of the discussions in the full Conference, and having reserved the power to agree finally amongst themselves on the questions which might be raised, the Plenipotentiaries declare the sittings of the preliminary meeting closed.

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The President thanked his colleagues for the kindness and indulgence which they had

been good enough to show him during the deliberations.

"Your good dispositions," said he, in conclusion, "have allowed us so to direct our labours as to fulfil as rapidly as possible the difficult task which has devolved on us. Permit me to hope that the new element which will be introduced into our deliberations will not in any case be able to break the accord established amongst us at the price of marked concessions. The best wish that I can express with regard to our future deliberations is to see reigning there the same spirit of concord and conciliation which has characterized our preliminary meetings."

In separating, the Plenipotentiaries unanimously thank the Doyen of the Diplomatic

Body for the care with which he has presided over their deliberations.

WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

No. 136.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of despatches which have been received from Captain Ardagh and Mr. Calvert, reporting on the state of public feeling

in Bulgaria.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 136.

Consul Calvert to Mr. Currie.

(Extract) Philippopoli, December 17, 1876.

I HAVE now seen all the local "Beys" or Turkish land-owners. They every one comment strongly on the wretched state to which the population at large has been reduced through Ottoman misgovernment, and which has caused the discontent that has brought the country to its present pass. One Bey, without any leading question on my part, volunteered confidentially his opinion on this subject as follows:—

"The best remedy," he said, "for these evils would be for the foreign Powers to insist on the association of an experienced European in the administration of the province,

with power to control all abuses.'

He made this remark as an original idea of his own, and apparently in ignorance that any thing of the sort had been projected by the Western Powers. He added: "There are two things, however, which we are determined to support the Government in opposing: the one is the transfer of the Province to Russia, or, which is the same thing, a Russian occupation; the other is the putting the Bulgarians over our heads. These two things we will resist not only with arms, but with our very nails."

On my inquiring whether the Mussulman population would not view with jealousy reforms carried out under foreign auspices, he energetically exclaimed, "Every man of

us would bless the Powers if they would undertake so good a work."

I sounded the other Beys by asking in a casual manner: "Supposing now the friendly Powers were to put a pressure on the Porte with regard to administrative reforms, how would it be viewed by you Mussulmans?" They one and all energetically replied with the same formula. One Bey even laughed outright at my simplicity in putting such a question. Another remarked, "Our religion teaches us to appreciate good, from whatever quarter it may come. It is enough that it is a good. Moreover, Islam enjoins gratitude to those who do one good, and should the Powers give us prosperity and quiet, we would all of us put up prayers for them."

I must add that whilst all spoke strongly regarding the existing evils, they insisted that the Moslems are worse off than the Christians, especially in that the latter are exempted from the conscription. They added that they would gladly pay the military

exemption tax many times over to obtain the same privilege.

If I may be allowed to express my own conviction it is this, that were the advancement of the agricultural interest (which unquestionably has suffered more than any other from Turkish maladministration) put prominently forward as one of the chief objects of the programme of reform, the sympathies of the Beys would not only be conciliated, but be warmly enlisted in its favour.

There is among Orientals a much greater uniformity of character and ideas than is the case with Europeans, and there is no reason to doubt that sentiments similar to those expressed by the Turkish notables of Philippopoli would be found to prevail throughout at least European Turkey. Assuming, however, that it were otherwise, I would submit as the general result of my experience that the power of the Central Government over the Mussulman population is, in all civil matters, absolute and unlimited. The position may be stated thus. There is not a provincial Moslem who is not a dependent or follower of some one "Bey" or another, to whom he looks up with something of the old spirit of feudal retainership; and for all special purposes the Central Government

influences the provincial inhabitants through this aristocracy.

On the other hand the power of the Beys as against the Sultan's authority was completely broken in all parts of the Empire by Mahmoud, the Reformer, and during the earlier part of the reign of Abdul Mejid. If there is any exception to this rule it may be in some mountain districts of Albania, and possibly in Bosnia (as to which latter province I cannot speak from experience). The Beys, with hardly an exception, reside now in the provincial towns, only visiting their estates occasionally; they have no country seats. So far from asserting towards the Government any will or opinion of their own, they even obsequiously watch for the cue which is given them as occasion may require. I have never perceived the faintest sign of a disposition to dispute or question the authority of the Central Government in any way; and I believe every Consul in Turkey would be ready to confirm the statement that there cannot be a more hollow plea than that which the Porte often finds it convenient to put forward of its inability to control the Moslem population.

The Bulgarian notables, whom I have questioned here, agree in laying all the blame of the late excesses in these parts on Akif Pasha, whom they believe to have acted with the approval, if not at the instigation, of the Central Government; for the Turkish population is, they remark, eminently submissive and, as a rule, quiet and They add, that when the Government asserted its will and authority by the execution of Bashi-Bazouks, the evilly disposed Moslems of this place were at once In a word, nothing can be more complete than the system of centralization which has been established throughout the Empire. It is a well recognized fact which is expressed by the popular saying, that "the fish rots from the head."

I have submitted that the power of the Porte over the population is absolute for all civil purposes. It is necessary, however, to add that a line must be drawn at religious questions, as to which it is a principle of Islamism that every man must act according to the dictates of his own conscience alone. Consequently, not even the Government is strong enough to touch the Sheri', or religious law, under which Christian evidence is inadmissible. It is on this head alone that the proposed reforms present any serious But although it would be impossible to attempt to deal with it directly, the Porte cannot but be aware how easily the difficulty may be turned. Having given some attention to this subject, I shall, if desired, submit to you some remarks on it; but I am conscious that I have already entered further on general questions than I have been authorized to do.

Inclosure 2 in No. 136.

Captain Ardagh, R.E., to Mr. Currie.

Philippopolis, December 20, 1876. Sir, I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Marquis of Salisbury, that I left Constantinople on the 16th instant, and arrived here the following evening, finding Mr. Edward Calvert already here. After the usual complimentary visits to the Turkish authorities, I obtained interviews with the principal influential inhabitants, and endeavoured to ascertain their views on the subjects respecting which information is desired.

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Your telegram directing me to proceed to Tirnova arrived to-day, and I shall, therefore, leave without having conversed with all the persons whose influence and intelligence would render their opinions worthy of consideration, and can only report so far as the few ex parte statements I have listened to enable me to judge.

The Turkish gentlemen whom I have visited spoke with perfect freedom, and even

at considerable length, on the affairs of Turkey.

None of them expressed the least resentment at the Conference, but all seemed impressed with the opinion that the object of its assembly was confined to the discussion of the external relations of the Turkish Empire, and avoided the idea of connecting the Conference with internal reforms. Without exception they admitted that reforms were necessary, and several brought forward their favourite grievances and pet panaceas. Of the latter, decentralization of the Administration, and improvement in the assessment and collection of the taxes, were the most general.

Two of them, occupying important positions, expressed a very great anxiety for the establishment of schools in which the youth of all creeds might in common receive a good education; and attributed the decadence of the Turks, as compared with the progress made by Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, &c., in great measure to the almost total want of means of education. They also considered that disaffection was fostered by the neglect of the Porte to provide capable teachers, thereby compelling the non-Mussulman population to resort to external nationalities for persons to instruct in their schools.

I endeavoured in vain to elicit some suggestion as to the nature of a guarantee for the execution of promised reforms, which should be at once satisfactory to the Powers, and agreeable, or at least tolerable, to the Mussulmans. The idea of a Russian occupa-

tion all repelled at once as absolutely impracticable.

An occupation by some undefined but friendly Power would in their opinion be very unpopular. Two gentlemen, however, accepted the the idea of an occupation by English troops;—one unreservedly, the other admitting the practicability, but remarking pointedly that the confidence which had long been reposed, by the mass of the Mahommedan population, in England as their friend and adviser was rudely shaken by the expressions employed by Mr. Gladstone in regard to them; and that although they were convinced of the friendly attitude of the present Government, they were bound to consider that in a constitutional country like England, Mr. Gladstone's party (as they described it) might any day come into power and reverse the policy of their predecessors.

Inquiring their views as regards the superintendence of reforms, all but one considered that the appointment of foreign Commissioners, appointed by the Guaranteeing Powers, would be acceptable; and several expressed a strong opinion that the presence of such officials in the general and local administration would be an unmixed benefit. In manifesting these views, they may not, however, have sufficiently contemplated the

position which these persons would hold in relation to the Guaranteeing Powers.

I need hardly remind you that much circumlocution and trivial matter overlays the main points in these interviews, and that it was necessary to approach the important questions with delicacy.

With the exception of the one I have mentioned, all the other Turkish gentlemen agreed in saying that whatever measures were proposed by the Conference and agreed to by the Porte, if promulgated bona fide, would be received without opposition by the

Mussulman population, provided only that their religion was not interfered with.

The gentleman to whom I have referred, however, considered that disturbances would be likely to arise in the event of the Porte endeavouring to carry into execution proposals in any way obnoxious to the Mussulman population, to whom he would attribute far more political influence than the infinitesimal amount which it is manifest they possess. This opinion is rather to be interpreted that the Porte and the official classes, in the event of the Conference extorting an involuntary consent to measures to which they were at heart opposed, would create an antagonistic feeling among the lower classes in order to throw difficulties in the way of rendering such measures practically operative; and would foment, or at least be at little pains to repress, any disturbances which might arise from the hostile feeling which they had evoked.

Without such provocation there is strong reason to believe that the lower part of the urban and rural population, partly from ignorance, partly from habitual submissive-

ness, would accept without a murmur any changes likely to be proposed.

From what I have already seen and heard, I am, therefore, of opinion that there is little or no probability of any outbreak on the part of the Mahomedan population, of internal origin, and that disturbances are only to be apprehended from the action of exterior influences.

In reply to inquiries upon the state of feeling between the Turkish and Bulgarian

villagers, I was assured that this distrust was subsiding, and one gentleman went so far as to say that they were like brothers. The true state of their relations would appear to be that the Bulgarians are cowed but disaffected, while the Mussulmans are still suspicious. The insincerity of the profession that a good feeling had been re-established is made clear from the admission on the part of all the Turkish gentlemen that a disarmament of the Mussulman population could not be carried out without risk of opposition, because (they said) the Mussulmans are still apprehensive of being attacked by the Bulgarians.

They concurred, however, in stating that prohibiting the carrying of arms was quite practicable, and would excite no ill-feeling. It was, in fact, the rule during the last seven years that arms were not to be carried publicly without a special license and a guarantee of good behaviour. It is, however, not unlikely that a mere prohibition to

carry arms would be, so far as the Mussulmans were concerned, a dead letter.

As regards the means at disposal for the suppression of an outbreak, it is stated that there are at present eight tabours of regular troops at eight different stations in the Sandjak. A tabour is usually interpreted as "a battalion," but in this case would only seem to imply a body of troops. The total number probably does not exceed 3,000. In addition to this force, the whole of the Mustahfiz, composed of men between the twelfth and twentieth year of liability to service, has been warned to be in readiness, and their uniforms are in course of preparation of material of local manufacture, and at a cost defrayed by local subscriptions in a great measure. These troops, a large percentage of whom are old soldiers, will number about 18,000; but the object of raising them is purely a military one, and in any case they would be ineligible for controlling a population of which at this moment they form part. The small number of regulars is, I consider, quite sufficient to quell any ordinary disturbance on the part of Turks or Bulgarians. If there is any extensive outbreak on the part of the former, it would be at the instance of the ruling classes, and it would matter little whether the number of troops was large or small.

Minor crimes and irregularities among the rural population call more for an efficient

police than the employment of a military force.

Horse and cattle lifting, and the custom of officials, soldiers, and zaptiehs quartering themselves upon villagers without payment, are old grievances which still continue.

I have written the above entirely without reserve, and upon imperfect data, considering it desirable to report upon what scanty evidence I have heard, rather than to delay indefinitely, as I am on the eve of departure for Tirnova.

Since telegraphing to-day, I have learned that it will probably take five days to

reach Tirnova; I shall therefore arrive on the night of the 26th.

Should it appear that the disturbances have taken place elsewhere, I shall proceed direct to the locality.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. C. ARDAGH.

No 137.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Pera, December 26, 1876.

THE Minister of Greece called upon me yesterday, and presented me with a Memorial, which I have the honour to inclose.

He expressed himself at the same time in warm terms against the injustice which he conceived was about to be inflicted upon the Greek subjects of the Porte if the suggestions of the six Powers were accepted. Special advantages were about to be conferred on the provinces that had rebelled, which would not be granted to those which had remained tranquil. This, he thought, would, in any case, be an injustice, and would operate as an encouragement to rebellion. But the case of the Greek Provinces of Turkey, he maintained, was especially hard, because it was only owing to the promises of England that they had not placed themselves in the privileged category by an insurrection.

I replied that I was not aware that any promise of the character to which he referred had been given, and that I thought that he must have misinterpreted the

language of any communication from which he had drawn this inference.

As, however, I had not received any instructions upon this subject, I intimated to him that I would bring the matter under your Lordship's notice at the earliest opportunity.

I pointed out to him at the same time that, although he might be well assured of the sympathies of Her Majesty's Government for the Greck subjects of the Porte, it would be difficult for the English Plenipotentiaries to bring before the Conference a subject so entirely external to the limits which had been imposed by Europe to their discussions.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 137.

Memorandum communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by the Greek Minister.

[See No. 99, p. 70.]

No. 138.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

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My Lord, Pera, December 26, 1876.

I HAD the honour of a long audience with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan this afternoon. It should have taken place at an earlier period, but was postponed in consequence of the state of His Majesty's health.

The conversation touched upon the Conference, and upon the difficulties that His Majesty might feel in acceding to the suggestions of the Plenipotentiaries. His remarks, however, were of the most general character, and my expression of a wish to ascertain the particular nature of his objections, failed to induce His Majesty to criticize the

proposals of the Plenipotentiaries in detail.

He dwelt much upon the indignation that any concession would arouse among his people, and spoke of his own life as being in danger; but no indication of his opinion upon any one of the various proposals of the Plenipotentiaries could be gathered from His Majesty's remarks.

I took the opportunity of executing the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, and pointed out to His Majesty the deep abhorrence which had been excited in England by the crimes committed in Bulgaria last summer under the authority of his predecessors. At the same time I pressed upon His Majesty the regret and indignation with which the impunity of the chief offenders had been viewed in England.

I pointed out to His Majesty that the neglect to punish crimes so heinous was a fatal obstacle to the renewal of those cordial feelings which had once existed between

England and Turkey.

His Majesty did not reply at any length; he contented himself with charging Russia with the responsibility for the calamities which had taken place in Bulgaria. He appeared, at the same time, to be fully convinced, in spite of my assurances to the contrary, that the alienation of a large portion of the English people was due rather to the repudiation of the Turkish debt than to the atrocities in Bulgaria.

His Majesty laid much stress on a law to which he had assented, by which the repudiation of last year was repealed, though it had not been possible as yet to make any provision for the payment of the debt. He also dwelt in terms of felicitation on the liberal measures contained in the Constitution, which was published on Saturday.

I do not think it desirable to enter into any criticism of the Constitution, but satisfied myself with expressing, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, my appreciation of the beneficent intentions exhibited in that measure.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 139.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Pera, December 26, 1876.

I HAVE received a visit from M. Bratiano, the brother of the Prime Minister of Roumania. His Excellency stated to me that he was anxious to impress upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of protecting the neutrality of Roumania, which is guaranteed by the Treaty of Paris, and which in present circumstances appears to be formidably threatened. While admitting that the danger to which he adverted was of a nature seriously to disquiet the inhabitants of the province, I inquired whether it was his intention to suggest that material precautions against it should be taken by the Guaranteeing Powers, saying, at the same time, that I could not hold out any hope to him of such a collective action on their part.

He assured me that this was not the object of his communication. He thought that sufficient security might be obtained by an affirmation of the neutrality of his country,

solemnly placed on record by the Conference.

I replied that such a declaration was not within the limits of the bases which had been assigned to the Conference by the Powers represented in it, and I feared that, even if it could be recorded, it would, in case of the outbreak of war, not be of much avail to prevent the Russians from taking the only available land route to the Danube.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 140.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Pera, December 26, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report that the first meeting of the Conference took place on the 21st instant. The proceedings were purely formal. The projects agreed to by the Representatives of the six Powers were laid upon the table, and the Turkish Plenipotentiaries read a long paper on the subject of the civil war in the provinces, which contained nothing of interest.

I thought it right, however, to protest against some portions of it which referred in laudatory terms to the conduct of the Turkish authorities in regard to the suppression of

the insurrection in Bulgaria.

A renewal of the armistice was proposed, but was taken by the Turkish Plenipo-

tentiaries ad referendum.

It was agreed that the next meeting should take place to-day, but Safvet Pasha has since addressed a note to the Plenipotentiaries postponing it until the 28th, without assigning any reason for the change.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 141.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the second meeting of the Conference took place to-day. An armistice for two months was proposed by the Turkish

l'lenipotentiaries, and was accepted by General Ignatiew.

The proposals of the Six Powers were then considered by the Conference in a discussion which lasted four hours, but the tone of which was purely conversational. The Turkish Plenipotentiaries took everything ad referendum, but they raised objections to each point of the proposals, including the mode of appointing the Vali, his tenure of office for five years, his irremovability except on a judicial sentence, the cantonment of the troops in the fortresses and great towns, the division of the provinces, the Commission of Supervision, the gendarmerie, the regulations as to justice and finance, and the rectifications of frontier.

The next meeting will take place on Saturday, the 30th instant.

No. 142.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of three further Reports from Mr. Baring, respecting the progress of the trial of the persons accused of participation in the massacre at Batak; and of one giving an account of the further examination of the girls from Batak who were converted to Islamism, Mr. Baring's first Report on which was inclosed in my despatch of the 7th instant.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 142.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

THE Commission sat for the third time to try Ahmed Agha, on Saturday, the 16th instant.

After the procès-verbal of the previous day's sitting had been read, as also the depositions of certain witnesses which proved that Ahmed Agha was looked upon as the real commander of the Bashi-Bazouks, and that he was present while people were slaughtered after the arms had been given up, Ali Effendi began his defence by saying that Ahmed Agha, as Commander, always kept behind his men, whose movements he directed, and that, therefore, he never personally took part in the fighting; that he did all in his power to prevent the Bashi-Bazouks from killing any one after the surrender, but that, unfortunately, having no bugle wherewith to sound "cease firing," he was obliged to go to every band of Bashi-Bazouks and give the order verbally, so that a few people were unavoidably killed before he was able to check the ardour of all the forces under him.

He went on to say that no massacre took place after the people had surrendered, either in the presence or in the absence of Ahmed Agha, and disputed the evidence of Sofia Vrankovitza (one of the most important witnesses) on this subject.

The witness Atanas Oghlou Dimitri had deposed that eighteen men who had gone out to Mollah Ali to give up the arms were massacred; the truth of this Ali Effendi denied, as also he did the truth of Sofia's statement respecting the roasting of the Tchorbadji Triandaphil, which, he said, was unsupported by other testimony.

He again denied that the arms had been given up; and said that one Anastasi, who had been sent out to parley, and who was killed, must have met his death at the hands of the insurgents.

He ended by saying that the Batak witnesses were not to be believed, as they were rebels and interested parties; and that the evidence of the Koroudji Selim was unworthy of credence, as he was a liar, and thief, and a ravisher of women.

One of the prisoners, Kutchuk Halil, had deposed that he had seen Ahmed Agha standing among the crowd when the last 200 men were separated from the rest and sent away with Ahmed Tchaoush, of Kara Boulak, who had them massacred at the church.

Kutchuk Halil now strenuously denied ever having said anything of the sort, and Ali Effendi demanded that he should be again confronted with Ahmed Agha, but the President refused to accept his proposal.

This incident ended the trial of Ahmed Agha for the day, Ali Effendi reserving to himself the right of making some more remarks upon the case at the next sitting.

The trial of Ahmed Tchaoush was then resumed, and after certain depositions had been read, Ali Effendi stated in his defence that the man was never a leader of the Bashi-Bazouks, the real Chief of the band had been Salih Tchaoush, who had been killed. All the time the fighting had been going on Ahmed Tchaoush had stopped in a hut at Yeni Mahallé, As regards some sheep, which Ahmed Tchaoush is accused of having stolen, he found them scattered about the country, and only took them to deliver them up to the authorities.

Finally, Ali Effendi said his client was not a man to become a leader of Bashi-Bazouks, as he was ignorant and timid.

The day's proceedings then terminated. Ali Effendi's defence on this day was characterized by its extreme weakness and by many flagrant contradictions.

The Commission having now decided to visit the districts north of the Balkans after finishing its labours in this province, it was thought prudent to take measures to prevent the escape of Deli Nedjib Effendi and Sadoullah Effendi, the two leaders of Bashi-Bazouks who destroyed Seloi Yenikeui. A telegram was consequently sent to the Vali of Rustchuk asking that they might be put under arrest or surveillance; the answer, however, was that, as the individuals in question were men of good family, the arrest would create a bad impression, and that, moreover, it was not probable that they would endeavonr to escape.

At any rate if, when the Commission requires these men, they are not forthcoming,

the Vali should be held personally responsible.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 142.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Philippopoli, December 19, 1876.

THE public trial of the leaders of Bashi-Bazouks who destroyed Batak was continued on Sunday the 17th instant.

After the reading of the proces-verbal of the previous day's proceedings Ali Effendi said that he wished to call attention to some inaccuracies in it, but on being told to proceed with his remarks he replied that he must examine the document first, as, owing to its great length, he was unable to speak entirely from memory.

The President consequently told him he must give in his remarks in writing at the next sitting, and must finish his defence of Ahmed Agha; to this Ali Effendi replied that before correcting the proces-verbaux he could not do so, but the President informed him

that he was merely endeavouring to waste time.

Ali Effendi consequently read a speech in favour of Ahmed Agha.

He said that Batak was the centre of the insurrection, and that Ahmed Agha having been sent by the Government to suppress it, acted as any other officer would have done.

Ahmed Agha deserved great credit for having saved the movable property of the villagers from the flames, as his responsibility would have been great had it all been

Had I not heard this statement myself I could hardly have believed that a man could be found to bring forward such an argument.

Ali Effendi then reverted to the old question of Ahmed Agha's right to claim trial by court martial, but the President stopped him by telling him that he could not enter

into that matter, as it had already been settled by superior authority.

The Commission then proposed to try the case of Alish Pehlivan, who had previously stated his intention of conducting his own defence, but, when called upon, he said he had entrusted the task to Ali Effendi, who of course said that, as he had only been informed of Alish's intention the same day, he must have time granted to him for preparation.

The case was accordingly postponed till to-day, and that of Mitto Bektash proceeded

Your Excellency is aware of the dreadful charges against this man, which are supported by several witnesses, one of them by a Turk, Abdi Tchaoush.

Ali Effendi made a very short defence, merely denying the truth of the evidence, and stating that Mitto Bektash was never in the village at all. It is pretty well proved by the statement of Ahmed Agha himself that this man was the real leader of the Bashi-Bazouks of Rakitovo.

After this case was finished that of Kutchuk Halil was commenced. He stands accused of having robbed a Greek named Kutshuk Georgi of a sum of money at Batak. Ali Effendi, in his defence, said that the amount that passed between them had been greatly exaggerated by Georgi, who had only given Kutchuk Halil a small sum as a reward for having saved his life. The prisoner had also saved the lives of twenty-four Bulgarians, whom he had kept in his house for two whole months. Moreover, the case was one for a civil Court to deal with.

When Ali Effendi finished his remarks the sitting was adjourned till to-day, when the President read a note he had received from the former, stating that he was not able to attend the Court that day.

Alish Pehlivan was then called up, and told that as his counsel had chosen to absent himself, he must undertake his own defence, as he had originally intended doing. Against [195]

this the prisoner protested, and a long discussion ensued as to the course which should be

At last it was decided that the sitting should be postponed till to-morrow, and Alish

Pehlivan agreed that if Ali Effendi did not attend, he would defend himself.

Ali Effendi's only object throughout the trials has been to gain time, and, on the

whole, his plan has succeeded tolerably well.

Ever since he began his defence he has been, I am told, in constant communication with some of the Beys of this place, who are making great efforts to obtain the acquittal of Ahmed Agha, and now they have applied to the Porte to allow an appeal to be lodged against any sentence passed by the Commission.

If possible, the Commission intend commencing the public trial of Tossoun Bey on

Raif Effendi arrived here on Saturday night from Adrianople, and left again this morning, the avowed object of his mission being to report upon the advisability of appointing Christian Kaïmakams in some of the new Cazas which are to be created, and of placing a certain number of Christians in the police force.

In order to avoid all danger from the Mussulmans of Dochat and Tchepine wreaking their vengeance on the inhabitants of Batak in case Ahmed Agha is condemned, I have strongly recommended Saadoulah Bey to cause a small body of troops to be sent to the latter village, and his Excellency has promised me that this would be done at once.

I have also requested that measures may be taken for the protection of the village of Petuch, which lies near the frontier of the Sofia vilayet, as the Turks of Isladi and other villages have been showing a most lawless spirit, and continual robberies are being committed in the neighbourhood; in fact, the state of public security is worse in that district than in any other part of the country.

Saadoulah Bey received a telegram to-day from the Porte, to the effect that instructions were being sent to him how he was to deal with the Bulgarian prisoners whose cases

I have already mentioned to your Excellency in previous despatches.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 142.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, December 21, 1876.

THE Commission sat yesterday to try Alish Pehlivan, the last of the prisoners implicated in the Batak massacre.

Before commencing the proceedings it was thought necessary to re-examine Ahmed Agha, who had stated in his deposition that Alish Pehlivan was present when the villagers gave up their arms, and also when the people were taken out of the church, but he contradicted his previous assertions and said he had been mistaken. It was, therefore, not thought necessary to confront the two prisoners.

Alish Pehlivan was then brought in, and some depositions were read relative to his

having carried off cattle from Batak.

The prisoner strongly denied the truth of this assertion, and defied anybody to prove

that he had stolen anything.

Ali Effendi, who had thought it advisable to attend to defend his client, then began his defence by stating that neither Ahmed Agha nor anyone else was justified an asserting that Alish was a leader of Bashi-Bazouks, as no document confirming the statement could be produced.

It was true that Alish had been to Batak, but he had only gone there with Yakoff and Anton (a Bulgarian and a Greek), who have given important evidence, from motives of humanity, to save some money which these men had hidden when the fighting

For this simple and laudable act he could not now be accused of murder and robbery; he was a man of property, and both Christians and Mussulmans could bear witness to the good reputation he had always enjoyed; therefore crimes of the above description were

utterly foreign to his nature.

As regards a note which Alish had received from a Turk, and which proves clearly enough that he had carried off some cattle, Ali Effendi denied that it demonstrated anything, and that the charge could only be proved by the production of a document bearing Alish's own seal.

After this the deposition of Ataras Oglou Dimitri was read, wherein it was stated that the witness had heard Alish Pehlivan give orders to his men respecting the killing of the people in the church.

Here the prisoner took up his own defence and denied that he was ever a leader, or that he had given orders, but that all the same he had done everything in his power to

restrain the Bashi-Bazouks, who, however, would not listen to him.

Another of Demitri's depositions was then read, in which it was stated that he and others were taken out of the church by Ahmed Agha and Alish Pehlivan. The latter denied the truth of this, saying that not only had he not been to the church, but that he had never been inside the village.

Ali Effendi then resumed his arguments by declaring that all the persons who had given evidence against his client were enemies of his who wished to do him injury. He then enlarged upon the serious nature of the insurrection, saying that the rebels had wished to overturn a Government which had stood for five centuries, and that they had

only been treated according to their merits.

Had it not been for the gallant efforts of those public benefactors, the Bashi-Bazouks, the Empire would have been placed in great jeopardy. The law could not be invoked for the protection of rebels from the consequences of their rash and wicked acts. No plundering had taken place; the Bashi-Bazouks who, under the auspices of the Sultan, marched out to do their duty were well provided with everything, and had no need to supply their wants by pillaging.

wants by pillaging.

Ali Effendi then demanded that as Ahmed Agha had stated that Alish was a leader of Bashi-Bazouks, and as this notion was an erroneous one, the two should be confronted,

but the Commission thought this unnecessary.

The proceedings then terminated.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 142.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Philippopoli, December 23, 1876.

ON the 24th ultimo I had the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice the case of three girls of Batak who had been converted to Islam, and who had been brought before the Commission, and I then stated that the final settlement of the case had been adjourned to allow the relations to come from Batak.

One of the girls, Guina by name, was soon after visited by her sister who, when they were alone, very soon persuaded her to return to Christianity. She appeared before the Commission, and was examined in the presence of the Bulgarian Bishop, and I have the honour to inclose a translation of her deposition.

She is still here, as it has not been thought quite advisable to send her back to her

native place.

The other two girls were visited by their female friends and relations some time after, and somewhat stormy scenes were the consequence of these interviews. They both utterly refused to recognize their relations, and avowed their firm intention of remaining in the Moslem faith.

The matter may, therefore, be considered at an end.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 5 in No. 142.

Deposition of Guina, a Girl of Batak, who was forced to become a Moslem.

(Translation.)

Q. How old are you?—A. Fifteen.

Q. How did they carry you off from Batak, and where did they take you to?—After the destruction of the village they took us outside with a crowd of people, and after we had remained there an hour or two, Mehemet with two or three of his companions came and took me away.

Q. Was there any one else by you when they carried you away, and if so, what did
[195] 2 A 2

they do seeing you taken away from them, and did you go willingly?—A. My sister Mitro was present there weeping at the time. I was unwilling to go with Mehemet and was weeping also, but he carried me off by force.

Q. Where did he take you to from thence?—A. He took me to the mountains, and after having stayed there one night, the following morning he took me straight to his

house, in a village called Hussein Doa, in the district of Nevrokop.

Q. Were the companions of Mehemet with him on the way?—A. There was already a crowd on the way, which gradually increased. Mehemet's companions, too, were with

us, but they also, having each taken a girl, separated from us on the road.

Q. How many girls did the companions of Mehemet carry off?—A. Mehemet's companions carried off one girl besides me from our village, whom Talib, Mehemet's brother, took for himself. And so we all went together to a village. The name of the girl was Vankoi, and now Vanko, Talib, and I have all come here (Philippopoli) together.

Q. Did Mehemet go to bed with you in the mountains at night during the journey?—

A. Mehemet did not go to bed with me during our journey.

- Q. Did Mehemet ever go to bed with you up to now, and if so, when and where did he do so for the first time?—A. Mehemet went to bed with me after the Nikiah (marriage) was over, i.e. after it was written.
- Q. How many days after your arrival at Hussein Ova did you go to bed together?—
 A. Mehemet tried about one week to get married to me, but knowing that he had already a wife, I would not give my consent to it. I asked him to send me to some other place as a maid-servant, but he answered me that he would rather murder me than let me go away; therefore I was obliged by force to remain with him.

Q. Has Mehemet still got another wife ?—A. Yes, he has; her name is Hatigeh.

Q. Who wrote your Nikiah, and who were there at the time it was written? and what did they say and ask you there?—A. I was told that the man who wrote it was a Khaja, and there was a great crowd there. I do not remember if they asked me any questions, but even if they did, I did not say anything to them.

Q. What did the Hodja ask you while he wrote the Nikiah?—A. I was never asked anything while the crowd was there, neither before the Nikiah was written, nor even while

it was being written.

- Q. Did they not ask whether you wanted Mehmet, and whether you would accept him as a husband?—A. No.
 - Q. Were you too among the crowd then?—A. I was in the room then.

What persons were there with you?—A. There were Turkish and Pomak women with me.

Q. How did you know the Hodja was writing the Nikiah outside?—A. I was told

so; and later on they took me to the place where the Hodja was.

- Q. What did they tell you there?—Q. A conversation passed between us, but I do remember what we said. In the beginning I insisted that I would not be married, but afterwards the women persuaded me.
- Q. Did they not take you anywhere else besides Hussein Ova?—A. We went to the village of Mehemet's sister on being invited there.
 - Q. Did they never take you to the local authority?—A. No.
 - Q. What name did they give you while there?—A. Zeinab.
- Q. Who gave you that name, and when was it given?—A. The people of the house gave it me. Mehemet wanted to give me some other name, but his mother, wife, and sister called me Zeinab.
 - Q. Used Mehemet, his mother, or sister to say their prayers in the house?—A. Yes.
- Q. Did they make you say prayers too?—A. They used to tell me to do so, but I did not do it, because I did not know how to say it.
- Q. Since you got married to Mehemet do you want to live with him?—(After thinking
- a little) Yes.

 Q. Do you want to live with his other wife, Hatigeh? Say it; do not be afraid; nobody threatens you here, you are free to say what you think?—A. I was compelled then to consent to it, otherwise I do not want it, and I do not wish to live with Mehemet.
- Q. But you said you wanted Mehemet for husband; were you mistaken then ?—A. I said so through fear of being murdered, and that was the reason I consented to it, otherwise I do not wish living with Mehemet under any circumstances.
 - Q. Where had you hidden yourself before the Pomaks took you out of Batak village?

-A. I was in the church.

Q. Who took you out of the church?—A. We went out ourselves.

- Q. How many days did you remain in the church?—A. We stayed there two days, and on the day that they murdered my father and brother I went out of the church to save myself.
 - Q. What did you go into the church for ?—A. We went there to save ourselves.
- Q. Did anyone die in the church during those two days that you were there?—A. No, no one died in the church before the Bashi-Bazouks entered.
- Q. Where and when did they murder your father and brother:—A. The Bashi-Bazouks murdered them in the court of the church when they entered.
- Q. When did the Bashi-Bazouks go into the church?—A. About two hours before sunset.
 - Q. When did you leave the church?—A. We left after sunrise next morning.
- Q. Did the Bashi-Bazouks stay in the court of the church all night till next morning?

 —A. They were in the church all night till next morning.
 - Q. What did they do all the night?—A. They fired and killed people all night long.

No. 143.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 29, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Major-General Sir A. Kemball returned here on the 21st instant from Nisch, having terminated his work in connection with the demarkation of the neutral zone on the Servian frontier.

I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without bearing witness to the great ability and tact which Sir Arnold has displayed in carrying out your Lordship's instructions during the time that he has remained at the head-quarters of the Turkish army, and I venture to hope that Her Majesty's Government, in taking the same view of his services, may see fit to communicate to him their appreciation of his zeal and activity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 144.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8, 1877.)

My Lord, St. Petersburgh, December 30, 1876.

THE Emperor of Russia received this morning a telegram from General Ignatiew, announcing the prolongation of the armistice to the 1st of March.

It appears that the proposal was made at the initiative of the Porte, and was assented to by the Plenipotentiaries. It has produced a very general satisfaction here.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 145.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8.)

My Lord, Berlin, January 5, 1877. FROM a conversation I had with the Minister for Foreign Affairs I gather that the

German Government do not think it desirable or useful to continue the Conference in some Italian or other town after the Ambassadors have left Constantinople, nor will they authorize the German Ambassador to sign the Protocol proposed by General Ignatiew without a full knowledge of the wording of that document.

The prolongation of the armistice affords ample time for Turkey and Russia to reflect before rushing into war, and for Turkey to propose a pacific solution which Russia could accept.

I have, &c. (Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 146.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 8.)

My Lord. Berlin, January 6, 1877.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instruction of the 28th of December last, I have communicated to the Emperor and Prince Bismarck, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the substance of your Lordship's observations to the French and Russian Ambassadors, recorded in your Lordship's despatches to Lord Lyons and to Lord A. Loftus of the 21st of December, respecting the attitude of Her Majesty's Government as to the acceptance or rejection by the Porte of the proposals of the Conference.

In thanking your Lordship for this communication, his Excellency said that he would

submit it at once to His Majesty, through the Chancellor.

I have, &c. (Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 147.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

My Lord,

IN view of the failure of the Conference, which you seem to anticipate as possible,
I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government consider it very
desirable to avoid the signature of any identic note, or of any Protocol embodying the

desirable to avoid the signature of any identic note, or of any Protocol embodying the results of the preliminary meetings, inasmuch as the proposals there agreed upon were only put forward for discussion, and were liable to modification in the full Conference.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 148.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 8, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador left with me on the 24th ultimo the telegram from Safvet

Pasha of which I inclose a copy.† His Excellency did not inform me of the text of the

communication from him to his Government, of which mention is made in it.

I noticed subsequently the expression used in the telegram that, "the Sublime Porte counts more than ever on the friendly support of Her Britannic Majesty's Government in the difficult circumstances through which Turkey is passing." Being anxious to avoid the possibility of any misconception as to the line of policy followed by Her Majesty's Government, I addressed a private note to his Excellency reminding him that in an unofficial conversation which had taken place between us on the 19th ultimo, I had informed him that although Her Majesty's Government did not themselves meditate or threaten the employment of active measures of coercion in the event of the proposals of the Powers being refused by the Porte, yet that Turkey must not look to England for assistance or protection if that refusal resulted in a war with other countries. I added that this language, which had been held by me again on subsequent occasions, represented the settled decision of the Government, and that I ventured to repeat it in writing as it was very important that the Sultan's Ministers should be under no misapprehension, and should clearly understand that they must not expect from this country any support in resisting the arrangement now offered to them.

To this Musurus Pasha has replied in the note, of which I inclose a copy,‡ stating that his own impressions of my language agree with what I have placed on record above,

and adding that he has faithfully reported that language to his Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 149.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 9, 12.26 P.M.)

Pera, January 9, 1877, 11.40 A.M. (Telegraphic.) WITH reference to your telegram of last night, the proposition to which you refer has been abandoned by General Ignatiew, having been opposed by the other Plenipotentiaries.

No. 150.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

Foreign Office, January 9, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE received your telegram of the 8th instant, in which you state that the Grand Vizier believes he can "count upon the assistance of Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield," and I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Musurus Pasha has been warned in the strongest terms to the contrary. His Excellency has admitted to me that I have discouraged any hope of the kind.

It is not in my power to speak more plainly than I have done on this subject; and I feel satisfied that no language different to this is being held by any person connected with Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 151.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.+

Foreign Office, January 10, 1877. My Lord. THE German Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me of the modifications which it is understood that the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople have

agreed to make in the proposals submitted by them to the Porte.

He said that, as far as he knew, his Government were ignorant of the nature of the proposed concessions. His impression was, however, that it was intended to embody the proposals so modified in some form of ultimatum which should be binding on the Powers for subsequent negotiations. Count Münster asked whether Her Majesty's Government had agreed, or were disposed to agree, to such a course.

I told his Excellency that we agreed to the concessions and approved of them, thinking them an improvement on the original proposals; we had not, however, consented, and should not agree, to the presentation of them in the form of an ultimatum, nor to their being embodied in a Protocol or other document which should be binding on the Powers.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 152.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir, Foreign Office, January 10, 1877. ODIAN EFFENDI called upon me this afternoon by appointment and spoke to me again of the impossibility which his Government felt of accepting the proposals made to them in the Conference.

There might, he said, be concessions on both sides in regard to the reforms, but the question of the guarantees would still remain, and offered insuperable difficulties.

Under these circumstances he was anxious to make a personal suggestion, which he thought might offer a mode of arrangement, and which he understood that Midhat Pasha was ready to adopt. It was that the Constitution recently decreed by the Sultan should

> * Substance telegraphed. † A similar despatch was addressed to Lord Odo Russell.

be brought to the cognizance of the Powers in a form which should make its execution a matter of international obligation between the Porte and them, and that the organization of the provincial administrations to be drawn up by the Turkish Ministers should, after receiving the approval of the Powers, be made a portion of the general plan, and embodied in the same agreement.

The whole system of reforms granted by the Sultan to his subjects would thus be placed under the guarantee of the Powers, who would have a right to watch over the

manner in which it was carried out.

Odian Effendi wished to know whether this proposal would be favourably received by Her Majesty's Government, and whether I thought there could be any use in the Porte

bringing it forward in the Conference.

I told Odian Effendi in reply that there was a manifest inconvenience in discussing here questions which at the same time were in process of negotiation at Constantinople. I must therefore refrain from expressing an opinion upon the plan which he had mentioned to me.

If it was to be proposed by the Turkish Government, this must be done by them at Constantinople, and upon their own responsibility. I would, however, take the opportunity to urge upou him again how important it was for the Porte to do what lay in its power to avert a war between Russia and Turkey. I could not say with certainty in what state of preparation the Russian armaments might be, or how far the Turkish forces might be able to hope for some temporary success. But it was impossible to suppose, looking to the relative resources of the two countries, that the struggle could eventually terminate otherwise than disastrously for the Ottoman Empire. The moment seemed to me a singularly unfortunate one for the Porte to engage in such a contest, when, owing partly to financial default towards her creditors, and partly to the events in Bulgaria, Turkey held a very unfavourable position in European opinion.

For these reasons I thought it would be wise policy on the part of the Sultan and his advisers to accept conditions which they might think painful and disadvantageous,

rather than risk a rupture with Russia, and its almost inevitable consequences.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 153.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 11, 1877.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Sublime Porte, le 26 Décembre, 1876.

EN me référant à mon télégramme du 23 Décembre annonçant la proclamation de la Constitution, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-jointe, la traduction de ce document, ainsi que du Hatt Impérial qui l'a sanctionnée.

La solennité de Samedi dernier s'est accomplie avec autant de calme que d'éclat, et au milieu d'un enthousiasme universel. Des salves d'artillerie ont salué cette proclamation et ont annoncé à toute la capitale ce grand événement qui inscrira dans les fastes de l'Empire Ottoman une date ineffaçable. Tout le jour et toute la nuit la population a témoigné, par des manifestations spontanées, ses sentiments de reconnaissance et de fidélité pour son Souverain et sa confiance dans le succès de son œuvre de régénération. Vous pouvez affirmer hautement qu'à cet égard il y a eu, entre la population Musulmane et la population Chrétienne, communauté absolue de sentiments et d'espérances.

Après la lecture du Hatt Impérial, son Altesse le Grand Vézir, dans une allocution éloquente et chaleureuse, s'est fait l'organe des sentiments de reconnaissance, de joie et de juste orgueil qui animent le peuple Ottoman tout entier, et a présenté, dans le plus noble et le plus patriotique langage, le tableau saississant des institutions nouvelles qui fondent dans l'Empire Ottoman le règne de la liberté, de la justice et de

l'égalité, c'est-à-dire le triomphe de la civilisation.

Les pensées vraiment magnanimes exprimées par le Sultan, notre auguste maître, dans son Hatt à son Altesse le Grand Vézir, se passent de tout commentaire, et je craindrais de les affaiblir en essayant de les développer. Je ne puis cependant m'empêcher de constater qu'elles renferment, sous la forme la plus concise et la plus élevée, la confirmation saississante de tous les grands principes dont la constitution est l'expression légale, de façon à enlever aux sophistes les plus habiles, aux détracteurs les plus malveillants, la possibilité ou la tentative de dénaturer l'esprit ou la portée des

dispositions de cet acte fondamental; car il a plu à Sa Majesté Impériale de se faire elle-même l'interprétateur Souverain de la charte qu'elle a octroyée à ses peuples.

Je ne crois pas nécessaire d'appeler votre attention sur chacun des chapitres qui composent la Constitution. La clarté et la précision qui ont présidé à leur rédaction rendent tout commentaire ou toute explication surperflus.

Les réflexions que je crois utile de vous soumettre doivent particulièrement porter, d'une part, sur l'ensemble de ses dispositions, et, d'autre part, sur le caractère des garanties d'exécution que ces dispositions trouvent dans la Constitution elle-même.

Vous remarquerez que la Constitution démontre clairement, que les institutions nouvelles, bien loin d'avoir un caractère théocratique, établissent nettement qu'aucune prescription religieuse n'entrave l'application des réformes et l'établissement d'un ordre de choses judiciaire et administratif conforme aux besoins du pays et aux principes du droit moderne. C'est ainsi que tombe cette croyance, malheureusement trop répandue, d'après laquelle le Chéri serait incompatible avec les nouvelles institutions. Il ne faut pas oublier en effet que son Altesse le Cheikh-ul-Islam et tous les grands dignitaires du Chéri ont pris part à l'élaboration et à la discussion de la Constitution, et qu'il est non pas seulement inadmissible, mais absolument impossible que ces gardiens autorisés de la loi sacrée aient laissé insérer une seule clause qui pût y porter atteinte.

Les principes généraux de liberté et d'égalité proclamés en tête de la Constitution et qui sont empruntés au droit public Européen le plus libéral, constituent la base véritable de notre grande réforme et toutes les dispositions qui suivent n'en sont, en

quelque sorte, que le développement naturel.

La définition des principales prérogatives de la souveraineté était le complétement nécessaire de cette déclaration de principes, et l'heureuse pensée de placer les droits de la dynastie Impériale sous la sauvegarde de tous, forme une disposition qui sans doute servira à convaincre l'Europe du caractère vraiment démocratique de l'Etat social Ottoman. C'est le père qui, tout en conviant ses enfants à participer à l'administra-

tion de leurs propres intérêts, se confie à leur amour et à leur fidélité.

Les dispositions de la Constitution qui fondent un Corps Législatif normal et régulier, sous la forme de deux Chambres avec la dénomination d'Assemblées Générales, sont naturellement celles qui attireront plus particulièrement l'attention des Cabinets Européens, et vous devrez vous appliquer à faire ressortir à leurs yeux les garanties de bonne administration financière qui résulteront de la discussion publique et du vote rigoureusement obligatoire de toutes les lois de finances et notamment du budget de recettes et des dépenses. Il n'y a, à cet égard, aucune réserve, et le pays, par l'organe de ses représentants, se trouve désormais investi du plus efficace et du plus absolu des pouvoirs, de celui qui commande tous les autres, c'est-à-dire, du pouvoir de créer les ressources de l'Etat, d'en régler les dispositions, et d'en contrôler l'emploi. A ce sujet, vous ne manquerez pas de faire remarquer avec quel soin la Cour des Comptes a été entourée de garanties d'indépendance et d'impartialité. Non-seulement ses membres sont, comme tous les Magistrats de l'ordre judiciaire, déclarés inamovibles, mais encore aucun d'eux ne pourra être révoquée, même pour les causes les plus graves, qu'avec l'assentiment de la Chambre des Députés.

L'administration des provinces qui, dans les circonstances actuelles, sollicite plus spécialement l'attention de l'Europe, n'est et ne pouvait être définie dans la Constitution que sous la forme d'un programme général et d'une sorte de déclaration de principes. Des lois organiques vont donner, sans aucun retard, à ce programme sa forme définitive et son développement normal. Ce que proclame la Constitution, c'est un nouveau régime basé sur la plus large décentralisation administrative: c'est le principe de l'élection scrupuleusement appliqué à la formation de tous les Conseils des Vilayets, des Sandjaks et de Cazas; c'est le développement simultané de l'autonomie de différentes communautés, y compris la communauté Musulmane, pour la gestion de leurs intérêts particuliers, indépendants des intérêts généraux du pays; c'est, enfin, la création des Conseils Municipaux élus gérant les affaires de chaque commune de l'Empire.

Après la lecture de ces dispositions libérales, on se demande quelles pourraient être encore les aspirations des populations des provinces qui n'auraient point été satisfaites, et quelles garanties plus sérieuses et plus efficaces les Puissances, qui se sont préoccupées de leur sort, pourraient encore demander au Gouvernement Impérial. Assurément le scepticisme même le plus enraciné se trouvera désarmé; mais il n'est pas impossible qu'à défaut d'autre élément de critiques l'esprit de dénigrement systématique dont nous avons eu tant à nous plaindre en Europe, se porte sur la question d'exécution, et que l'on essaie de mettre en doute la mise en application rapide et rigoureuse des institutions nouvelles. A ceux qui, de bonne foi, paraîtraient tourner leur préoccupation de ce côté, vous

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pouvez hardiment répondre que le fait suivra de près l'engagement et qu'indépendamment de la volonté si solennellement affirmée de Sa Majesté notre auguste Maître, indépendamment des résolutions énergiques du Grand Vézir dont les efforts constants ont été dirigés vers le but que nous venons d'atteindre, la nation toute entière est animée du même esprit et des mêmes sentiments, et que c'est là la meilleure et la plus solide des garanties. Vous voudrez bien aussi, M. l'Ambassadeur, dans le cas où il serait fait un rapprochement entre les promesses contenues dans les Hatts Impériaux antérieurs et les dispositions de la Constitution actuelle, relever et établir avec force et netteté la différence radicale qui existe entre ces deux ordres de faits, différence telle qu'elle repousse la pensée même d'une comparaison. La Constitution n'est pas une promesse, r'est un acte réel et formel qui est devenu la propriété de tous les Ottomans et dont le développement ne pourrait être arrêté ou retardé que par la volonté de la nation elle-même, unie à celle du Souverain. Cet acte définitif et solennel n'a pas été demandé par l'Europe, ni conseillée par elle. Le Gouvernement Impérial n'a donc pu avoir l'intention de donner satisfaction à des vœux ou à des idées venus du dehors. n'a subi d'autre pression, d'autre influence que celles de la raison et du patriotisme. C'est pourquoi nous demandons aujourd'hui que l'Europe ait confiance dans nos jeunes institutions, et qu'elle y trouve la garantie complète des intérêts qu'elle s'était donné la tâche de sauvegarder. Nous avons le droit de constater avec orgueil que sa sollicitude a été à la fois dévancée et dépassée par la généreuse et suprême initiative de notre auguste Souverain.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) SAFVET.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Sublime Porte, December 26, 1876.

IN referring to my telegram of the 23rd December announcing the proclamation of the Constitution, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the translation of this document, as well as the Imperial Hatt which sanctioned it.

The ceremony of Saturday last was accomplished with as much calm as brilliancy, and in the midst of universal enthusiasm. Salvoes of artillery saluted this proclamation, and announced to the whole capital this great event, which will remain inscribed an ineffaceable epoch in the annals of the Ottoman Empire. All the day and all the night through the population displayed by its spontaneous manifestations its sentiments of gratitude and of fidelity to its Sovereign, and its confidence in the success of his work of regeneration. You can openly state that, in this respect, there has been an absolute identity of feeling and hope between the Mussulman and Christian population.

and hope between the Mussulman and Christian population.

After the reading of the Imperial Hatt, His Highness the Grand Vizier, in an eloquent and vigorous speech, expressed the feelings of gratitude, of joy, and of just pride which animate the whole Ottoman people, and drew in the most noble and patriotic language a striking picture of the new institutions which will found in the Ottoman Empire the reign of liberty, of justice, and of equality; that is to say, the triumph of civilization.

The truly magnanimous thoughts expressed by the Sultan, our august master, in his Hatt to His Highness the Grand Vizier, require no comment, and I should fear to weaken them, were I to try to enlarge on them. Nevertheless, I cannot, refrain from stating that they embody in the most concise and noble manner the striking confirmation of all the great principles of which the Constitution is the legal expression, so as to deprive the most subtle sophists, the most malevolent slanderers, of the possibility or the chance of falsifying the spirit or aim of the dispositions of this fundamental act; for it has pleased His Imperial Majesty to be himself the sovereign interpreter of the charter which he has granted to his people.

I do not think it necessary to direct your attention to each of the chapters which compose the Constitution. The clearness and the precision displayed in their composition make all comment and all explanation superfluous.

The reflections that I think it right to submit to you, refer on the one hand to the object of its dispositions, and on the other to the guarantees for their execution, which the Constitution itself furnishes.

You will remark that the Constitution clearly proves that the new institutions, far from having a theocratic character, establish in the most formal manner that no religious prescription shall fetter the application of reforms and the establishment of a judicial and administrative state of things in accordance with the wants of the country and the principles of modern law. Thus that belief, unhappily too general, that the Chéri is incompatible with the new institutions, falls to the ground. It must not, in truth, be forgotten that his Highness the Cheikh-ul-Islam, and all the great dignitaries of the Cheri took part in the drawing up

and in the discussion of the Constitution, and that it is not only inadmissible, but absolutely impossible that these authorised guardians of the sacred law should have allowed a single clause to have been inserted which could have affected it.

The general principles of liberty and equality proclaimed at the head of the Constitution, and which are borrowed from the most liberal public European law, constitute the true base of our great reform, and all the dispositions which follow are only in one way or another its natural consequence.

The definition of the prerogative principles of Sovereignty was the necessary completion of this declaration of principles, and the happy thought of placing the rights of the Imperial Dynasty under the guardianship of all, is a disposition which doubtless will convince Europe of the truly democratic character of the Ottoman social State. Like the father who, whilst bidding his children share in the administration of their our interests, trusts himself to their love and their fidelity.

The dispositions of the Constitution founding a normal and regular legislative body, under the form of two Chambers with the denomination of General Assemblies, are naturally those which will specially attract the attention of the European Cabinets, and you should endeavour to draw their attention to the guarantees of good financial administration which will result from the public discussion, and from the rigorously obligatory vote of all financial laws, and particularly of the budget of receipts and expenses. There is no reserve on this head, and the country through its representatives is henceforward invested with the most efficacious and most absolute of all powers, that which commands all the others, viz: the power of creating the resources of the State, of regulating their disposition, and controlling their use. On this point, you will not fail to point out how carefully the Court of Exchequer has been surrounded by guarantees of independence and impartiality. Not only are its members, like all the magistrates of the judicial class, declared permanent, but moreover not one of them can be dismissed, even for the gravest causes, without the consent of the Chamber of Deputies.

The administration of the provinces, which, under present circumstances, more particularly attracts the attention of Europe, is not, and cannot be defined in the Constitution, save under the form of a general programme, and a sort of declaration of principles. Organic laws will give, without any delay, its definite form and its moral development to this programme. That which the Constitution proclaims is a new régime, based on the most complete administrative decentralization; it is the principle of election scrupulously applied to the formation of all the Councils of the Vilayets, of the Sandjaks and of the Cazas; it is the simultaneous development of the autonomy of different communities, including the Mussulman, for the management of their private interests, apart from the general interests of the country; it is, in fact, the creation of elected Municipal Councils carrying on the affairs of each commune of the Empire.

After reading these liberal dispositions, one asks oneself what other hopes the provinces could have which have not been satisfied, and what more serious and efficacious guarantees the Powers, who have interested themselves in their lot, could further ask of the Imperial Government? Surely the most deep-rooted scepticism will be disarmed; but it is not impossible that, for want of other grounds of criticism, the spirit of systematic depreciation, which we have so much to complain of in Europe, may turn to the question of execution, and that the endeavour may be made to raise doubts as to the rapid and rigorous application of the new institutions. To those who, with good intentions, seem to turn their attention in that direction, you may confidently answer that the act will quickly follow the engagement, and that, independently of the intentions of His Majesty, our august Master, so solemnly affirmed, independently of the energetic resolutions of the Grand Vizier, whose constant efforts have been directed towards the end which we have just reached, the whole nation is animated with the same spirit and the same sentiments, and that therein lies the best and the most solid of guarantees. You will be good enough also, M. l'Ambassadeur, in case a parallel is drawn between the promises contained in the former Imperial Hatts, and the dispositions of this Constitution, to point out and prove with force and precision the radical difference which exists between these two classes of facts, a difference so great as to repel the very idea of a comparison. The Constitution is not a promise, it is an actual and formal act which has become the property of all Ottomans. and its development can only be stopped or delayed by the will of the nation itself. in unison with that of the Sovereign. This definitive and solemn act was not demanded by Europe, nor advised by her. The Imperial Government cannot, therefore, have had the intention of giving satisfaction to foreign wishes or ideas. It has undergone no pressure—no influence, save that of reason and patriotism. This is why we ask Europe to-day to have confidence in our young institutions, and to seek therein a complete guarantee for the interests which she has undertaken to protect. We have the right to $\lceil 195 \rceil$

affirm with pride that her solicitude has been overtaken and outrun by the generous and supreme action of our august Sovereign.

I have, &c. (Signed) SAFVET.

No. 154.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 11.)

(Télégraphique.)

CERTAINES expressions employées dans la Constitution Ottomane ayant été interprétées dans un sens erroné par le Gouvernement des Principautés-Unies, et l'Agence Princière à Constantinople ayant fait des demandes à ce sujet auprès de la Sublime Porte, je viens d'adresser au Général Ghika une note pour déclarer que le Gouvernement Impérial n'a jamais eu l'intention de porter atteinte directement ou indirectement à la situation des Principautés-Unies, telle qu'elle résulte des Traités, et que la situation de ce pays reste ce qu'elle était avant notre Constitution.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, January 10, 1877.

CERTAIN expressions employed in the Ottoman Constitution having been interpreted in an erroneous sense by the Government of the United Principalities, and as the Prince's Agency at Constantinople has requested information on this subject at the Sublime Porte, I have addressed a note to General Ghika declaring that the Imperial Government never had the intention, directly or indirectly, of interfering with the position of the United Principalities as established by Treaty, and that the position of this country remains as it was before our Constitution.

No. 155.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha,

January 11.)

Constantinople, le 10 Janvier, 1877.

DANS la dernière séance de la Conférence un long Mémoire a été lu au nom des Représentants Etrangers pour répondre à notre refus d'accepter les propositions des Puissances, et pour soutenir le premier programme de l'Europe sous une autre forme. Ensuite, Lord Salisbury a pris la parole et appuyé fortement le même programme. Les Représentants Etrangers ont insisté sur l'institution de la Commission Internationale comme offrant une garantie pour la bonne administration des trois provinces.

Nous avons dû repousser cette proposition, et la discussion ainsi suspendue a été renvoyée à la séance prochaine qui aura lieu demain.

L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre vient de nous communiquer un nouveau projet. Il y a dans ce projet des propositions admissibles; mais les points contenus dans ce nouveau programme concernant la nomination des Valis avec l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes, et la gendarmerie organisée avec le concours d'officiers et de sous-officiers Européens ne sauraient être acceptés par le Gouvernement Impérial.

Nous insisterons sur la nomination des Valis suivant les dispositions de la Con-

stitution.

Nous proposerons la formation d'une gendarmerie de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, ainsi que l'institution de deux Commissions composées en nombre égal de Musulmans et de Chrétiens qui seront chargées de veiller à l'exécution des réformes constitutionnelles dans les provinces, de veiller à la prohibition du port des armes sans une autorisation spéciale du Gouvernement Impérial, et d'exécuter les décisions à prendre à l'égard des mêmes provinces. Vous savez qu'à la rencontre de la Note Andrassy, nous avions institué une pareille Commission pour la Bosnie.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 10, 1877.

IN the last sitting of the Conference a long Memorandum was read in the name of the foreign Representatives as a reply to our refusal to accept the proposals of the Powers,

and as supporting the first European programme under another form. After which Lord Salisbury spoke and strongly supported the same programme. The foreign Representatives insisted on the institution of the International Commission as offering a guarantee for the good administration of the three provinces. We were forced to decline this proposal, and the discussion thus suspended was deferred to the next sitting, which will take place to-morrow.

The English Ambassador has just communicated to us a new project. In this project there are some admissible propositions; but the points contained in this new programme respecting the nomination of the Valis with the assent of the Guaranteeing Powers, and the gendarmerie organized with the help of European officers and non-commissioned officers,

could not be accepted by the Imperial Government.

We shall insist on the nomination of the Valis according to the terms of the Constitution.

We shall propose the formation of a gendarmerie of Mussulmans and Christians, as well as the institution of two Commissions, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, charged to superintend the execution of the constitutional reforms in the provinces, to the prohibition to carry arms without a special authorization of the Imperial Government, and with the execution of the decisions which may be taken with regard to these provinces. You are aware that on the occasion of the Andrassy note, we instituted a similar Commission for Bosnia.

No. 156.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 11, 3 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 11, 1877, 11 A.M.

AT my audience of the Sultan yesterday, I strongly urged the necessity of an immediate acceptance of the proposals submitted by the Plenipotentiaries, and represented that the points to which exception had been taken by the Porte had been so much modified by the exertion of the Marquis of Salisbury that any true friend of Turkey would deplore their rejection and the consequences to which it must lead.

No. 157.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 11, night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Pera, January 11, 1877, 3 p.m.

THE following is the résumé of the minimum proposals agreed to by the Russian

Ambassador, for the purpose of being presented to the Porte in the last instance:—

Montenegro.—Rectification of frontiers of Montenegro as before, omitting Zubtchi.

An International Commission of Delimitation ad hoc. Free navigation and neutralization of forts on Boiana.

Servia.—Statu quo ante bellum for Servia, with settlement of the boundary difficulties on the side of Bosnia by a Commission of Arbitration, in conformity with Hatti-Sheriff of 1833.

For the two Principalities: evacuation by the Ottoman troops and those of the Principality, of the territories outside the fixed limits, exchange of prisoners of war, and amnesty to subjects employed in the enemy's service.

Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria.—The Governors-General of the Provinces to be

named for five years by the Porte with the assent of the Powers.

Subdivision of Provinces into Sandjaks, with Mutessarifs appointed by the Porte, on the recommendation of Valis, for a fixed term; and into Cantons (Nahiés, Mudirliks) of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, with Canton authorities freely elected by the people in each commune, and competent to deal with all questions affecting interests of Canton.

Provincial Assemblies, elected for a term of four years by the Cantonal Councils, according to system indicated in the projects. They will draw up the Provincial Budget, and will name Administrative Provincial Councillors, to be consulted by the Valis in cases exceeding pure and simple execution of legal and administrative arrangements. These cases may also be referred to the Sublime Porte.

Improvement in the assessment of taxes: Provincial Assemblies and Cantonal Councils shall have the power of assessment and collection of taxes, except Customs, postage and telegraph dues, the taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the régie. Complete abolition of

the system of tax-farming. Remission of arrears of taxes. Rating of the Provincial Budgets to be re-arranged every five years on the average of the revenues. A part to be applied to payment of the Public Debt, and to requirements of the Central Government, and the rest to those of the Province.

Reorganization of justice in the sense of Magistrates having greater independence. The Judges of Civil and Criminal Tribunals to be nominated by the Valis, with assent of the Administrative Council and the members of the Court of Appeal by the Porte on the recommendation of the Valis, and with the assent of the Powers. Publicity of proceedings and preliminary judicial inquiry to be obligatory.

Exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities for the special causes of the

various creeds.

Entire liberty of faith. Maintenance of clergy and of the religious and educational establishments by the communities themselves. Guarantees against forcible conversions.

Use of the local language in the Tribunals and by the Administration, on the same

footing as the Turkish.

Absolute prohibition of employment of irregular troops. Formation of a militia and of a gendarmerie of Christians and Mussulmans, in proportion to population, with subaltern officers named by the Governor-General.

Colonization by Circassians prohibited.

General amnesty to Christians condemned for political reasons.

Amelioration of condition of labourers and farmers in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. Facilities for the acquirement of Crown lands, and for the return to their country of emigrants.

Execution of these provisions within three months.

Commission of Control.—Two Commissions of Control shall be appointed by the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers to superintend the execution of the regulations and assist the local authorities in the different measures affecting order and public safety, as laid down in special instructions communicated to the Ottoman Government.

No. 158.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the third meeting of the Conference took place to-day. It appeared that the Turkish Plenipotentiaries were not prepared to go any further into the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, on the ground that they had counter-proposals to present on the part of the Turkish Government. These counter-proposals were, they said, being copied, and would shortly be sent to them at the Conference; and they requested us to wait for them. We did so, but the document did not make its appearance.

Before the close of the sitting Count Chaudordy read a defence of the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries, which contained an emphatic repudiation of a military occupa-

tion of the provinces.

General Ignatiew followed and urged the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to give a definite answer to the proposals. He read a telegram from Prince Gortchakow, which stated that Russia had assented to them, in order to come to an agreement with the other Powers; and he added, "J'ai fait abstraction de mes idées. J'ai accepté un minimum irréductible."

I stated on behalf of myself and of Her Majesty's Ambassador that we had done our utmost to secure terms favourable to Turkey; that the proposals were those which, after much discussion and many mutual concessions, had received the sanction of Europe; and I earnestly urged their acceptance upon the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

The Austrian, German, and Italian Plenipotentiaries spoke in the same sense.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries made no definite reply.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 159.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord, Pera, December 30, 1876.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of this day, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of the Turkish counter-project, which was communicated to the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers after the third meeting of the Conference.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 159.

Turkish Counter-Project.

Article 1. LES provinces (vilayets) seront divisées en arrondissements (sandjaks), les arrondissements en districts (cazas), les districts en cantons (nahiés), et les cantons en communes (keuys).

Art. 2. Chaque arrondissement sera divisé en autant de cantons qu'il contiendra des villages ayant une population de 5,000 à 10,000 âmes. Tous ces cantons relèveront

du chef-lieu du district où ils sont situés.

Il y aura dans chaque commune un Conseil des Anciens, élus par la population de même que dans chaque canton il y aura un Conseil dont les membres seront également élus par les habitants. Les membres de ces Conseils seront changés chaque quatre ans, et dont le nombre ne sera pas moins de six et plus de douze.

Art. 3. Ce point se rapporte aux dispositions précédentes.

Art. 4. Le Conseil Cantonal désignera par voie d'élection, et pour la durée de quatre ans, un de ses membres comme Président de ce Conseil. Ce Président sera chargé des fonctions de Mudir.

Art. 5. Le Conseil Cantonal et le Mudir seront placés sous la surveillance et la

direction du Gouverneur de l'arrondissement.

Tout en ayant les attributions afférentes au Conseil des Anciens, ce Conseil et ce Mudir auront à pourvoir à l'exécution des décisions rendues par le Conseil des Anciens, à procéder aux élections, à la répartition des travaux concernant la construction des routes et des ponts, et à remplir les fonctions de Juge de Paix dans les affaires civiles. Ils sont également chargés des affaires de police, de sécurité publique, et de la répartition et de la perception des redevances dues à l'Etat.

Le Conseil Cantonal se réunira une fois par mois. Deux de ses membres seront

désignés comme adjoints du Mudir.

Art. 6. Ce point se rattachant aux élections générales, sera réglé en conséquence.

Art. 7. L'administration municipale des villes et bourgs ayant une population au-dessus de 5,000, sera calquée sur l'organisation des Conseils Cantonaux.

Art. 8. Le Gouvernement Impérial nomme dans chaque district (caza) un Sous-Gouverneur. Le Gouverneur-Général de la province le choisira indistinctement parmi les sujets Ottomans en tenant compte des convenances locales et les aptitudes de la population.

Art. 9. Les Sous-Gouverneurs relèveront des Gouverneurs, et ces derniers des Gouverneurs-Généraux. Les uns et les autres seront chargés de l'exécution des lois

et règlements de l'Empire, et de l'expédition des affaires d'Etat.

En outre, et pour assister les Sous-Gouverneurs, Gouverneurs, et Gouverneurs-Généraux, il sera formé des Conseils d'Administration, composés, ceux des Sous-Gouverneurs, de trois membres, et ceux pour les Gouverneurs et les Gouverneurs-Généraux de quatre membres.

La composition et la formation de ces Conseils seront conformes aux dispositions de la loi sur les vilayets. Quant au mode de l'élection des membres de ces Conseils, il

sera conformé aux dispositions des Articles 66 et 109 de la Constitution.

Art. 10. Les fonctionnaires supérieurs, tels que les Gouverneurs-Généraux des provinces (vilayets), les Gouverneurs des districts, les adjoints, les Secrétaires-Généraux, et les Directeurs des Finances (Defterdars) seront nommés par le Gouvernement Impérial. Ils seront retribués en proportion de leurs besoins.

Art. 11. Les adjoints des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs Musulmans seront Chrétiens, et les adjoints des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs Chrétiens

seront Musulmans. Ces adjoints auront la présidence des Conseils d'Administration des provinces, et seront chargés de la gérance des affaires en l'absence des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs.

Art. 12. La destitution ou le changement du Gouverneur-Général, du Gouverneur, de l'Adjoint, du Sous-Gouverneur, et de tous les autres fonctionnaires en général aura lieu suivant les dispositions de l'Article 39 de la Constitution. Le jugement du Gouverneur-Général et des autres fonctionnaires de la première catégorie est du ressort de la section judiciaire du Conseil d'Etat. Quant aux autres fonctionnaires, tels que Gouverneurs, Adjoints, et Secrétaires-Généraux, s'ils se rendent coupables d'actes qui motivent d'après la Constitution leur destitution, le Gouverneur-Général doit les suspendre de leurs fonctions pour une terme de trois mois, et il en référera à la Sublime Porte pour leur changement.

Le Conseil-Général qui, indépendamment du Conseil d'Administration, se trouvant sous la dépendance du Gouverneur-Général, doit se réunir chaque année au chef-lieu de chaque vilayet, et dont la session durera quarante jours, doit se former d'après l'Article 26 de la loi sur les vilayets. L'élection des membres de ce Conseil-Général sera conforme à l'Article 109 de la Constitution. Les attributions de ce Conseil-

Général sont déterminées dans l'Article 110 de la Constitution.

Art. 13 et 14. Les élections qui font l'objet de ces Articles auront lieu conformément aux termes de la Constitution. Le Mufti, les chefs religieux des communautés Chrétiennes et Israélites, siégeront de droit avec les membres élus dans les Conseils d'Administration des districts, arrondissements, et vilayets.

Art. 15. Les membres du Conseil d'Administration ne jouissent pas d'émoluments.

Art. 16. Dans les affaires qui ne tombent pas sous l'application des lois et des règlements le Gouverneur en référera au Gouverneur-Général, après délibération du Conseil d'Administration. Pour les cas analogues au chef-lieu du vilayet le Gouverneur-Général, après délibération du Conseil d'Administration de sa résidence, en référera à la Sublime Porte.

Dans les cas extraordinaires les Gouverneurs et les Gouverneurs-Généraux sont autorisés à s'adresser directement, les premiers aux Gouverneurs-Généraux, et les derniers à la Sublime Porte.

Art. 17. L'examen et le contrôle du budget du vilayet, l'assiette et la répartition de l'impôt, incombent au Conseil-Général du vilayet.

Les mesures arrêtées sous ce double rapport ne seront exécutoires que sur un vote

de la Chambre des Députés revêtu de la sanction souveraine.

Art. 18. L'impôt militaire consiste dans la contribution à laquelle les sujets Ottomans appartenant aux cultes Chrétiens ou Israélite doivent se soumettre en attendant leur participation effective à la conscription militaire. Il convient d'opter entre la décision précédemment adoptée d'après laquelle les hommes âgés de quinze à soixante ans seront passibles de cet impôt, et le principe énoncé dans ce document, principe qui n'assujettit à cet impôt que les hommes âgés de vingt à quarante-cinq ans, réunissant les conditions physiques requises pour le service militaire.

Pour ce qui est de la remise des arriérés qui vont jusqu'au mois de Janvier de l'exercice 1277, cette mesure est admissible suivant les conditions des localités

approuvées, mais il n'y a aucune nécessité d'en généraliser l'application.

Art. 19. Les revenus des contributions indirectes, de postes et de télégraphes, ainsi que les droits de tabac, de boissons et de régie dans les provinces reviennent aux administrations respectives établies dans la capitale.

Art. 20. Le système d'affermage sera supprimé. La taxe sera perçue conformément à la décision à prendre par le Gouvernement Impérial et sur les bases à arrêter

par le Conseil-Général et les Conseils Cantonaux.

La suppression des dîmes et leur conversion en un impôt foncier sont également arrêtées en principe. Toutefois l'exécution de ce projet est réservée au vote que la Chambre des Députés aura à émettre après consultation de l'opinion publique dans chaque vilavet.

Art. 21. Le Gouverneur-Général et le Conseil-Général du vilayet fixeront, d'un commun accord, la partie des revenus publics qui sera affectée aux besoins locaux, calculée sur la moyenne de ces revenus pour une période décennale établic selon le degré de prospérité du pays. Le budget sera élaboré en conséquence et soumis à la Chambre des Députés.

Art. 22. Les taxes, réparties par les soins des Agents Cantonaux, sont perçues aux échéances mensuelles fixées d'après la loi des vilayets, par l'entremise des collecteurs et des Mukhtars des communes, et versées dans la caisse des districts.

Art. 23. Les Agents Cantonaux, les collecteurs, et les zaptiés ne pourront pas

disposer des impôts perçus. Leurs émoluments seront payés par les caisses des districts.

Art. 24. Les revenus des districts et les revenus cantonaux qui y sont réunis seront expédiés à la caisse du chef-lieu après déduction des frais fixes. Il en sera de même du chef-lieu qui, déduction faite des frais fixes et ordinaires, remettra le reste à la destination indiquée par le Ministre des Finances.

Arts. 25, 26, 27. Comme aux termes des Articles 81-92 de la Constitution des règlements spéciaux seront élaborés pour les Tribunaux sur des bases plus larges que les présentes dispositions, la mise à exécution de ce règlement assurera le but qu'on se

propose.

Art. 28. L'examen des affaires litigieuses relative aux questions de culte des différentes communautés sera exclusivement du ressort de leurs autorités religieuses, qui en décideront d'après leurs règlements spéciaux. Ces décisions ne seront exécutoires que tout autant qu'elles ne seront pas contraires aux principes de la Constitution.

Art. 29. La liberté de conscience vient de recevoir une nouvelle consécration par l'Article 11 de la Constitution. Les fondations religieuses et les écoles publiques appartenant aux différentes communautés seront régies par ces communautés con-

formément aux dispositions de l'Article 3 de la Constitution.

Art. 30. Le principe d'après lequel on n'est admis à changer de religion qu'à l'age de 18 ans pour le sexe masculin et de 16 pour le sexe féminin est rationnel et répond d'ailleurs à ce qui se pratique actuellement. Toutefois il serait contraire à l'Article 9 de la Constitution, qui garantit la liberté individuelle, de laisser les convertis pendant une semaine auprès des chefs religieux des communautés dont ils font partie.

Art. 31. Plusieurs Hatts Impériaux ont garanti soit la construction sans entrave des édifices religieux, soit le libre exercice du culte. Les dispositions actuellement en

vigueur sont également confirmées par la Constitution.

Art. 32. Les Conseils de vilayet et de canton sont spécialement chargés de la création et de l'administration des écoles, ainsi que du développement de l'instruction publique. Les Articles 15, &c., de la Constitution contiennent d'ailleurs les dispositions nécessaires en ce qui concerne l'instruction publique à laquelle le Gouvernement Impérial attache la plus grande importance.

Arts. 33 et 34. Si par l'usage de langue du pays devant les Tribunaux, les Départements Administratifs, et les autorités, on voulait entendre considérer ces langues

comme officielles, ce serait là une violation des dispositions de la Constitution.

Arts. 35, 36, et 37. Il serait absolument impossible d'accepter ces trois points,

fussent-ils même modifiés on amendés.

Art. 38. Les individus arrêtés sous l'inculpation d'avoir participé à l'insurrection à Roustchouk, à Tirnova, à Sofia, à Philippopoli, et à Andrinople, ont été jugés publiquement devant les Cours Extraordinaires formées par le Gouvernement. Ils ont subi leur peine conformément à la loi, après une procédure en règle qui a réuni à leur charge toutes les preuves morales et matérielles résultant de leurs aveux, des enquêtes et des pièces de conviction. Les Présidents de ces Cours et les Juges instructeurs étaient choisis parmi les personnes possédant les connaissances juridiques nécessaires et une longue expérience des affaires criminelles. Les audiences ont été publiques; tous ceux qui y ont assisté peuvent confirmer qu'aucun individu n'a été condamné à la déportation sans un jugement préalable ni puni sans avoir été convaincu de crime ou de délit.

(Translation.)

Turkish Counter-Project.

Article 1. The provinces (vilayets) shall be divided into "arrondissements" (sand-jaks), the "arrondissements" into districts (cazas), the districts into cantons (nahiés), and the cantons into communes (keuys).

Art. 2. Each "arrondissement" shall be divided into as many cantons as it shall contain villages, having a population of from 5,000 to 10,000 souls. All these cantons

shall be dependent on the chief town of the district in which they are situate.

There shall be in each commune a Council of Elders, elected by the population in the same way as in each canton there shall be a council whose members likewise shall be elected by the inhabitants.

The members of these councils shall be changed every four years, and their numbers

shall be not less than six or more than twelve.

Art. 3. This point relates to the preceding arrangements.

Art. 4. The Cantonal Council shall select by election, and for the space of four years. one of its members as President of this Council. This President shall discharge the functions of Mudir.

Article 5. The Cantonal Council and the Mudir shall be placed under the supervision and direction of the Governor of the "arrondissement."

While having the attributes attaching to the Council of Elders, this Council and this Mudir shall have to provide for the execution of the decisions delivered by the Council of Elders, to proceed to the elections, to the distribution of labour as regards the making of roads and bridges, and to fill the duties of "Juge de Paix" in civil matters. They have likewise the charge of police matters, the public security, and the assessment and collection of debts owing to the State.

The Cantonal Council shall meet once a month. Two of its members shall he chosen

as assistants of the Mudir.

Art. 6. As this point relates to the general elections it shall be regulated accordingly.

Art. 7. The municipal administration of the towns and boroughs having a population of over 5,000 shall be based on the organization of the Cantonal Councils.

Art. 8. The Imperial Government nominates a sub-Governor in each district (caza). The Governor-General of the province shall choose him without distinction among the Ottoman subjects, paying attention to the local convenience and capacities of the population.

Art. 9. The sub-Governors shall depend on the Governors, and these latter on the Governors-General. They will all have charge of the execution of the laws and rules of the Empire, and of the dispatch of the affairs of State.

Further, and to aid the Sub-Governors, Governors, and Governors-General, there shall be formed Councils of Administration, those of the Sub-Governors composed of three members, those for the Governors and Governors-General of four members.

The composition and formation of these Councils shall be in conformity with the dispositions of the law for the vilayets. As to the manner of electing the members of these Councils it shall be in conformity with the dispositions of the 66th and 109th Articles of the Constitution.

Art. 10. The higher functionaries, such as the Governors-Generals of the provinces (vilayets), the Governors of districts, the Assistants, the Secretaries-General, and the Directors of Finance ("defterdars") shall be nominated by the Imperial Government. They shall be paid in proportion to their services.

Art. 11. The Assistants of the Mussulman Governors-General or Governors shall be

Art. 11. The Assistants of the Mussulman Governors-General or Governors shall be Christians, and those of the Christian Governors-General or Governors shall be Mussulmans. These Assistants shall preside over the Councils of Administration of the provinces, and shall be charged with the conduct of affairs in the absence of the Governors-General or Governors.

Art. 12. The dismissal or transfer of the Governors-General, Governor, Assistant, or Sub-Governor, and of all the officers generally, will take place according to the arrangements of Article 39 of the Constitution.

The trial of the Governors-General and other officers of the first class is in the province of the judicial section of the Council of State. As to the other functionaries, such as Governors, Assistants, and Secretaries-General, if they are guilty of acts which, according to the Constitution, warrant their dismissal, the Governors-General should suspend them from their duties for a term of three months, and refer to the Sublime Porte for their transfer.

The General Council, which, independently of the Council of Administration, is under the Governor-General, should meet every year at the chief town of each vilayet, its sittings should last 40 days, and it should model itself on Article 26 of the law of vilayets. The election of the Members of this General Council shall be in accordance with Article 109 of the Constitution. The functions of this General Council are laid down in Article 110 of the Constitution.

Arts. 13 and 14. The elections, which form the subject of these Articles, shall take place in accordance with the terms of the Constitution. The Mufti, the religious heads of the Christians and Israelite communities, shall take their seats, by right, with the Members elected in the Councils of Administration of the districts, "arrondissements," and vilayets.

Art. 15. The Members of the Council of Administrations enjoy no emoluments.

Art. 16. In matters that do not come under the application of the laws and regulations, the Governor will refer to the Governor-General, after consulting the Council of Administration. For analogous cases in the chief town of the vilayet, the Governor-

General, after consulting the Council of Administration where he resides, will refer to the Sublime Porte.

In extraordinary cases, the Governors and Governors-General, are authorized to address themselves directly, the first to the Governors-General, and the second to the Sublime Porte.

Art. 17. The examination and control of the Budget of the vilayet, the assessment and distribution of the imposts, are the duty of the General Council of the vilayet.

The measures resolved on for both these subjects can only be put into execution on a vote of the Chamber of Deputies, invested with the sovereign sanction.

Art. 18. The military impost consists in the tax to which the Ottoman subjects belonging to Christian or Israelite forms of worship must submit, while waiting for their actual participation in the military conscription. There must be a choice made between the decision previously adopted, according to which men of from 15 to 60 years of age would be liable to this tax, and the principle expressed in this document, which only subjects to this tax men of from 20 to 45 years of age, who fulfil the physical conditions requisite for military service.

As regards the remittance of arrears, which go up to January, 1877, this measure is allowable according to the state of the localities approved of, but there is no necessity to generalize its application.

Art. 19. The revenues of the indirect taxes, posts, and telegraphs, as well as duties on tobacco, liquor, and the excise in the provinces, come to the respective administrations established in the capital.

Art. 20. The farming system shall be suppressed. Taxes shall be collected in accordance with a decision the Imperial Government will come to, and on bases to be fixed by the General and Cantonal Councils.

The suppression of tithes, and their conversion into a land-tax, are also agreed upon in principle. However, the execution of this project is reserved till after the vote the Chamber of Deputies will have to issue, after consulting public opinion in each vilayet.

Chamber of Deputies will have to issue, after consulting public opinion in each vilayet.

Art. 21. The Governor-General and the General Council of the Vilayet shall settle by mutual consent the portion of the public revenues to be applied to local wants, calculated on the average of these revenues for a period of ten years, taken according to the degree of prosperity of the country. The Budget shall be calculated accordingly, and submitted to the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 22. The taxes, distributed by means of the Cantonal Agents, are collected at the monthly settlements, fixed according to the law of the Vilayets, by collectors and the Mukhtars of the communes, and deposited in the treasury of the district.

Art. 23. The cantonal agents, collectors, and zaptiehs, cannot dispose of the taxes collected. Their salaries shall be paid by the Treasuries of the Districts.

Art. 24. The revenues of the districts and of the cantons which are united to them shall be sent to the Treasury of the chief town after deducting some fixed charges. The same thing shall take place at the chief town, which, after deducting some fixed and ordinary charges, shall remit the remainder to the destination indicated by the Minister of Finance.

Art. 25, 26, 27. As in the terms of Articles 81-92 of the Constitution, special rules shall be made for the Tribunals on larger bases than the present arrangements, the carrying out of this regulation will ensure the proposed end.

Art. 28. The examination of law suits relative to questions of religion of the different communities shall come exclusively under the province of their religious authorities, who shall give their decisions according to their special rules. These decisions shall only be capable of execution as long as they are not opposed to the principles of the Constitution.

Art. 29. Liberty of conscience has received a fresh confirmation by Article 11 of the Constitution. The religious establishments and public schools belonging to the different communities shall be administered by these communities in accordance with the dispositions of Article 3 of the Constitution.

Art. 30. The principle on which a change of religion is not allowed before eighteen years of age for men and sixteen for women is rational, and moreover corresponds with the existing practice. It would, however, be opposed to Article 9 of the Constitution, which guarantees personal liberty, to leave the converts for the space of a week with the religious heads of the communities to which they belong.

Art. 31. Several Imperial Hatts have guaranteed both the building without hindrance of religious edifices, and the free exercise of worship. The arrangements now in force are likewise confirmed by the Constitution.

Art. 32. The Councils of the vilayets and cantons are specially charged with the formation and administration of schools, as well as with the development of public [195]

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education. Articles 15, &c., of the Constitution moreover contain the needful arrangements as regards public education, to which the Imperial Government attaches the greatest

importance.

Arts. 33 and 34. If by making use of the language of the country before the Tribunals, Administrative Departments, and the Authorities, it was wished that it should be understood that these languages are to be considered as official, it would constitute a violation of the dispositions of the Constitution.

Arts. 35, 36, and 37. It would be absolutely impossible to accept these three points,

even were they modified or amended.

Art. 38. The persons arrested on the charge of having taken part in the insurrection at Rustchuk, Tirnova, Sofia, Philippopolis, and Adrianople, have been publicly tried before the Extraordinary Courts formed by the Government. They have undergone their sentences in accordance with the law, after a regular trial, in the course of which was collected against them all the moral and material evidence resulting from their confessions, from the inquiries, and from documents put in as evidence. The Presidents of these Courts and the examining Judges were selected from persons possessing the necessary legal knowledge, and a long experience in criminal affairs. The hearings were in public; all who were present at these can confirm the fact that not one individual was condemned to deportation without a previous trial, nor punished without having been convicted of crime or misdemeanour.

No. 160.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord, Pera, December 30, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW has proposed to the Plenipotentiaries of the Five Powers that a joint Act should be signed recording their agreement to the terms of the proposals communicated on their behalf to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

A draft of the proposed Act, which has been somewhat modified from the text originally suggested by the Russian Ambassador, is inclosed herewith, and I have the

honour to request your Lordship's instructions as to signing it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 160.

Proposed formal Agreement.

LES Représentants d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie et de Russie, après avoir assisté à plusieurs séances de la Conférence tenue à Constantinople, conformément à la proposition du Gouvernement Anglais, datée du 5 Novembre, 1876, ont reconnu la nécessité pour aider à la solution des questions qui leur sont soumises, de constater par un document officiel l'accord qui s'est établi entre eux, conformément aux instructions de leurs Gouvernements, sur les conditions qui sont de nature à éviter le renouvellement des hostilités entre le Monténégro, la Serbie, et l'Empire Ottoman, et à améliorer sérieusement la situation des Chrétiens en Bulgarie, Bosnie, et Herzégovine.

A cet effet, les Représentants des six Puissances Garantes déclarent que les propositions qui ont été remises, au nom de ses Collègues, par l'un des Plénipotentiaires de France aux Plenipotentiaires Ottomans, dans la séance de la Conférence tenue à l'Hôtel de l'Amirauté le 23 Décembre, 1876, ont été délibérées en commun et qu'elles contiennent les bases essentielles des arrangements à conclure avec la Sublime Porte. Ils s'engagent tous en conséquence à les soutenir en Conférence, et à les appuyer auprès de la Sublime Porte. Pour donner une preuve évidente de l'union de leurs Gouvernements qui doit contribuer puissamment au maintien de la paix, les Plénipotentiaires d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, d'Italie, et de Russie ont dressé cet acte et l'ont signé.

Fait à Constantinople, le Janvier, 1877.

(Translation.)

THE Representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France. Great Britain, Italy. and Russia, having taken part in several meetings of the Conference held at Constantinople, in conformity with the proposal of the English Government, dated 5th of November, 1876, have recognized the necessity, with a view to assist in solving the questions submitted to them, of recording in an official document the agreement which has been established between them, in conformity with the instructions of their Governments. upon the conditions which are likely to obviate the renewal of hostilities between Montenegro, Servia, and the Ottoman Empire, and to improve in an effective manner the

situation of the Christians in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

With this object, the Representatives of the Six Guaranteeing Powers declare that the proposals, which were handed in by one of the Plenipotentiaries of France, in the name of his colleagues, to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries at the sitting of the Conference, which was held at the Admiralty on the 23rd of December, 1876, were drawn up by common accord, and contain the essential bases of the arrangements to be come to with the Sublime Porte. Consequently they all undertake to support them at the Conference, and to press them upon the Sublime Porte. In order to give manifest proof of the union of their Governments, which will greatly aid in the maintenance of peace, the Plenipotentiaries of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, have drawn up this Act and signed it.

Done at Constantinople, January

No. 161.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

Pera, December 31, 1876. (Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the counter-project of the Porte, of which a copy is inclosed in my despatch of yesterday's date,* has this day been considered at a meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers.

It was resolved, on my proposition, that we should put in a paper at the Conference to-morrow which would give a formal list of the propositions rejected by the counter-project, and would express an earnest hope that a more satisfactory reply might be obtained without delay.

No. 162.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

Pera, January 1, 1877. My Lord, THE fourth meeting of the Conference took place to-day.

I read an analysis of the Turkish counter-project in the form agreed upon at the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries yesterday, and I expressed my regret that, instead of suggesting modifications in the portions of the proposals which were not acceptable to the Porte, the Turkish Plenipotentiaries should have altogether rejected the essential principles of them. I urged them to consider the danger of the position in which Turkey was placed, and I stated that we were prepared to discuss the bases which we had recommended for their acceptance.

All the other Ambassadors adhered to my views.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries professed that they were not empowered even to discuss any of the nine following points in the proposals:-

1. The Commission of Supervision.

The employment of a foreign gendarmerie.
 The cantonment of the troops in the fortresses and chief towns.

4. The mode of nominating the valis.

5. The administrative divisions of the provinces.

6. The encouragement to be given to the Circassians to emigrate to Asia.

7. The judicial arrangements.8. The financial arrangements.

9. The rectification of the Montenegrin and Servian frontiers.

The Conference was thereupon adjourned until the 4th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

No. 163.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

(Extract.)

AFTER the meeting of the Conference to-day, I called upon the Grand Vizier and represented to him the extreme danger of the position taken up by the Turkish Government.

I pointed out to him that Turkey stood absolutely alone; that several other Powers might very probably take part in aggressive operations when the campaign was once

begun.

I recalled to his Highness' memory the fatal events of 1827-28, and the danger that at least a portion of them might be repeated, and urged upon him that earlier concessions on the part of Sultan Mahmoud would probably have preserved Greece as an integral part of the Turkish Empire. I warned him in earnest language against renewing the errors of that period.

He stated that he was resigned to the will of God, if it was decreed that the Empire should fall, but that no Turk would yield any one of the nine points which are

enumerated in my previous despatch of this date, and which I read over to him.

I intimated the possibility of an arrangement being come to in regard to the gendarmerie, if the Porte would undertake to form a corps with foreign officers; but his objection was not so much to the substance of the proposal as to entering into an engagement to carry it out.

I gathered that his Highness' strongest objection would be to the nomination of the valis, with the consent of the Powers, for five years, which he professed to think would

lead to the growth of new tributary States.

The Ambassadors will hold a meeting to-morrow to consider the situation.

No. 164.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord, Pera, January 3, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a Memorial which has been presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers by the Delegates of the Cretan refugees in Greece.

I have, &c. (Signed) \$ALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 164.

Petition of Cretan Refugees.

A Messieurs les Représentants des Grandes Puissances réunies en Conférence à Constantinople.

Messieurs les Représentants,

LES Crétois réfugiés en Grèce soussignés ont l'honneur de vous soumettre la

supplique suivante:-

La solution donnée à la question Crétoise après les insurrections de 1821, 1841, et 1866, n'ayant pas amélioré d'une manière réelle le sort des habitants de Candie en a forcé un grand nombre à s'expatrier. Parmi les Crétois sauvés en 1866 et 1867 par les vaisseaux des Grandes Puissances Chrétiennes et transportés en Grèce plus de 20,000 ne sont pas rentrés dans leurs foyers. Leur pays ayant été replacé sous la domination

de la Turquie, il était naturel qu'on ne désirât plus y retourner, car la paix devenait problématique dans l'avenir. C'est ce que les réfugiés ont déclaré dans leur pétition à la Conférence réunie à Paris en 1869 et qu'elle a prise, en partie du moins, en considération dans sa dernière séance.

La question de l'expatriation des Crétois, qui revient constamment depuis deux générations, se rattache intimement à la question Crétoise tant de fois remise sur le

tapis diplomatique.

Si la Porte avait sérieusement apprécié les circonstances politiques qui lui avaient fait rendre la possession de Candie à la fin de la guerre de l'indépendance Hellénique, circonstances qui lui ont enlevé le droit absolu de conquête sur l'Île et ne lui confèrent, en bonne justice, qu'un droit de garde et de protection, si elle avait pris en considération les recommandations exceptionnelles des trois Grandes Puissances, France, Angleterre, et Russie, contenues dans la note qu'elles lui ont adressée après le Protocole du 3 Février, 1830, ainsi que celles qu'elles lui faisaient dans le Protocole du 8 Février de la même année; si elle avait, enfin, pris en considération les représentations que ces mêmes Puissances lui adressaient en 1867, et qui allaient jusqu'à proposer de détacher la Crète de l'Empire Ottoman; si, disons-nous, la Porte avait pris tout cela en considération, la question des réfugiés Crétois n'existerait pas plus aujourd'hui que la question encore pendante qui a surgi entre la Crète et la Porte deux mois avant le commencement de l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine. Malheureusement la Porte n'a pas plus pris en considération ses obligations particulières envers les Crétois que ses promesses générales envers tous ses peuples.

C'est ainsi que la Crète est, depuis cinquante ans, le théâtre de troubles constants, que de milliers de ses enfants, parmi lesquels les expatriés, sont de temps en temps

victimes de la mauvaise administration de l'île.

Les faits ont prouvé que les concessions faites aux Crétois après l'insurrection de 1866, concessions insuffisantes tant au point de vue administratif et judiciaire qu'à tous les autres points de vue, n'ont produit et ne peuvent produire aucune amélioration dans le pays. La Loi Organique même de 1867, le plus complet de tous les Hatts publiés jusqu'ici, est si imparfaite que les principes d'administration indépendante et de réforme du système administratif et judiciaire qu'il contient sont loin de répondre à la nécessité qui les a suggérés.

Nous commencerons par faire remarquer qu'elle ne consacre, en fait, aucune liberté politique ou civile. L'inviolabilité de la liberté individuelle et du domicile du Chrétien ne sont garantis par aucune loi, ces biens, les plus précieux de l'homme, sont à la merci de l'organe le plus infime du pouvoir administratif. Nulle part cette loi ne confère aux Chrétiens le droit de porter librement des armes comme les Ottomans, pas plus que le droit de pétition, de réunion publique, ou la liberté de la presse, même sous

la censure la plus rigoureuse.

Pour ce qui concerne l'indépendance de l'administration, le self-government, le Gouvernement Ottoman a reconnu par la Loi Organique, une espèce d'institution représentative, la convocation annuelle de l'Assemblée Générale, pour délibérer sur les affaires intérieures du pays et prendre des mesures en conséquence, mais il lui a créé des entraves visiblement contraires au régime représentatif. En effet, pour rendre la grande majorité des Chrétiens égale à la grande minorité des Musulmans, ou plutôt pour s'assurer la majorité au sein de l'Assemblée, le Gouvernement ne s'est pas seulement limité à régler le mode d'élection des représentants, mais il a encore prescrit que les circonscriptions électorales à population mixte éliront un nombre de députés Chrétiens égal à celui des Musulmans. Cependant les Musulmans sont partout, a l'exception des districts de la Canée, d'Héraclion et de Rhétymno en grande minorité sur les Chrétiens, mais la loi ne détermine nullement le chiffre des électeurs qui ont le droit de se faire représenter à l'Assemblée Générale, appartenant à chacune des deux nationalités.

Il suffit ainsi que cinq Musulmans, riches ou pauvres, existent dans une province, comme cela arrive pour la circonscription électorale de Lassithi, pour avoir le droit d'élire autant de représentants que plusieurs milliers de Chrétiens. Il arrive donc, d'après cet étrange système électoral, que les Musulmans de Candie, qui devraient être, toutes proportions gardées, représentés par 20 délégués et les Chrétiens par 60 au moins, sont représentés par 38 délégués et les Chrétiens par 42 seulement.

Mais l'Assemblée Générale ainsi constituée, pour qu'elle ne conserve aucune liberté d'action, est placée sous la dépendance directe des autorités administratives. Le Gouverneur-Général et, à defaut, un de ses délégués, est Président de droit, avec le

pouvoir de régler et de diriger les travaux de l'Assemblée Générale.

Enfin, la Loi Organique fixe à quarante jours la durée de chaque session à l'effet

de ne pas permettre à l'Assemblée d'examiner d'une manière sérieuse et attentive les besoins du pays, et pour enlever à l'opinion publique le contrôle des actes de l'Assemblée,

elle ne peut délibérer qu'à huis clos.

Quant à la réforme du système administratif, le Gouvernement Ottoman s'est borné à inscrire dans la Loi Organique le principe de l'admission des Chrétiens à tous les emplois publics, mais sans jamais procéder à une réorganisation sérieuse de l'administration. En effet, aucune entrave n'a été mise à l'arbitraire et aux abus de ces employés; comme auparavant, ils concentrent aujourd'hui entre leurs mains le pouvoir exécutif, le pouvoir judiciaire, et toutes les branches de l'administration, et possédent une autorité sans contrôle. Dans ce système administratif, la Porte distribue également les places entre Chrétiens et Musulmans dans le but de faire à la minorité Ottomane une part aussi large qu'à la majorité Chrétienne. Mais cela ne suffisant pas à anéantir toute initiative des employés Chrétiens, la Loi Organique prescrit aussi que des Turcs devront travailler avec eux comme supérieurs ou comme subordonnés. Enfin, la Porte a transgressé même ce simple principe en évitant de nommer, à des postes importants surtout, des employés Chrétiens. Elle fait mieux encore, elle ne nomme que des Chrétiens qui, ne visant qu'à se maintenir en place, font preuve d'une grande servilité et neutralisent ainsi les avantages qu'on attendait de cette innovation. Tout d'ailleurs sera inutile ou ne sera fait que pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux de l'Europe, si l'on ne parvient à se convaincre par des faits que le Chrétien nommé à un emploi public n'a pas à craindre de perdre sa place en remplissant fidèlement ses devoirs, en rendant également justice aux Chrétiens comme aux Mahométans.

Pour ce qui concerne la réforme judiciaire, la Porte a suivi un système particulier qui ne se rapproche d'aucun de ceux en vigueur chez les nations civilisées. distribution de la justice ne possède, même d'après la Loi Organique, aucune des garanties qui font de cette institution la base principale de tout édifice social. D'abord, la Porte n'a promulgué ni lois ni procédure conduisant à une distribution équitable de la justice, et puis elle a fondé, pour la juridiction à tous les degrés, des Tribunaux composés de plusieurs membres, moitié Turcs et moitié Chrétiens, élus de la même manière que les membres de l'Assemblée Générale. Le Président est toujours nommé par le Gouvernement, qui choisit de préférence un Musulman. Leurs arrêts ne sont exécutoires que si les autorités supérieures administratives, qui seules sont chargées de les faire exécuter, les revêtent des formes usitées en pareil cas. On comprend que des Tribunaux ainsi composés, des Tribunaux placés sous l'influence directe des Pachas et des Ottomans indigènes, n'offrent pas des garanties sérieuses de justice distributive pour tous, moins encore s'il s'agit de procès entre Musulmans et Chrétiens. Nous croyons inutile d'entrer ici dans de plus grands détails, de citer des actes, des arrêts à l'appui de nos assertions; nous nous bornerons à rappeler que toutes les nations civilisées n'accordent aucune confiance aux Tribunaux Ottomans, sans en excepter les Tribunaux de Crète; qu'elles ont regardé et regardent comme un devoir de ne pas soumettre leurs sujets respectifs à leur juridiction et de les défendre par les lois de leur propre pays.

La Loi Organique, comme le Hatti-Houmayoun, proclame le principe de la tolérance et de la liberté de conscience. Mais tout Musulman embrassant la religion Chrétienne est exilé et ses biens confisqués. D'après cette même loi une partie des revenus du pays est déposé dans une caisse spéciale à l'effet d'être employé aux besoins de l'instruction et d'autres œuvres de bienfaisance. Cette caisse est placée sous le contrôle de l'Assemblée Générale, qui assigne elle-même l'emploi des sommes aux travaux les plus urgents. Cependant l'administration n'a jamais permis à l'Assemblée de remplir ces devoirs et ces obligations. Tous les Gouverneurs-Généraux ont toujours usurpé les droits de l'Assemblée Générale en dressant le budget comme les comptes-

rendus de cette caisse dont ils géraient arbitrairement les revenus.

En un mot, cette Loi Organique si incomplète qu'elle est, n'a jamais été sincèrement appliquée. Avant comme après c'est toujours le droit du plus fort qui domine en toutes choses.

La Loi Organique proclame l'inviolabilité des membres de l'Assemblée Générale. Cependant en 1874 quatre Représentants Chrétiens d'Héraclion, Rhétymno, et Mirabello, ayant fait des observations sur quelques actes arbitraires de l'Administration, le Gouverneur-Général d'alors, Savfet Pacha, ne se contenta pas de leur adresser des menaces, il les fit encore traîner en prison.

A la dernière séance de la Conférence réunie en 1869 à Paris, Sous-Président M. de Lavalette demanda, au nom de l'Europe Chrétienne et ensuite d'une supplique des réfugiés Crétois, une amnistie pleine et entière en faveur des Chrétiens de Candie. Le Représentant de la Turquie, Djemil Pacha, donna à ce sujet les assurances les plus

Néanmoins la Turquie ne tarda pas, du moment qu'elle ne craignat plus la formelles. D'abord elle surveillance des Puissances, à transgresser aussi cette promesse. n'entendit pas comprendre dans cette amnistie toute la durée de l'insurrection, mais seulement le temps écoulé depuis le commencement de la révolution jusqu'au jour de la proclamation de l'amnistie générale par le Grand Vézir Ali Pacha, qui s'était rendu en Crète en 1867. La Porte considérait tout le temps écoulé depuis, c'est-à-dire seize mois d'insurrection, comme n'ayant pas été compris dans l'amnistie. De cette façon la Turquie créa une nouvelle méthode de représailles pour punir d'une manière impitoyable, par l'emprisonnement, par l'exil et par des indemnités en faveur des Ottomans, les Crétois qui avaient pris part à la lutte. Pour avoir ses coudées franches, la Porte évita de proclamer, comme elle l'avait fait en 1858, 1860, et 1867, une amnistic générale à la fin de l'insurrection de 1869. Mais ce n'était qu'une prétexte non seulement pour punir les Crétois qui avaient continué la lutte après la proclamation de 1867, mais aussi ceux qui s'étaient livrés, avant cette époque, à des actes d'hostilité On pourrait produire un grand nombre d'exemples de Crétois contre les Musulmans. qui n'ont pu éviter le ressentiment du Gouvernement Ottoman. Parmi les victimes, il nous suffira de citer le vénérable Gérassimos, Archevèque de Kissamo. Refusant de devenir l'organe du Gouvernement Ottoman contre son pays et s'étant réfugié avec d'autres familles en Grèce, il fut condamné d'abord à la perte de sa dignité épiscopale et, cette année même, à l'exil à perpétuité. Le moine Parthénios Pétridis, le vénérable vieillard si connu dans notre pays, a été condamné à une peine encore plus cruelle. M. Pétridis avait été membre de la dernière junte insurrectionnelle. Aussi fut-il arrêté, il y a trois ans, par Réouf Pacha, Gouverneur-Général de l'Ile de Crète, sans aucune forme de procès. Il fut d'abord exilé, puis jeté en prison, où il gémirait encore s'il n'était parvenu à s'évader. C'est ce qui est arrivé aussi, il y a quelques mois à peine, au Représentant de l'Assemblée Générale, Constantin Mitzotaki. Réouf Pacha le fit arrêter sans tenir aucune compte des formes légales et transférer dans les prisons de Constantinople, où il aurait péri si des Représentants des Grandes Puissances n'étaient intervenus pour le sauver.

Les violations successives de la Loi Organique et enfin l'impôt additionnel de 2½ pour cent sur le revenu imposé en 1874 au mépris de l'Artictle XIII de cette même loi, forcèrent les Représentants Chrétiens de l'île d'adresser, pendant la scssion de 1875, une pétition au Sultan pour lui demander l'abrogation de cet impôt et l'exécution de la loi. Il est vrai que la Porte a promulgué un Iradé dans ce sens et ordonné la remise de l'impôt illégalement perçu, mais l'Iradé est resté lettre morte et l'impôt n'a été restitué que pour trois mois de l'année 1875. On n'a pas encore restitué

le 2½ pour cent arbitrairement recouvré en 1874.

Cette nouvelle violation des engagements pris par la Porte envers les Chrétiens a provoqué les événements connus dans la dernière session de l'Assemblée Générale. Les Représentants Chrétiens protestèrent formellemeut contre la violation de la Loi Organique, proposèrent en même temps d'en modifier les parties reconnues défectueuses. Ils voulaient assurer la liberté individuelle et rendre effective l'égalité civile et politique qui n'existe que de nom entre les Musulmans et les Chrétiens, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne puisse être poursuivi sans un arrêt des chambres de mise en accusation, ni molesté pour avoir quitté sa religion pour se convertir à une autre religion reconnue et que chacun put librement exprimer ses pensées par la presse que l'on soumettrait à une loi spéciale. Les Représentants Chrétiens proposèrent aussi que le chiffre de la population fut pris pour base des élections, que l'Assemblée Générale fut revêtue d'assez de pouvoirs pour remplir dignement sa mission, que l'administration civile et judiciaire fût organisée sur les principes admis chez les nations civilisées. Enfin, le libre exercice des droits que la Loi Organique confère à l'Assemblée Générale dans la gestion de la caisse spéciale dont il a été question plus haut. Mais ces réclamations si justes et si civilisatrices, réclamations basées sur les principes du Hatti-Houmayoun lui-même, de la Loi Organique et autres Hatts promulgués plus tard, et qui témoignaient des progrès accomplis par le peuple Crétois, ont été brusquement repoussées par décision du Juillet de cette année. Par cette décision la Porte s'est bornée à donner une nouvelle sanction à la Loi Organique en vigueur, à concéder des améliorations sans 14 Juillet de cette année. importance, sans relation aucune avec les demandes qui lui avaient été soumises. Malgré cette sanction, qui est la troisième depuis 1867, époque de la promulgation de la Loi Organique, la Porte continue à violer ses engagements envers les Crétois. Il y a quelques mois elle essayait, de toutes manières, d'enlever à l'Assemblée Générale le seul droit essentiel qu'elle possède, l'élection des membres du Conseil Suprême d'Administration et du Tribunal Supérieur de la Cour d'Appel. Pour consacrer un tel précédent, le Gouverneur-Général, Réouf Pacha, fit de grands efforts dans le but de 2 D [195]

faire élire, non pas en séance publique comme la loi le prescrit, mais par chaque membre de l'Assemblée séparément, les membres du Conseil d'Administration et ceux de la Cour d'Appel. Et comme leurs fonctions sont expirées depuis sept mois, la Cour d'Appel et le Conseil d'Administration ont cessé de se réunir depuis cette

époque.

Pour l'application des modifications, peu essentielles du reste, consacrées par l'Iradé dont nous avons parlé plus haut, la Porte faisait entrevoir une prompte convocation de l'Assemblée Générale, mais elle évite de la convoquer pour ne pas se voir forcée de tenir ses engagements. Et pour faire mieux comprendre aux Chrétiens combien ses dispositions sont malveillantes à leur égard, la Porte révoque de leurs fonctions deux employés supérieurs, un Musulman Hamid Bey, et un Chrétien M. Jean Pétridis, dont les abus avaient soulevé l'indignation générale et forcé les représentants Chrétiens de pétitioner au Gouvernement, mais elle laisse vacantes les fonctions de M. Pétridis et nomme à la place de Hamid Bey, Moustapha Nourri Or ce même Moustapha, qui était trois ans auparavant Gouverneur d'Héraclion, avait été destitué pour avoir, en plein Conseil, insulté et raillé la religion Chrétienne et provoqué par cela une grande irritation dans l'esprit des habitants de ce district. Il passe même pour avoir été, par sa conduite arbitraire, la cause principale du soulèvement de l'Herzégovine, où il avait été transféré.

Ces preuves de la persistance systématique de la Turquie à gouverner les Crétois d'une manière arbitraire, sans tenir nul compte des lois, des Firmans, et des obligations qu'ils lui ont imposées, poussent fatalement les choses à de nouveaux soulèvements, à de nouvelles catastrophes. Le rejet des demandes des membres Chrétiens de l'Assemblée Générale, l'anarchie qui s'en est suivie, le relachement survenu dans toutes les branches de l'Administration, produit en partie par la non convocation des Conseils Supérieurs Administratifs et Judiciaires, ainsi que de la constitution illégale des Tribunaux de Première Instance dont les arrêts ne sont pas par cela même respectés, ont porté à son comble l'indignation des Crétois et précipitent malheureusement la crise redoutable à laquelle il faut s'attendre désormais. Elle aurait déjà éclaté depuis longtemps, si le peuple de Crète ne s'était convaincu que les raisons qui ont fait que ses luttes contre la Turquie n'ont pas eu la récompense qu'elles méritaient, n'existent plus

dans la conscience du monde civilisé.

Nous sommes certains que les Consuls des Grandes Puissances ont renseigné leurs Gouvernements respectifs sur la situation des esprits dans l'Ile de Candie; mais si des doutes pouvaient exister à ce sujet, ils pourraient être levés par l'envoi d'une Commission Internationale chargée de la mission de faire une enquête sur les lieux. Or, dans cet état de choses, l'intervention des Puissances Chrétiennes peut seule préserver la Candie de nouvelles catastrophes, d'une nouvelle et inévitable effusion

de sang.

Au moment où leurs représentants se réunissent à Constantinople pour le règlement des affaires d'Orient, ils feraient un acte de souveraine justice, une œuvre de civilisation, en donnant aussi une solution à la question Crétoise. La fondation d'un régime basé sur l'autonomie et l'indépendance administrative de l'île, à la condition que le peuple élirait lui-même, pour cinq ans ou pour plus longtemps encore, le chef du pouvoir exécutif, sous la surveillance et la garantie des Grandes Puissances, serait une solution indiquée par la force même des événements. Cette solution nous paraîtrait efficace, à moins que dans leur haute sagesse, les Grandes Puissances ne préfèrent la solution radicale, proposée par l'ancien Ambassadeur de France, M. Bourée, et appuyée par les Ambassadeurs des autres quatre Grandes Puissances (Russie, Autriche-Hongrie, Prusse, et Italie) comme il résulte de la note du 4 Avril, 1867, de Fuad Pacha, c'est-à-dire, de soumettre au suffrage universel des Crétois le soin de se prononcer sur les destinées de leur pays.

Les événements contemporains et la suite non-interrompue des mouvements politiques et insurrectionnels qui ont suivi la fin des guerres de l'indépendance Hellénique et amené une lutte constante entre la Porte persistant à gouverneur les Crétois d'une manière oppressive et arbitraire et ces derniers persévérant à recouvrer leur liberté, indiquent la nécessité de conférer à l'Ile de Candie un régime dans le sens que nous venons de signaler. Le peuple Crétois a fait depuis deux révolutions, celle de 1841 et de 1866, qui s'est maintenue pendant trois ans contre toutes les forces de l'Empire Ottoman, et cinq mouvements politiques, ceux de 1833, de 1838, de 1858, de 1859, et de 1864 à l'effet d'obtenir des priviléges qui lui permettraient d'améliorer sa

La situation sera toujours incertaine si l'on ne donne à la question Crétoise la solution indiquée. Jamais, ainsi que le prouvent de nombreux exemples, la Porte ne

pourra gouverner Candie, comme les nations civilisées gouvernent les pays placés sous leur domination. De ce que la Porte n'a pas soumis Candie en 1821, pour avoir sur elle des droits de conquête; de ce que Candie a été placée, en vertu de la note rédigée après le Protocole du 3 Février, 1830, ainsi que du Protocole du 8 Février de la même année, sous la protection des trois Grandes Puissances, France, Angleterre et Russie; de ce que cette île a prouvé de mille manières qu'elle ne peut supporter une domination arbitraire et oppressive, il ne résulte malheureusement pas que la Turquie a renoncé à ses tendances de régime arbitraire. D'un autre côté, les populations Chrétiennes de Candie opprimées ne renonceront pas plus que les Crétois forcés de s'expatrier à la suite d'insurrections malheureuses à revendiquer leurs droits.

Une solution de la question Crétoise serait non-seulement une réparation du tort fait à la Crète à la fin de la Révolution de 1821, et des insurrections, plus nombreuses que partout ailleurs en Orient, postérieures à cette époque, mais elle délivrerait aussi ce malheureux peuple de nouvelles catastrophes, d'une nouvelle effusion de sang, lui ferait partager enfin les bienfaits du progrès et de la civilisation quand tant de milliers de

réfugiés pourraient rentrer librement dans leurs foyers.

Dans l'espoir que les Représentants des Grandes Puissances, vers lesquels les Chrétiens de Candie tournent leurs regards suppliants, prendront en considération l'humble requête qu'ils leur soumettent au nom du peuple Chrétien de Crète et de tant de milliers de réfugiés, et qu'ils rendront, par conséquent, justice à leurs légitimes réclamations, nous avons l'honneur d'être, &c.

Les Représentants des Crétois réfugiés en Grèce, (Suivent 76 signatures.)

(Translation.)

To the Representatives of the Great Powers assembled in Conference at Constantinople.

THE undersigned Cretan refugees in Greece have the honour to lay before you the

following petition:—

The inhabitants of Candia not having derived any real improvement in their condition from the manner in which the Cretan question was solved in 1821, 1841, and 1866, large numbers have been forced to quit their country; of the Cretans who were saved in 1866 and 1867 by the ships of the Great Powers and carried to Greece, more than 20,000 have not returned to their homes. They naturally did not wish to return, as their country had been placed under Turkish rule, and it was doubtful if there would be peace in the future. This was the declaration made by the refugees in their petition to the Conference held at Paris in 1869, which was taken into consideration, in part at least, at the last sitting.

The question of the expatriation of the Cretans, which has been constantly brought forward during the last two generations, is closely connected with the Cretan question

which has so often formed the subject of diplomatic correspondence.

If the Porte had appreciated at their full value the political circumstances which caused Candia to be restored to it at the termination of the Greek War of Independence, circumstances which have absolutely taken away from Turkey the right of conquest over the island, and only confer on her in strict justice the right of possession and protection, if she had paid any attention to the exceptional recommendations made to her by the three great Powers, France, England, and Russia, in the note addressed to her after the Protocol of February 3, 1830, and also those contained in the Protocol of the 8th February of the same year; if she had, lastly, considered the representations addressed to her by the same Powers in 1867, which went so far as to propose the separation of Crete from the Ottoman Empire; if, we say, the Porte had paid any attention to all this, the question of the Cretan refugees would not exist any longer, nor would the question still pending, which arose between Crete and Turkey two months previously to the outbreak of the Herzegovina insurrection. Unfortunately the Porte has paid no more attention to its special obligations to the Cretans than to its general promises to all its subjects.

Thus it is that Crete for the last fifty years has been the scene of constant disturbances, that thousands of its children, among whom are those who have been forced to leave

their homes, are from time to time victims to the bad government of the island.

Facts clearly prove that the concessions made to the Cretans after the insurrection of 1866, concessions which are insufficient whether regarded from an administrative and judicial point of view, or from any other point of view whatever, have not produced, and cannot produce, any improvement in the country.

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The very Organic Law of 1867, the most complete Hatt published up to this date, is so imperfect, that the principles for the independent administration and reform of the system of administrative and judicial government by no means satisfy what is required.

We will first remark that it gives no sanction to any civil or political liberty whatever. The sacredness of the personal liberty of the Christian, as well as the inviolability of his abode, are guaranteed by no law: these possessions, the most valuable that man can have, are at the mercy of the lowest tool of the Executive. Nowhere does this law give Christians the right of freely carrying arms like Ottomans, no more than it gives the right of petition, of holding public meetings, or liberty of the press, even under the

severest censorship.

As to any administrative independence, the Ottoman Government by the Organic Law has sanctioned a kind of representative institution, viz., an annual session of the General Assembly, to discuss the internal affairs of the country, and to take the necessary measures; but restrictions are introduced which are quite opposed to the spirit of representative institutions. Thus, in order to reduce the large Christian majority to an equal footing with the Mussulman minority, or rather, in order to secure a majority for itself in the Assembly, the Government has not been content with prescribing the manner of electing the Representatives, but it has also decreed that the electoral districts, where the population is of mixed religions, shall elect an equal number of Christian and Mussulman Yet the Mussulmans are everywhere, with the exception of the districts or Canea, Heraclion, and Rethymo, in a large minority as compared with the Christians, but the law fails entirely to fix the number of electors belonging to each of the two nationalities, who have a right to be represented in the General Assembly.

Thus it is sufficient that there be five Mussulmans, rich or poor, in a province—as is actually the case in the electoral district of Lassithi-and they will have the right of electing as many representatives as several thousand Christians. The result of this strange system of election is that the Mahommetans of Candia, who ought to be represented by twenty Delegates at the most, and the Christians by sixty at the least, are

represented by thirty-eight Delegates, and the Christians by forty-two only.

But the General Assembly even thus constituted is placed under the immediate control of the Executive, in order that it may not retain any freedom of action. The Governor-General, or, failing him, one of his Deputies, is de jure President, with power to

arrange and dictate what shall be done by the General Assembly.

Lastly, the Organic Law fixes the duration of each Session at forty days, in order to preclude the Assembly from making any serious or real inquiry into the needs of the country; and in order to prevent public opinion exercising any control over the proceedings of the Assembly, the debates can only be carried on with closed doors.

As to the the reform of the Administrative system, the Ottoman Government merely admitted in the Organic Law the principle of the admission of all Christians to posts in the public service, but no real reorganisation of the Administration has ever been really proceeded with. In fact, no check has been put on the arbitrary proceedings and the malpractices of the officials; they wield now executive and judicial power; they control every branch of the administration, and there is no limit put to the exercise of their In this system of Government the Porte distributes the posts in equal proportions between Christians and Moslems, for the sake of giving the minority composed of Ottomans, as much power as the majority, composed of Christians. But as this is not always sufficient to prevent the Christian officials taking the initiative, the Organic Law also orders that Turks must be associated with Christians, either in superior or in subordinate positions.

Now the Porte has not complied even with this simple rule, because it has carefully avoided appointing Christians to the chief posts; and what is even worse, only those Christians are appointed whose sole aim is to keep their places, who are intensely servile,

and thus the advantages expected from this change are entirely neutralised.

But all will be in vain, or all will be done only to throw dust in the eyes of Europe, if the fact be not generally proved that a Christian appointed to a post in the public service need not fear to lose his post by a faithful discharge of his duties, and by doing justice to Christians and Mussulmans equally.

As to reform of the system of law, the Porte has followed a system of its own which does not resemble any one of those now prevalent among civilized nations. Even according to the organic law, the distribution of justice has none of those guarantees which universally make it the foundation of every society. In the first place, the Porte has promulgated no law or manner of conducting trials tending to an equitable system of justice; and then there have been instituted, for jurisdiction of every class, courts composed of several members, half Turks and half Christians, elected in the same way as those of

the General Assembly. The President is always nominated by the Government, who always choose a Mussulman by preference. Decrees issued by them are only binding if the superior authorities, who alone have the power of putting them into execution, invest them with the usual formalities. It is easy to understand that courts thus composed, placed thus under the direct influence of the Pashas and native Ottomans, offer no guarantees for the equal distribution of justice, still less if it is a question of a law suit between Mussulmans and Christians.

We see no advantage in entering into details here, in quoting proceedings of the Assembly, or decrees, to support our assertions; we will merely remind you that no civilized nation puts any confidence in Turkish courts, without excepting the courts in Crete; that they have always considered, and still consider, it their duty not to place their respective subjects under their control, but to put them under the protection of the laws of their own country.

The Organic Law, like the Hatti-Humayoun, proclaims the principle of religious tolerance and liberty of conscience. But any Moslem who embraces the Christian religion is exiled and his property confiscated. According to the same law, part of the revenues of the country are deposited in a special Treasury to be employed for the purposes of education and other works of benevolence. This Treasury is placed under the control of the General Assembly, and by it sums of money are set apart for the most pressing public Yet the Government has never allowed the Assembly to discharge these duties. Every Governor-General has invariably usurped the rights of the General Assembly by drawing up the Budget as well as the statement of accounts of that exchequer, over the revenues of which they have exercised an arbitrary sway.

In a word, this Organic Law, with all its imperfections, has never been honestly carried out. Both previously to and subsequent to its issue, it is the principle of might

makes right which has always prevailed.

The Organic Law proclaims the inviolability of person of the members of the General Assembly. Yet in 1874 four Christian Representatives from Heraclion, Rethymo, and Mirabello made some observations on several arbitrary proceedings of the Government, and the then Governor-General, Safvet Pasha, not satisfied with threatening them, threw them into prison.

At the last sitting of the Conference, held at Paris in 1862, the Vice-President, M. de Lavalette, demanded in the name of Christian Europe, and subsequently on behalf of a petition of Cretan refugees, a full and entire amnesty in favour of the Christians of Candia. The Turkish Representative, Djemil Pasha, gave the most formal assurances on this point. For all that, as soon as Turkey ceased to dread the interference of the Powers, she lost no time in breaking this promise. She first refused to include in this amnesty the whole duration of the insurrection, confining it to the period between the beginning of the revolution and the time of the proclamation of the general amnesty proclaimed by the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, who went to Crete in 1867. The Porte considered all the time that had passed since that date, i.e., sixteen months of the insurrection, as not included in the amnesty. Turkey thus created a new kind of reprisals, with a view pitilessly to punish the Cretans who had taken part in the struggle by imprisonment, exile, and indemnities in favour of Turks. The Porte, that it might have free scope of action, did not proclaim a general amnesty at the close of the insurrection of 1869, as had been the case in 1858, 1860, and 1867. This, however, was merely a pretext not only for punishing the Cretans who had continued the struggle after the proclamation of 1867, but also those who had committed acts of violence against Moslems previous to this date. Many instances might be quoted of Cretans who did not succeed in eluding the resentment of the Ottoman Government. Among the victims it will be quite sufficient to mention the name of the venerable Gérassimos, Archbishop of Kissamo. He refused to become the tool of the Ottoman Government against his own country, and took refuge with other families in Greece. He was first condemned to lose his episcopal dignity, and this very year to banishment for life. The Monk Parthénios Pétridis, a venerable old man so well known in our country, was condemned to a still more cruel punishment. M. Pétridis had been a member of the Committee in the last insurrection. He was arrested three years ago by Réouf Pasha, Governor-General of Crete, without any kind of a trial. He was first exiled, then thrown into prison, where he would still be languishing, had he not succeeded in escaping. This is what happened only a few months ago to the Representative of the General Assembly, Constantin Mitzotaki. Réouf Pasha had him arrested without any attention to forms of law, and transferred to the prisons of Constantinople, where he would have died, had not the Representatives of the Great Powers intervened to save him.

The repeated violations of the Organic Law, and, lastly, the imposition in 1874 of an

additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the revenue in despite of Article 13 of this same Law, compelled the Christian Representatives, during the Session of 1875, to address a petition to the Sultan, requesting the abrogation of this tax and the execution of the law. It is true that the Porte promulgated an Iradé in this sense, and ordered the return of the taxes illegally levied; but the Irade has remained a dead letter, and the tax was only returned for three months of the year 1875. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., illegally levied in 1874, has not yet been returned.

This fresh violation of the engagements entered into by the Porte with the Christians, gave rise to the well-known events which occurred during the last Session of the General

Assembly.

The Christian Representatives formally protested against the violation of the Organic Law, and at the same time proposed to modify those parts which were acknowledged to be defective. They wished to secure personal liberty, and to render effective, civil, and political equality between Moslems and Christians, at present existing only in name; in a word, to prevent the prosecution of any one without a resolution of the Chambers authorizing the same, or the persecution of any one for having left his own faith to join another religion recognized by law, and to allow everyone to express their opinions freely through the medium of the press, which was to be placed under special laws. The Christian Representatives also proposed that the sum of the population should be taken as the basis for elections, and that the General Assembly should be invested with sufficient powers to discharge its mission worthily, that the civil administration and the Courts of Law should be organized on the principles admitted as right among civilized nations. Lastly, they claimed the free exercise of the rights conferred by the Organic Law on the General Assembly in the management of the Special Exchequer mentioned above. But these most just claims, claims based on the principles of the Hatti-Humayoun itself, of the Organic Law and of the other Hatts issued later, claims which bore witness to the progress made by the Cretans, have been rudely rejected by the decision of the ½6th July of this year. By that decision the Porte merely sanctioned afresh the Organic Law now in force, conceded a few unimportant improvements, which had nothing to do with the petitions laid before it. In spite of this sanction, which is the third given since 1867, the year in which the Organic Law was promulgated, the Porte goes on breaking its promises to the Cretans. A few months ago the Porte attempted, by every means in its power, to deprive the General Assembly of the sole essential right it possesses, viz., the election of the members of the Supreme Council of Administration, and of the Higher Branch of the Court of Appeal.

To secure the sanction of such a precedent, the Governor-General, Réouf Pasha, made great efforts to secure the election, not in open sitting, as prescribed by the law, but by each member separately, of the members of the Administrative Council and of the Court of Appeal. As their powers expired seven months ago, the Court of Appeal and the Administrative Council have since then ceased to sit.

The Porte made a show of speedily convening the General Assembly, with a view to apply the very unimportant modifications mentioned above, but it was never really summoned, in order to avoid the necessity for the Porte's fulfilling its engagements. And the Porte, in order to show the Christians the ill-will it bears them, dismissed from their posts two high officials, a Moslem Namid Bey and a Christian, M. Jean Petridis, who had been guilty of abuses which had stirred up universal indignation and compelled the Christian Representatives to petition the Government; but M. Petridis' post was left vacant, and in place of Hamid Bey, Moustapha Nourri Pasha was appointed. Now this very Moustapha, who was Governor of Heraclion three years ago, was dismissed for having insulted and scoffed at the Christian religion in full council, and thereby caused the greatest irritation in the mind of the inhabitants of the district. He has the reputation, indeed, of having by his arbitary conduct been the chief cause of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, whither he had been transferred.

These proofs of the systematic way in which Turkey persists in arbitrarily governing the Cretans, without paying the least attention to the laws or the Firmans, and the obligations thereby contracted, are fatally driving matters on to fresh outbreaks and new insurrections. The rejection of the demands of the Christian Members of the General Assembly, the anarchy which results therefrom, the laxity now prevalent in every branch of the administration, partly produced by the higher administrative and judicial councils not being called together, and also by the illegal Constitution of the Courts of First Hearing, the decrees of which are not even respected, have exasperated the Cretans to the highest pitch, and are likely, unfortunately, to precipitate the terrible crisis we must henceforth expect. It would have broken out long ago had not the Cretans been convinced that the reasons which have hitherto militated against their struggles with Turkey

meeting with the success which they deserved no longer exist in the conscience of the civilised world.

We are sure that the Consuls of the Great Powers have kept their respective Governments informed as to the state of feeling in Candia, but were it possible for a doubt to exist on this subject it would be swept away by the despatch of an International Commission, whose duty it should be to hold an enquiry on the spot. Now, under these circumstances, the intervention of the Christian Powers alone can save Candia from fresh catastrophes—from becoming the scene of a renewed and inevitable bloodshed.

At the moment when their Representatives are meeting at Constantinople to settle the affairs of the East, they would do an act of sovereign justice—a work of civilization—by also solving the Cretan question. The establishment of a Government based on the autonomy and independent administration for the island, with the condition that the people should elect for a period of five years, or longer, the head of the executive, under the surveillance and guarantee of the Great Powers, would be a solution which the force of circumstances seems to point to. This solution would seem to us practical, unless the Great Powers prefer the more thorough solution proposed by M. Bourée, formerly Ambassador of France, and supported by the Ambassadors of the other four Great Powers (Russia, Austria-Hungary, Prussia, and Italy) as is proved by Fuad Pasha's note of the 4th April, 1867, i.e., to allow the Cretans to settle the future of their country by universal suffrage.

Events now occurring, and the uninterrupted sequence of political and revolutionary movements which followed the close of the War of Greek Independence, have caused constant struggles between the Porte, which persisted in ruling the Cretans in an arbitrary and oppressive fashion, and the latter who persevered in attempting to regain their liberty, and have proved the necessity of granting to Candia a régime such as we have described. The Cretans have since made two revolutions, 1841 and 1866, the latter of which was carried on for three years against all the strength of the Ottoman Empire, and five political movements in 1833, 1838, 1858, 1859 and 1864, for the purpose of obtaining privileges which would allow them to improve their condition.

If the Cretan question be not solved in the way we have pointed out, the state of affairs will always be uncertain. Numerous instances prove that the Porte never will be able to govern Candia as civilized nations govern countries placed under their rule. The fact that the Porte, by reducing Candia to subjection in 1821 did not acquire a right of conquest over the island; that by the note drawn up after the Protocol of 3rd February, 1830, as well as by the Protocol of 8th February of the same year, Candia was placed under the protection of the three Great Powers, France, England, and Russia: the fact that this island has proved in a thousand different ways that it will not endure an arbitrary or oppressive rule, do not show that Turkey has given up her tendency to govern arbitrarily. On the other hand, the oppressed Christians of Candia will not give up their right to vindicate their claims any more than the Cretans who have been forced to quit their homes in consequence of disastrous insurrections.

A solution of the Cretan question would not only be the redress of the wrong done to Crete at the end of the revolution of 1821, and of the insurrections which have taken place after that date more frequently than in any other part of the East, but it would also save this unhappy people from fresh bloodshed, and would allow them to share the benefits of progress and civilization, when so many thousand refugees might freely return to their homes.

Hoping that the Representatives of the Great Powers, to whom the Candian Christians humbly turn, will take into consideration the humble petition which we lay before them, in the name of the Christian inhabitants of Crete and of so many thousand refugees, and that they will consequently do justice to lawful claims, we have the honour to be, &c.

The Representatives of the Cretan Refugees in Greece. (Here follow 76 signatures).

No. 165.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of two despatches from Mr. Consul Reade, relative to the present condition of affairs in the Caza of Slimnia. I instructed Mr. Currie to call upon the Grand Vizier to represent to

him the state of things reported in these despatches, and to urge him to send instructions to the Governor of Slimnia in the sense suggested by Mr. Reade.

A copy of Mr. Currie's report of his conversation with the Grand Vizier is inclosed for your Lordship's information.

> I have, &c. SALISBURY. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 165.

Consul Reade to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Hotel de Byzance, Pera, December 30, 1876.

DURING my recent absence on the Shefket Pasha Boyadjik Commission of Inquiry, I availed myself of the opportunity to inquire also into the present state of that district as regards the Christians, and as I was enabled to obtain all the information necessary, I do myself the honour to submit to your Lordship the following remarks:

I found the Christians in general in a state of great alarm caused chiefly by Circassians and others, who, knowing that they (the Christians) are without their arms, are still prowling about the country. Several cases of assault and robbery with violence occurred whilst I was in the district committed by Mussulman villagers as well as by Circassians.

Most of the villages that are able to afford it are actually paying Circassians (generally in pairs) from 3,000 to 4,000 piastres a-year to guard them. As the Commission passed through one village (Emirli), being in the same conveyance with the President, Ismail Bey, I asked him to speak to some of the villagers whom we saw. He did so, and asked them if they enjoyed "rahat" (repose). They replied, "Yes, but thanks to ourselves and to no one else" (meaning the Government). The Bey asked why. They answered, "Because we are paying two Circassians 3,000 piastres a-year to guard us." The Bey turned to me and said this was not right, and I afterwards proved to him that most of the villages were in the same position. He replied that he would report this to the Porte.

A certain Fundoukly Sultan, who resides about two hours distant from Yamboli, is complained of by almost all the villages in the district, being accused of having plundered and outraged them during the disturbances in May last, and also of preventing them by menaces from claiming their property from him.

This was confidentially confirmed to me by the Mutessarif of the district, who added that the man enjoyed such a prestige amongst the Mussulmans of the district that without measures were taken at Constantinople it was hopeless for him to do anything. man was at my instance brought before the Commission, and sufficient was brought out to induce them to oblige him to find heavy bail for his presence when called for. He was then handed over to the Mutessarif, who openly repeated to the Commission what he had said to me.

If this man is dealt with as he deserves, that is, if the villagers (who at present are in great awe of him) are enabled to come forward and prove their charge, and he is punished according to law, it will have a very salutary effect on a number of other minor characters of his description in the district.

I have consequently the honour to respectfully submit to your Lordship the following suggestions :-

That the Porte be moved to send a peremptory order addressed to the Mutessarif and Medjlis of Slimnia direct, and not through the Vali of Adrianople, to at once return the arms improperly taken from the Christians in their district, as established by the late Commission.

To take all the means possible to ascertain what animals and other property belonging to Christians are still missing, to have them restored and to punish those in whose possession they are found.

To take means to bring forward the charges against Fundoukly Sultan, and, if convicted, to punish him with the utmost rigour of the law.

To take such measures as will relieve the villagers from paying the Circassians to guard them.

And lastly, to take such prompt measures as will prevent the wandering Circassians and other marauders from being able to carry on their present depredations.

Should this order be sent and the Mutessarif of Slimnia be properly encouraged, I

have but little doubt, my Lord, that the present most unsatisfactory state of affairs will

soon disappear, not only in the district but in most of the others, where what is done in Slimnia is sure to be very soon known.

I have, &c. R. READE. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 165.

Consul Reade to the Marquis of Salisbury.

Hotel de Byzance, Pera, January 1, 1876. My Lord,

IN my report to your Lordship of the 30th ultimo I omitted to state that, during my late visit to the Boyadjik district, I found Government tax-gatherers and multezzims (tax farmers) collecting the taxes and tithes in the most arbitrary and cruel manner from the villagers of Boyadjik, who, from their late disasters, have lost almost everything, and are not only utterly unable to pay their arrears, but are scarcely able to maintain themselves and what remains of their families.

I will merely cite one case, which I witnessed myself.

On entering the village on Sunday, the 10th ultimo, I saw several persons outside a

house which I passed, one of whom was grossly abusing and threatening some one.

Soon after I had entered the house to which I was taken, an old man, Dado Guergy, came to me, and in a tone of great despair informed me that Ismail Aga, of Yeni Zagra, who had purchased the tithes of Boyadjik of last year, claimed from him 2½ kilog. of rye. Having nothing but 4 kilog. of wheat, which he had borrowed from the maintenance of his family during the winter, he begged the multezzim to wait till he was able to pay him.

The latter refused, and sent men to his house, and who forcibly seized 2½ kilog. of

his 4 of wheat.

Dado then went to the multezzim, and said that, at any rate, his men ought only to have taken 1½ kilog. of wheat, as the price of rye was half that of wheat.

The reply was the abuse and menacing which I heard.

I was informed that the same system was being carried out all around.

I therefore mentioned the subject to the Commission, and begged them to take some steps on the subject. They promised to do so, but I would nevertheless respectfully suggest that the Porte should be made acquainted and requested to do something, otherwise many of the villagers of the districts that have suffered may be reduced to a state of actual starvation.

I have, &c. R. READE. (Signed)

Inclosure 3 in No. 165.

Mr. Currie to the Marquis of Salisbury.

Pera, January 3, 1877. My Lord,

I CALLED upon the Grand Vizier this morning, and, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, called his attention to the state of affairs in the Mutessariflik of Slimnia, of which a report is given in Mr. Reade's despatches of the 30th ultimo and 1st instant. I read to his Highness the substance of those despatches, and urged him at once to send instructions to the Governor of Slimnia with regard to the restitution to the Christians of the arms taken from them at the time of the insurrection, the recovery of their property, and the maintenance of order. I requested that orders might also be given for bringing Fondoukly Sultan to justice.

His Highness said that the Commission were engaged upon their report, which would no doubt contain full information upon these matters, but that meanwhile it was

the business of the Mutessarif to see that order was properly maintained.

With regard to the restoration to the Christians of their arms, he said that the arms had been divided into two categories:-

1. Those which had been supplied to the Christians by foreign agents; and

2. Their own arms which had been taken from them.

Orders had been given that those coming under the first head should be retained. and they would be placed in the Government stores; but instructions had been issued

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two or three days after his accession to power for the restitution to the Christians of the arms which came into the second category, and he believed that those instructions had

already been carried out.

The employment of Circassians as a guard by the villagers was, he said, a common practice, and they were kept only as watchmen, and not as a protection against the violence of the Mussulmans. It appeared from the reports he had received that 150,000 had head of cattle in all had been taken from the Christians, and that of these 100,000 had been already restored, while steps were being taken to recover the remainder. He added that the Mutessarif of Slimnia had been highly spoken of by English agents, and that it was owing to their representations that he was maintained in his post.

I said that Mr. Reade had no complaint to make against the Mutessarif, who was a just man, and anxious to do right; but that the Mussulman members of the Medjlis

threw difficulties in his way, and that his hands required strengthening.

The Grand Vizier would not admit that this was the case; but after some further discussion he sent for an employé, and desired him at once to send a telegram to the Mutessarif. The greater part of his directions was given in Turkish, but he added in French an order to ask whether the arms had been restored to the Christians, and if not, to inquire the reason of the delay in carrying out the instructions of the Government.

His Excellency stated that he would send Vassa Effendi, one of the members of the Philippopoli Commission, to me, who would explain fully the state of affairs. He also promised to call the attention of the Mutessarif to the harsh proceedings of the taxfarmers reported in Mr. Reade's despatch of the 1st instant, observing, however, that the tax collector was an unpopular person in all countries, and that, too, much reliance must not be placed on the truth of the facts reported to Mr. Reade.

I have, &c. P. CURRIE. (Signed)

No. 166.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

Pera, January 4, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a memorandum by Mr. Currie, in regard to certain Bulgarian prisoners, who are confined in the

Mitrihani Prison at Stamboul.

I instructed him to speak to the Grand Vizier on the subject, and to endeavour to obtain an inquiry into the circumstances under which these men were condemned, and an alleviation of the severity of their punishment.

I inclose a copy of Mr. Currie's report of his conversation with the Grand Vizier. I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 166.

Report by Mr. Currie respecting Bulgarian Prisoners.

MR. VICE-CONSUL BROPHY informed me a few days ago that a number of Bulgarians were confined in the Mitrihani Prison at Stamboul, who were stated to have been condemned without a proper trial, and without knowing what sentence had been passed upon them.

He had received this information from a Bulgarian merchant resident in Constantinople, who gave him a list of the prisoners, thirty-six in all, of whom five, however, had

With regard to thirty-two of these men, no particulars were given except their names and those of the villages from which they came, viz.—14 from Avrat Alan, 5 from Belitza (Caza of Samakow), 14 from Muhovo (Caza of Samakow), 1 from Abrouk (Caza

With regard to the other four, the following statement was communicated:-Tonnezo Petko, merchant, sentenced to three years' imprisonment; Filip Boszko, schoolmaster, sentenced to four years' imprisonment; Marin Genezo, clothmaker, sentenced to four years' imprisonment; Ivan Tanko, shepherd, sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

"These four men escaped from Klissoura when the notorious Toussoun Bey came there with his irregulars and fled to Avrat Alan, where they were arrested ten or fifteen days afterwards. Tonnezo Petko was a rich man, and the soldiers who arrested him told him that Toussoun Bey had found large sums of money at his house, so there could be no doubt of his being a rebel, Tanko, the shepherd, had 600 piastres hidden in the wall of his house, and some days afterwards went back to recover them; he found his house burnt, but the money still there, and on his way back to Avrat Alan was arrested, and the 600 piastres found on him; this appears to be taken as a proof that he belonged to the "Comita." According to the prisoners' account they were only made to undergo one interrogatory before the Medjlis of Sofia, at which the Turkish Members of the Medilis said that they were all men of bad character and rebels, and requested the Christian Members to sign a paper to that effect. The latter were afraid to refuse, under a reign of terror, when to advocate the cause of a prisoner was to risk one's liberty, and perhaps life, and they signed."

I am informed by Mr. Brophy that a Petition drawn up on behalf of these men was presented some time since to Her Majesty's Ambassador, and that one of the Dragomans of the Embassy was sent to the Porte to make inquiries. He was informed that the men were gravely compromised, and he advised that they should apply for an amnesty. The bearer of the Petition thereupon came to Mr. Brophy to ask his advice as to the mode in which the application should be made, and Mr. Brophy begged me to bring the case to

Lord Salisbury's notice.

I thought it well before doing so to take some steps to verify the facts, and accordingly I went on the 28th to the prison, accompanied by Mr. Brophy and Mr. Hozier. We saw the Deputy-Governor, and having stated that I was a Member of Her Majesty's Special Embassy, requested to be shown over the prison. He made no difficulty, and took us through the wards in which ordinary criminals are confined. There is no solitary confinement or classification of prisoners. The men are allowed great liberty in regard to going out into the prison-yard, and are permitted to smoke and employ themselves as they please. They appear to be well fed, and the wards, which contain from fifty to sixty prisoners each, are warmed with charcoal braziers and are fairly comfortable. The prisoners sentenced for terms of three to fifteen years, wear a chain fastened to the right ancle: it is of moderate weight, and the Governor has authority to reduce the size of it after a certain time, as a reward for good conduct. In some cases men who had nearly served out their time wore only a ring round the ankle without any chain. After seeing several wards we inquired for the insurgents, and were taken to a large ward on the upper floor of the prison, where about 100 men were confined. We were informed that, of these, seventy were insurgents from Bulgaria. The remainder were ordinary prisoners, and were stated to have been sentenced for various offences. One, a Mussulman, was said to have been a zaptieh.

All the insurgents were heavily ironed. Their chains, which were fastened at the ankle and at the wrist, being at least four times as heavy as those of any of the ordinary criminals. In other respects their treatment appeared to be the same, and I was informed that they were allowed to take exercise in the court yards of the prison. We questioned the Klissoura men, who protested that they had taken no part in the insurrection, and stated that they had been condemned by the Medjlis of Sofia without any witnesses

against them having been called.

(Signed)

P. CURRIE.

Pera, December 30, 1876.

Inclosure 2 in No. 166.

Mr. Currie to the Marquis of Salisbury.

I SPOKE to the Grand Vizier, as instructed by your Lordship, respecting the Bulgarian prisoners confined in the Mitrihani Prison at Stamboul, who are stated to have been condemned without a proper trial, and I urged upon him the injustice of subjecting these men, who, even admitting that they were guilty, had, according to his own account, been led astray by foreign agents, to a punishment more severe than that inflicted on the vilest malefactors. His Highness said that the cases of all the men now confined in Stamboul had been carefully sifted after they had been sent up from the provinces, that the less guilty had been released, and that only those convicted of the most flagrant crimes had been sentenced to imprisonment.

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His Highness was eloquent in his denunciation of the atrocity of the crimes committed by these Bulgarians, the murders and mutilations of unoffending Mussulman

women and children, of which they had been guilty.

I urged upon his consideration the circumstances under which they had been tried, the excitement that prevailed after the massacres, and the difficulty of establishing facts or obtaining a calm and impartial decision upon them. It could not but excite, I said, a painful feeling in England, when the difficulty of obtaining the punishment of one Mussulman, however guilty, was contrasted with the severity exercised on these unfortunate men.

I begged His Highness not to condemn them to captivity without satisfying himself that their sentences were just, and even if they could not be released, to remove or lighten their chains, so that it might not be said that, contrary to the practice of all civilized

nations, political offenders were treated more severely than the worst criminals.

His Highness asked me if I could give him the names of any persons who had been condemned without a proper trial, and I wrote down those of the four men of Klissoura, mentioned in my memorandum, and he promised to furnish me with the official report of the evidence taken in their case. I urged him as an act of benevolence, and a proof of his friendship for England, to do something at once to alleviate the condition of these unhappy men, in whose fate a deep interest was felt by the English people, and he promised at once to give orders that their chains should be either removed or lightened.

I have, &c. (Signed) P. CURRIE.

No. 167.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord, Pera, January 4, 1877.

YOUR Lordship has been informed in my despatch of the 1st instant that the propositions which have been submitted by the Six Powers in the Conference have in all their essential details been met by the most decided opposition on the part of the Plenipotentiaries of the Porte. It may, therefore, be expedient at this stage of the proceedings to make some observations upon the character and bearing of these proposi-

tions, and upon the grounds on which they were adopted.

The issue of the campaign, so far as it has gone, together with the great importance of protecting the Porte from a constant renewal of attacks from Montenegro, have combined to recommend a certain rectification of the Montenegrin frontier. The districts which it is proposed to transfer are small in extent, difficult to defend, and possess no fiscal or strategic value. Their inhabitants are of the same race as the Montenegrins, and practically accept the Government of the Prince. In time of peace the Ottoman Government is bound under Treaty to spend more upon them than the revenue they yield; in war the defence of them is difficult and costly. In order to avoid even the smallest infringement of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, it has been proposed that the ceded districts should be held under the suzerainty of the Porte, if such an arrangement should be proved to be more acceptable to the Turkish Government.

In the case of Servia it has been proposed to adopt the thalweg of the Drina as the frontier line. The result will be to abandon to the Servians the small hamlet of Little Zvornik, on which much controversy has been expended. It has no value to Turkey, and the Turkish title to it appears to be more than doubtful. The concession of it to Servia would in any case remove a fruitful cause of dispute, and, as Servia is a vassal State, could not constitute an infringement of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire within the meaning of the Treaty of Paris. It has been opposed by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries with an insistance which it is difficult on grounds of pure policy to comprehend.

The Powers have proposed it not with the desire of making any territorial change, but for the purpose of restoring the legal status quo, and giving to the definition of it a precision which experience has shown to be necessary. No obstacle, however, to an

arrangement need be apprehended from this proposal.

A more serious importance attaches to the proposition made by the Powers for carrying out the last portion of the bases of the Conference—those which relate to the internal administration of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. Provisions have been proposed in some detail for the purpose of giving to the population some control over

their own affairs by means of Elective Councils. They have been met by counterpropositions, which your Lordship will receive at the same time as this despatch. The expressed difference between the two schemes does not appear to be very large, and could probably, if these were the only questions in dispute, be made the subject of an arrangement. The principal defect of the Turkish proposals is, that they neither define the constituencies nor the powers of the provincial assemblies. Their action also appears to be entirely subordinate to that of the Chamber of Deputies established by the Constitution, in which, if it ever comes into existence, the Mussulman will necessarily have an overwhelming predominance.

A far more serious divergence of opinion exists between the Powers and the Porte on the question of providing sufficient guarantees against maladministration and the exercise of arbitrary authority. These provisions are at once the most essential and those which it is most difficult to induce the Ottoman Government to accept.

The first in importance is undoubtedly that by which, in accordance with the recommendations of Her Majesty's Government's instructions, the Vali is to be selected with the consent of the Powers, to be appointed for a fixed term of five years, and not to be removable except on proof of misconduct. On the acceptance of this or some similar arrangement, and on the success with which it is carried out, will mainly depend the hope of rescuing these provinces from the oppression under which they have suffered. Representative institutions may be looked on as a means of educating the people, in some, perhaps, distant future, to protect themselves; but no great results in the improvements of internal administration can be expected from their operation for many years to come. For the present, at least, the government must be personal, if there is to be any government at all; and on the ability and honesty of the Governor the happiness of the people

must depend.

Unfortunately the Turkish system which has prevailed of late years is rather calculated to exclude these qualities than to secure them. A capable man will sometimes be appointed in emergencies; but as an ordinary rule favoritism and corruption determine the exercise of patronage. The caprice, however, to which he is subject during the tenure of his office is far more noxious than the motives to which he owes it. He knows that it is at the mercy of an intrigue, and that if he inspires in the course of his administration any enmity sufficiently strong to elicit the offer of a larger bribe to procure his removal than he can pay to avert it, his removal is a certainty. The last thing, therefore, of which he thinks is an attack upon exactions or oppressions in which rich men are interested. He prefers to take a moderate share of the profits for the purpose of recouping himself for the bribes he has already been made to pay. Unless this abuse can be arrested all plans for improving the government of these provinces will fail. The necessity of devising some restraint upon it, and the hopelessness of finding any that is not external to the Turkish Government, justifies so exceptional a measure as that of admitting the interference of the Powers in the appointment of the Vali, and of securing him in his office during good behaviour for a certain term of years. It is, however, at present very earnestly opposed by the Turkish Government. They oppose it on the ground that it is inconsistent with the independence of the Porte; and that sufficient checks are already provided by the new Constitution.

The independence of the Ottoman Porte is a phrase which is, of course, capable of different interpretations. At the present time it must be interpreted so as to be consistent with the conjoint military and diplomatic action taken in recent years by the Powers

who signed the Treaty of Paris.

If the Porte had been independent in the sense in which the Guaranteeing Powers are independent, it would not have stood in need of a guarantee. The military sacrifices made by the two Western Powers twenty years ago to save it from destruction, and the Conference which is now being held to avert an analogous danger, would have been an unnecessary interference if Turkey had been a Power which did not depend on the protection of others for its existence

The other objection, that a sufficient check upon abuses of this kind will be offered by the working of the new constitution is too hypothetical to be admitted as a ground of present action. Even according to the letter of the Constitution the power of the Chambers will be slender compared to those of the Government, and, in practice, even if greater powers had been theoretically confided to them, it is not likely that the present authority of the Government would have been sensibly disturbed.

The Plenipotentiaries have therefore attached great importance to the checks upon the appointment and dismissal of the Vali or Governor-General, as the only

security for a capable and honest Provincial Government.

Similar checks have been proposed upon similar grounds in respect to the office of

Governor or Mutessarif, and to that of Judge of any of the Superior Tribunals. In this case also the suggestion contained in the instructions of Her Majesty's Government have been followed with some modifications in detail. It has been thought practicable in this case to dispense with the veto of the Ambassadors, which would probably be exercised with greater difficulty in respect to the appointment of a less conspicuous class of officer.

A second category of reforms which meet with considerable resistance on the part of the Porte is that which has in view the admission of the Christians to the armed forces of the country. Under the Hatti-Humayoun they have a right to enter into the army on terms of equality with the other subjects of the Porte. The Representatives of the Powers have not insisted upon this right because of the difficulty of procuring from the Porte a fair fulfilment of its promises in this respect, and also because the Christians are likely to suffer in the forced companionship of races stronger and more warlike than themselves, and for many centuries accustomed to domination. But the existence of a Christian armed force in some shape or other seems essential to protect the Christian population against the fanatical excesses to which their Mussulman neighbours are prone to give way in times of excitement.

The other alternative, therefore, proposed by Her Majesty's Government has been the course preferred by the Representatives of the Powers, namely, to constitute a local militia, of which Christians should form a part proportional to their numbers. This would be a beneficial arrangement, if only because it gives to the population an opportunity of military training, and prepares them for ultimate admission to the regular army; but is essential at the present time, when the Christians have been generally disarmed and are entirely at the mercy of predatory bands of Circassians and others.

Your Lordship will have observed from the reports of Mr. Consul Reade that in some parts of Slimnia the terror and helplessness of the Christians have been so great that they have come to terms with the Circassians, and pay the latter for defending them. As a precaution against the oppression habitually practised by the police, to which attention is called in the Andrassy Note, the Representatives have also proposed, in conformity with the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government, that the police should be reorganized so as to include a contingent of Christians proportional to the population. If these provisions should be adopted and honestly carried out, there will be little danger of a repetition of the frightful massacres to which these populations have been exposed, and which are ordinarily spoken of as a danger which must be anticipated whenever any crisis occurs in the foreign relations of the Porte.

The Representatives of the Powers have also concurred with Her Majesty's Government in the opinion that some extensive financial changes are absolutely necessary to insure the well-being and to protect the industry of the populations. In these provisions they have scarcely done more than follow out the lines laid down for them in the Andrassy Note. The abolition of tax-farming; the substitution of some form of land-tax instead of the tithes, which give so much opportunity for extortion, and the expenditure of a definite proportion of the revenue upon works of local utility, are principles of which the justice cannot be disputed, and the application ought not to be difficult. It is discouraging that they meet at present with very emphatic resistance on the part of the Porte.

The proposed application of the balance of local taxes to local purposes is that which excited apparently the strongest objection. This idea was put forward prominently by Count Andrassy, and was the only one of his suggestions which was at that time rejected by the Porte. I do not, however, think it improbable that an arrangement upon this point will be arrived at. Probably it will be found that the objection of the Porte is directed more to the question of amount than of principle, and that it has rather been deterred from admitting the application of surplus revenue for the benefit of the provinces by the fear of losing some considerable proportion of the large contribution which the Bulgarian districts now make to the Exchequer. There can, however, be no doubt that some such provision is essential to the growth of the provinces, whose prosperity suffers seriously from the absence of necessary local expenditure. I must add that at present the resistance of the Porte takes the form of an objection to all local control over the finances of the province.

Some other provisions have been suggested by the Representatives of the Powers, such as the amnesty, the use of the local language, Bulgarian or Greek, together with the Turkish, before Courts of Justice, and the abandonment of the dangerous practice of introducing large colonies of Circassians into the middle of the Christian populations. These do not appear to require any special notice. It does not seem likely that any serious controversy will arise upon these points. The proposal that in disturbed districts

arms should not be carried, and that the arms recently distributed by the Government shall be returned to the arsenals, are evidently necessary to restore peace among a population so divided.

These are the most important of the changes which the Representatives of the Powers have submitted to the Porte as being in their opinion necessary to remove the chronic discontent, which is a source of disquietude to Europe, and a serious peril One other arrangement of a temporary kind we have to the Turkish Empire. recommended, which was necessary in order to bring these reforms into existence. Count Andrassy notices the difficulty, which he designates as the greatest of all difficulties, in the way of a favourable result. He speaks of the profoundly rooted mistrust which any promise of the Porte encounters in the minds of the Christians; and he shows that that mistrust is readily accounted for by the entire failure of the Porte to carry out the reforms which it had promised in former years. In order to prevent the recurrence of a similar failure, he proposed the institution of an independent Commission who should be charged with the duty of seeing that the reforms upon which the Powers had agreed should be carried out. There is no ground for believing that the necessity for such a precaution is less urgent now than it was at the time when Count Andrassy recommended it, and his recommendation was accepted by the Powers. But in view of the animosity of race and creed which the fearful events of last summer had produced, it seemed no longer desirable to constitute the Commission as Count Andrassy proposed by the election of equal numbers of Mussulmans and Christians. The holding of such an election would have been attended with enormous difficulties, and it would have been hard to secure the choice of Commissioners sufficiently impartial to work together. therefore, the Commission could not be elective, no other mode of appointment remained, which could have conferred on it the requisite independence, except nomination by the Powers.

One further question was mixed up with the appointment of this Commission which has, perhaps, attracted a larger amount of attention out of doors than its importance deserved or than it occupied in the discussions of the Plenipotentiaries. It was necessary to protect the Christians of the country from any disturbance which might occur during the transition from the old order of things to the new. For this purpose it was necessary that an adequate gendarmerie should be organized, and should, for the time, be placed at the disposal of the Commission. We were of opinion that materials of sufficiently good quality for this purpose might be found within the limits of the The other Representatives were, however of opinion that the nucleus, Turkish Empire. at least, of this force should consist of the trained soldiers of some European Power. The difficulties of this proposition were obvious. The admission of the troops of any of the Guaranteeing Powers was certainly a bad precedent: and was not likely to be accepted by the rest: and was, moreover, at variance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government. On the other hand, there was considerable doubt whether the troops of any Power not a signatory of the Treaty of Paris could be obtained. did not, however, think it right to separate ourselves from our colleagues upon this point. as the provision of some guarantee of the kind was much insisted on, and this policy it seemed advisable to Her Majesty's Government to sanction. If, however, the consent of the Turks to the proposals of the Powers should be found in any degree to turn on the abandonment of this proposal, I am of opinion that it could not be insisted on, at least in its present form.

The proposed limitation and division of the territory known inaccurately as Bulgaria is the only other matter which requires some notice before I conclude.

The idea of confining guarantees against maladministration to the country north of the Balkans is negatived by the fact that by far the worst excesses were committed in the sandjaks of Philippopolis and Slivno, which were to the south of that range. A similar reason made it necessary to include the sandjaks of Uscup, to the west, as well as some cazas from other adjoining sandjaks.

The extent to which this was done could not be made a matter of serious controversy, as the happiness of the inhabitants would be materially advanced and the authority of the Sultan would not be injuriously diminished by the inclusion of a larger territory.

A far more serious question arose as to the division of the territory which was to be so dealt with. It was in the first instance proposed that one province of Bulgaria should be constituted, extending from the Danube almost to Salonica. To this proposal there appeared to me to be insuperable objections. Under a system of self-government the province would have been in the hands of a Slav majority; they would have held the most important strategic positions in the country, and the extent of their population and

territory, and the magnitude of their resources would have made their position in regard to the Sultan one of practical independence. I pressed, therefore, for a subdivision of the district into two, and the dividing line which I proposed was so drawn as to leave the eastern district in the hands of a non-Slav population. The Mahommedans alone would have been very powerful, and combined with the Greeks, who, in any question of political aggregation, could have been trusted to act with them, they would have commanded a clear majority. The traditional supremacy of the Mussulmans and the superior intellectual resources of the Greeks would have given to the predominance of the non-Slav population a decisive character The Eastern Province so formed would have included the sea coast, of course, the passes of the Balkans, the approaches to Constantinople, and a large portion of the Lower Danube, which an invader could not afford to leave in hostile hands. I therefore thought that in the interests of Turkey the arrangement was of some importance.

The division proposed was, after some discussion, accepted by the Plenipotentiaries. It does not, however, appear to commend itself to the Turkish Government. They prefer the maintenance of their old territorial divisions, which would leave the more

important of the positions I have referred to in the hands of the Slavs.

At the present stage of the negotiations the rejection of all the more important of the proposals I have mentioned in this despatch appears to be not an improbable contingency.

Great efforts have been made to persuade the Turkish Government that these proposals are conceived in the interests of Russia, and that it is therefore inconsistent with

the interests of the Porte to accept them.

Those who think that any diminution of the authority of the central Government, however essential to an improved administration, would be favourable to the assumed designs of Russia, will, of course, find a Russian character in the propositions that have been submitted to the Porte. A sounder view, however, appears to me to be, that in proportion as the good government and consequent contentment of these provinces increase, the less inclined will they be to change their allegiance. Many territories have been added to Russia during the last century, but in no instance have the additions been brought about by any desire on the part of the inhabitants for incorporation into the Russian Empire, There is no ground in history, therefore, for the belief that a grant of practical self-government to the Bulgarian provinces would develop any such desire in the population. It is probable that the movements which have recently taken place in Bulgaria, and have been so terribly repressed, are due in part to agitators of Russian nationality. But such intrigues derive their power, not from any ethnological sentiment, nor from a distant relationship of languages, but from the profound mis-government under which the inhabitants have suffered.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 168.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord, Pera, January 4, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship, copies of the Protocols of the first and second meetings of the Conference.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 168.

I'' Protocole.—Séance du 6 Zilhidjé, 1293 ($\frac{11}{23}$ Décembre, 1876.)

Présents:

Pour la Turquie-

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France-

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

SUR l'invitation de son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Turquie, MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Turquie, de l'Allemagne, de l'Autriche-Hongrie, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de l'Italie, et de la Russie s'étant réunis aujourd'hui en Conférence, à la suite des accords intervenus entre leurs Cabinets respectifs, à l'hôtel de l'Amirauté.

La séance est ouverte à midi.

Leurs Excellences Edhem Pacha, le Marquis de Salisbury, le Comte de Chaudordy, le Baron de Calice, Plénipotentiaires Spéciaux, communiquent leurs pleinspouvoirs respectifs, qui sont déposés aux actes de la Conférence.

La présidence des Conférences est remise à son Excellence Safvet Pacha, qui

exprime ses remerciments dans les termes suivants:—

"Il est de mon devoir d'exprimer mes très vifs remercîments à MM. les Plénipotentiaires qui me font l'honneur de me confier la présidence de leurs réunions. Indépendamment de tout sentiment personnel, qu'il me soit permis de voir dans le premier acte de la Conférence, en même temps que la confirmation d'une tradition diplomatique, un augure favorable pour le succès de nos travaux. Je ferai tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour justifier votre confiance. Mais je compte, avant tout, sur votre indulgence en ce qui me regarde personnellement pour l'accomplissement des devoirs auxquels vous avez bien voulu m'appeler."

Son Excellence le Président présente comme Secrétaire de la Conférence le Mustéchar du Ministère Impérial des Affaires Etrangères, son Excellence Alexandre Effendi Carathéodory, auquel sont adjoints Serkis Effendi, Secrétaire-Général du même Ministère, et M. Charles de Moüy, Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de France.

Reprenant la parole, son Excellence le Président donne lecture de l'exposé

suivant:-

"La nature des travaux de cette Conférence me porte à croire qu'il ne sera pas inutile si, dès le début de nos réunions, j'essaie de rappeler en peu de mots la série des événements dont la juste appréciation ne saurait être indifférente au but que nous

nous proposons.
"Il y a environ dix-huit mois, des désordres éclataient dans certains villages d'un district de l'Herzégovine voisin du Monténégro. Ces désordres étaient provoqués par un certain nombre d'individus qui, après être démeurés quelque temps au Monténégro, avaient obtenu l'autorisation de rentrer dans leurs foyers sur les sollicitations du Prince Nicolas. Aussitôt informé, le Gouvernement Impérial s'empressa d'envoyer sur les lieux une Commission d'Enquête chargée d'examiner les griefs qui auraient pu être allégués pour justifier ou du moins pour expliquer ce mouvement. Nos Commissaires furent reçus à coups de fusil; toutes leurs propositions furent rejetées sans

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examen, et les autorités locales se trouvèrent bientôt en présence d'une résistance

armée à laquelle elles n'étaient nullement préparées.

"A ce moment une prompte action militaire aurait eu facilement raison des quelques bandes de factieux qui essayaient de troubler le repos de cette province. Toutesois, des conseils de modération prévalurent; malgré les avis réitérés qui lui parvenaient de divers côtés, le Gouvernement Impérial ne voulut pas faire un usage îmmédiat de la supériorité de ses forces vis-à-vis de sujets égarés; au lieu de sévir, il chercha à calmer, et nous aimons à croire aujourd'hui encore que ses efforts ne seraient pas restés infructueux, si les troubles de Névésigné n'avaient pas été le premier symptôme d'une vaste conspiration qui, ainsi que les faits l'ont prouvé depuis, faisait de l'Herzégovine le point de départ d'une action plus générale contre la paix et

la tranquillité de l'Empire.

"Sous l'influence des émissaires stipendiés par les comités insurrectionnels, la modération du Gouvernement Impérial passa aux yeux de ces populations ignorantes et crédules comme une preuve de faiblesse; l'intérêt, dont les démarches des Puissances témoignaient en faveur d'une prompte pacification, fut interprété par elles comme un encouragement indirect, et les deux Principautés voisines ayant accordé à l'insurrection un appui moral et matériel, on vit des aventuriers de tous pays s'abattre sur ces malheureux districts. Des actes d'une sauvagerie inouie étaient imposés, en quelque sorte, par ces étrangers aux populations égarées dans le but perfidement calculé de donner au conflit le caractère d'une lutte de race et de religion; et lorsque le Gouvernement Impérial, revenu de ses premières illusions, déçu dans ses intentions bienveillantes, recourut enfin à la force pour châtier ces tentatives criminelles le mouvement avait déjà pris les proportions d'une formidable insurrection qui, dirigée par des étrangers, alimentée par les secours du dehors, et prenant sa base d'opérations dans le territoire même des deux Principautés de la Serbie et du Monténégro, osait défier à la faveur de la saison et de la disposition des lieux, les forces militaires qui y avaient été envoyées.

"Battus dans toutes les rencontres, les insurgés ne s'en reformaient pas moins derrière la ligne de démarcation des deux Principautés, et les bandes refoulées sur un point de la Serbie ou du Monténégro reparaissaient quelques jours après sur un autre point pour tomber sur les districts voisins de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine en s'adjoignant chaque fois un grand nombre de Serbes, de Dalmates, et de Monté-

négrins.

"Au milieu de ce désordre, le Gouvernement Impérial éleva plus d'une fois la voix pour ramener ses sujets égarés, pour reporter leurs vues vers la réalisation des réformes utiles, mais ce fut en vain. On s'efforçait de rendre sa parole suspecte, et il n'est de ruse que les instruments de la conspiration ourdie contre la sécurité de l'Empire n'aient employée pour engager les insurgés à persévérer dans la guerre Cette circonstance est hors de toute contestation, et il est d'autant plus nécessaire de la signaler qu'elle caractérise l'ensemble de tous les faits qui se rattachent à l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine, aussi bien que des autres mouvements qui la suivèrent de près.

"La lutte se continuant dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement Impérial et Royal d'Autriche-Hongrie prit l'initiative de la proposition de certaines réformes applicables

aux provinces insurgées.

ces propositions n'étaient pas de nature à rencontrer en principe l'opposition de la Sublime Porte puis qu'elles restaient en deça des institutions qu'elle devait introduire spontanément dans l'organisation administrative des provinces; toutefois le Gouvernement Impérial hésitait à les accueillir dans la forme qui leur avait été donnée, en faisant remarquer qu'il se pouvait que ce système de concession appliqué à des sujets révoltés allat contre le but que l'on se proposait et, loin de désarmer la rébellion, il lui prétât de nouvelles forces et une nouvelle ardeur; qu'il était enfin à craindre que les insurgés ne vissent dans cette démarche dont rien, d'ailleurs, ne garantissait l'efficacité vis-à-vis des chefs cosmopolites de l'insurrection, la preuve de sympathies qui les feraient persister plus que jamais dans le parti pris de résistance qu'ils avaient

"Malgré ces observations, dont la suite des événements n'a que trop démontré la justesse, la majorité des Puissances amies ayant soutenu l'opportunité de cette mesure, la Sublime Porte adhéra aux propositions du Comte Andrassy, qui furent sanctionnées

par Iradé Impérial et devinrent ainsi une loi de l'Etat.

"On sait comment cet essai de pacification échoua, ainsi qu'on l'avait craint; cet insuccès fût suivi d'une recrudescence d'audace de la part des insurgés et d'un redoublement d'activité du parti révolutionnaire dans les deux Principautés.

Les circonstances intérieures de l'Empire augmentaient les difficultés de la situation, et la conspiration pensa que le moment était venu d'étendre le cercle de l'insurrection sur d'autres provinces de l'Empire où depuis longtemps elle tenait tout préparés les éléments d'un soulèvement général. Les désordres survenus au commencement de 1876 dans quelques villages Bulgares étaient les premiers essais de ce nouveau plan d'action. Ils furent pourtant promptement dissipés, et le Gouvernement Impérial se croyait autorisé à compter sur le bon sens et la fidélité de ses populations Bulgares lorsque, vers la fin du mois de Mars, l'insurrection Bulgare éclata tout d'un coup avec une grande violence dans une contrée aussi tranquille que prospère, et dont les habitants Musulmans et Chrétiens, vivant côte à côte, n'avaient jamais rien enterpris contre l'autorité du Sultan.

"Les documents tombés dans les mains des autorités et les aveux des principaux coupables établissent jusqu'à l'évidence que l'insurrection de la Bulgarie, organisé de longue main, ne devait être, dans la pensée des chefs instigateurs, que le complément du vaste complôt qui se proposait de porter la guerre civile jusqu'aux portes de la

capitale.

"Je ne puis m'empêcher de faire observer ici que les pays habités par des Bulgares étaient ceux qui, pendant la période postérieure au Traité de Paris, avaient profité le plus des améliorations matérielles et administratives. La population Bulgare et ses besoins moraux avaient été l'objet d'une sollicitude toute particulière, si bier que parmi les autres populations de l'Empire il s'en était trouvé qui allaient jusqu'à accuser la Sublime Porte de partialité en faveur de ses sujets Bulgares.

"Malheureusement la propagande révolutionnaire avait systématiquement travaillé dans le même temps à tourner et à exploiter contre l'autorité elle-même

toutes ses concessions, tous ses bienfaits.

"Au moment dont je parle, les comités insurrectionnels avaient envoyé dans les villages Chrétiens des émissaires chargés d'appeler les Bulgares aux armes et de les convier au massacre des Musulmans. Un certain nombre de Bulgares, aveuglés par des promesses trompeuses, par les perspectives fallacieuses de secours immédiats venant du dehors, se laissèrent entraîner à la révolte et se signalèrent d'abord par le massacre des Musulmans, le pillage de leurs biens et l'incendie de leurs habitations.

"Le péril était grand. Les districts Bulgares insurgés étaient complètement dégarnis de troupes régulières: la prolongation de l'insurrection Herzégovinienne et des difficultés de tout genre paralisaient l'administration. Malgré cela, le mouvement Bulgare dans les contrées voisines des Balkans fut réprimé et cela sans que des flots de sang aient coulé, comme on a voulu le faire croire. Tout au contraire, si l'on prend en considération la vaste échelle sur laquelle le complot était organisé, les nombreux moyens d'action dont il aurait pu disposer, et les circonstances extraordinairement défavorables pour le Gouvernement Impérial au milieu desquelles il venait d'éclater, on sera étonné qu'une insurrection, qui avait voulu convertir toute la presqu'île des Balkans en un vaste champ de carnage, ait pu être réprimée et complètement mise à néant en si peu de temps et sans que l'on ait eu plus de sacrifices à déplorer; on aura à la fois l'explication du douloureux épisode de la guerre civile et tous les éléments nécessaires pour le juger avec équité.

"Le Gouvernement Impérial a également déploré cette révolte et ses suites, et s'est efforcé, dès qu'il a pu ressaisir son autorité méconnue, de panser les blessures de la guerre civile, et d'accomplir l'œuvre de réparation qui s'imposait à sa sollicitude, et

à laquelle l'Europe, mieux éclairée, ne tardera pas à rendre justice.

"Pendant que la Sublime Porte poursuivait le châtiment des coupables et achevait la pacification du pays, un nouveau programme de réformes, exclusivement applicable aux provinces insurgées, était proposé et soumis à l'examen et à l'approbation des Grandes Puissances. Je n'ai point à me prononcer ici sur un projet sur lequel la Sublime Porte n'a pas été dans le cas d'émettre son jugement officiel. Si j'y fais allusion c'est parceque ce projet est tombé dans le domaine public et qu'il est juste d'en faire mention dans la série chronologique des faits qui ont précédé les calamités nouvelles qui allaient fondre sur la Turquie.

"La Serbie et le Monténégro avaient pris une part tellement active aux soulèvements de l'Herzégovine et de la Bosnie, que l'on peut affirmer et démontrer au besoin jusqu'à dernière évidence que si ces deux Principautés avaient gardé, comme c'était leur devoir, la plus stricte neutralité, au lieu de laisser l'insurrection s'alimenter sur leurs territoires et se recruter parmi leurs populations, il y a longtemps que la pacification complète de ces deux provinces aurait été obtenue. Les faits qui démontrent cette participation sont trop récents et trop connus pour qu'il soit besoin de s'y appésantir, mais il est utile de les rappeler pour établir que jusqu'au mois de Juin, la Serbie et le

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Monténégro, nonobstant le concours réel, quoique non avoué, accordée aux insurgés, n'avaient cessé de protester de leur ferme intention de garder la neutralité et de rester

fidèles à leurs devoirs envers la Sublime Porte.

"Cependant ces deux Principautés n'ayant, de leur propre aveu, aucun sujet de plainte, ont tout à coup et simultanément signifié à la Sublime Porte, l'une qu'elle trouvait bon de substituer l'état d'hostilité déclarée à la situation tendue qui résultait de l'insurrection de la province voisine; l'autre, qu'elle jugeait nécessaire d'envahir la Bosnie pour la pacifier et l'administrer, et qu'elle allait procéder à l'exécution de son projet avec ou sans le consentement de la Sublime Porte; elles auraient pu ajouter aussi de l'Europe aux Grandes Puissances de laquelle elles avaient prodigué les assurances les plus pacifiques.

"Pour quiconque a suivi les événements, depuis leur origine jusqu'au jour de cette double déclaration de guerre, aussi audacieuse qu'insolite, il restera démontré que tous les faits qui s'étaient succédé durant une période de plus de dix mois, ont été conçus par la même pensée, qu'enfin la paix de l'Empire Ottoman et la sécurité de ses populations ont été troublées par une cause absolument étrangère aux intérêts des populations Chrétiennes au nom desquelles, cependant, tous ces actes se sont

 ${f accomplis}$.

"La Turquie, dans le cours de ces événements, s'est montrée constamment disposée à déférer aux conseils amicaux de l'Europe; et le simple exposé des différentes phases de la lutte engagée dans les Balkans, depuis son point de départ jusqu'au jour où elle a pris son plus grand développement par l'entrée en campagne de la Serbie et du Monténégro, doit suffire pour convaincre tout esprit impartial qu'elle ne saurait, sans injustice, être rendue responsable, à aucun titre et à aucun degré, des malheurs qui en ont été la suite et qu'elle s'est efforcée de conjurer, d'amoindrir, ou de réparer.

"Lorsque les Serbes vaincus sur les champs de batailles, malgré les secours de toute nature qui leur venaient du dehors, furent réduits à solliciter la médiation des Grandes Puissances, pour obtenir la paix, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas hésité à accorder successivement les suspensions d'armes qui lui étaient demandées, et sa déférence pour les vœux des Puissances Médiatrices n'a eu d'autres limites que celles qui

lui étaient prescrites par le soin de la sécurité de ses armées.

"Tout dernièrement encore, il n'est pas besoin de le rappeler, ce sont les Serbes qui, en rompant la trève accordée par le Gouvernement Impérial, ont rendu nécessaire de sa part une action militaire plus vigoureuse et dont les conséquences se sont si

vivement fait ressentir sur le terrain diplomatique.

"Tandis que la Sublime Porte luttait courageusement pour la défense de ses droits et pour le rétablissement de l'autorité légitime du Sultan, d'autres travaux non moins importants et non moins urgents s'accomplissaient dans l'Empire Ottoman. Les principes d'une réorganisation à la fois politique et administrative étaient proclamés. Conformément à ces principes, émanés de la volonté libre et spontanée du Sultan et suivant les vœux exprimés par les hommes les plus éclairés de l'Empire, des institutions nouvelles, embrassant le corps social tout entier, depuis la base jusqu'au faîte, se préparaient dans les conseils de la Sublime Porte.

"Cette œuvre, aujourd'hui achevée, en tant que constitution générale, consacre l'égalité civile et politique entre tous les Ottomans sans distinction de race ou de religion, la participation du pays à ses propres affaires sous la double forme d'une Assemblée Législative, sortie de son sein, et de Conseils principaux également élus et appelés à exercer leur action directe sur les administrations locales suivant un programme de décentralisation qui s'allie avec le respect de l'unité de l'Empire et le

maintien de l'autorité centrale.

"Le développement de ces institutions générales, qui constituera la réforme de toutes les administrations de l'Etat, ne saurait être mis en doute, puisque ce principe nouveau pour la Turquie, dû à la magnanime et généreuse initiative du Sultan, associe

le pays tout entier à l'élaboration des lois qui doivent en découler.

"En un mot, l'œuvre se développera par elle-même et en vertu de sa puissance propre et, en quelque sorte, indépendante du Gouvernement lui-même. C'est la meilleure des garanties que la Sublime Porte puisse donner de l'exécution complète et sincère de son programme de réformes ; car c'est le pays lui-même qui est constitué gardien de ses institutions.

"Le principe d'égalité inscrit en tête de la constitution Impériale ne doit pas s'appliquer seulement à tous les membres de la grande famille Ottomane, mais aussi, et en première ligne, à chacune des parties dont se compose l'Empire Ottoman, quels que soient sa situation géographique ou son caractère ethnologique. Toutes doivent avoir un sort commun, jouir des mêmes avantages, relever de la même autorité et être

soumises aux mêmes lois. Porter atteinte à ce principe serait compromettre l'œuvre de la reconstitution de l'Empire, préparer la désagrégation de ses éléments nationaux, créer entre les provinces un antagonisme redoutable, et enfin semer le germe de nouveaux sujets de troubles et de rébellion.

"Les Puissances amies, soucieuses de contribuer à établir une paix durable fondée sur l'unité des institutions et sur l'intégrite de l'Empire, donneront leur entière et loyale adhésion à ce principe d'égalité générale qui forme la base et qui constitue la

force du statut politique de toutes les nations Européennes.

"C'est dans ces conditions que le Gouvernement Impérial, présentant, d'une part, l'exposé fidèle des événements qui ont troublé l'Empire Ottoman et amené la situation actuelle; et, d'autre part, la nouvelle Constitution qui fixe désormais le droit public Ottoman, vient prendre place dans les conseils de l'Europe.

"La Turquie peut se dire que c'est sa fermeté et sa modération qui ont dompté cette grande conspiration révolutionnaire qui visait ouvertement à bouleverser l'Empire

Ottoman et à troubler profondément la tranquillité de l'Europe.

"Si au milieu des difficultés, peut-être sans exemple dans l'histoire, dont il a été assailli, le Gouvernement Impérial avait laissé péricliter le principe d'autorité qu'il avait le devoir de défendre, s'il avait faibli devant les attaques auxquelles il a été en butte, et si la révolution avait triomphé, il n'est pas difficile de voir que les complications les plus graves n'auraient pas manqué de surgir. En donnant des preuves de vitalité incontestables, en rendant un service signalé à la cause générale de l'ordre, et par conséquent, aussi à celle du progrès véritable, le Gouvernement Ottoman croit s'être acquis de nouveaux titres à l'intérêt sympathique des Grandes Puissances.

"La Turquie entreprend aujourd'hui de consolider, par une série de nouvelles institutions conçues dans un esprit à la fois libéral et pratique, l'ordre qu'elle a su maintenir. Elle a la conviction de pouvoir mener à bonne fin cette seconde partie de la tâche importante qui lui revient, et en reportant sa pensée sur la période qui s'est écoulée depuis le Traité de Paris, comme aussi sur les récents événements que je viens de mettre tout particulièrement sous les yeux de MM. les Ministres de la Conférence, elle ne voit rien qui ne lui permette de compter d'avance sur les sentiments de haute confiance des Grandes Puissances amies dont j'ai l'honneur de reconnaître en vous,

Messieurs, les Représentants autorisés."

Le Marquis de Salisbury est d'avis que la première tâche de la Conférence n'est pas la discussion des événements qui ont eu lieu en Bulgarie pendant l'été dernier. Mais dès à présent sa Seigneurie ne peut admettre l'exactitude des appréciations que renferme à ce sujet le discours de son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire de Turquie.

Le Général Ignatiew s'associe entièrement à l'opinion du Marquis de Salisbury. Le moment serait mal choisi pour rappeler des souvenirs pénibles. Il craindrait, d'ailleurs, que s'il entreprenait de discuter, il ne se vît dans la nécessité de contredire sur plusieurs points les appréciations de son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire de Turquie.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha fait remarquer que pour lui aussi ce n'est pas sans éprouver un sentiment pénible qu'il a été dans le cas de parler des événements dont il vient de faire un exposé succinct, et qu'il s'abstenait d'entrer dans les détails des faits qui ont amené l'état actuel des choses.

Le Comte Zichy adhère à l'avis émis par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Russie et de la Grande Bretagne, et il ne veut rien ajouter afin de laisser la parole à M. le Comte de Chaudordy, qui est chargé de faire connaître les vues de ses collègues.

Le Comte de Chaudordy:

"Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans,

"Les Conférences qui s'ouvrent aujourd'hui entre les Représentants des Grandes Puissances et ceux de l'Empire Ottoman ont pour but de prévenir de graves complications en cherchant à faire aboutir à un résultat pratique les efforts tentés jusqu'à ce jour pour assurer la paix en Orient. Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler les précédents à la suite desquels nous nous réunissons. Ils sont présents à la pensée de tous, et je crois que, laissant de côté des souvenirs fâcheux, nous devons, sans retard, nous placer sur le terrain diplomatique, et c'est dans cet ordre d'idées que, prenant pour guide les négociations poursuivies entre les Puissances et la Sublime Porte pendant les phases successives de la crise actuelle, nous avons, afin de faciliter nos délibérations et pour mieux préciser les intentions de nos Gouvernements, consigné par écrit

l'ensemble des mesures que nous croyons de nature à assurer le succès de l'œuvre qui doit nous être commune.

"Je suis chargé par mes collègues de remettre ce travail entre vos mains." ne pouvez vous méprendre sur le sentiment qui nous a dirigés en le préparant. Nous avons pris à tâche de rechercher, avec la plus grande impartialité, ce qui, dans les circonstances présentes, peut être considéré comme répondant le plus exactement aux préoccupations légitimes de l'Europe aussi bien qu'aux intérêts les plus sérieux de l'Empire que vous représentez. Ces projets, vous le constaterez en les lisant, ont été rédigés dans ce double but et sous cette double inspiration.

"Permettez-moi donc de faire appel, au nom de nos Gouvernements, à votre sagesse, au sentiment élevé que vous avez des besoins de votre pays pour vous demander de vous associer à nous, de vous joindre par conséquent à l'Europe unie, afin d'apporter un remède à un état de choses dont la Sublime Porte ne peut méconnaître la gravité, et afin de sauvegarder ainsi la situation même d'un Empire

dont nous souhaitons tous la prospérité."

Le Comte de Chaudordy remet aux deux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans le travail auquel il vient de faire allusion et qui est annexé au présent Protocole sub-litt. A.

Son Excellence le Président dit que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se feront un devoir d'examiner d'urgence et avec toute l'attention qu'ils méritent les documents qui viennent de leur être remis, et sur lesquels ils ne sont pas naturellement à même

d'émettre, dans le moment même, une opinion quelconque.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances expriment le désir que ce délai soit aussi court que possible. Le terme de l'armistice échéant le 1er Janvier prochain, il serait nécessaire que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans fussent à même de fixer à une date très rapprochée la prochaine séance, afin de convenir de la prolongation de l'armistice.

Le Général Ignatiew émet l'avis d'une prolongation de l'armistice de quinze jours

L'examen de cette question est réservé à la séance suivante.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha demande si le travail qui vient d'être présenté par le Comte de Chaudordy est précédé d'un exposé de motifs. Un pareil exposé abrégezait la tâche des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans en leur permettant de saisir plus facilement la pensée générale qui y a présidé.

Le Général Ignatieu dit qu'il n'y a pas d'exposé des motifs, mais que l'on s'est inspiré en général dans le cours de ce travail de la nécessité de la décentralisation.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ajoute qu'il est établi d'après les bases présentées par l'Angleterre.

Le Comte de Chaudordy fait remarquer qu'il a été puisé dans tous les documents antérieurs de la question et dans les notes échangées entre les Puissances.

Le Premier Plénipotentiaire d'Autriche-Hongrie dit que les motifs se trouvent en grande partie dans la note du 30 Décembre, 1875, acceptée par toutes les Puissances.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie dit que le motif principal doit être recherché dans la gravité de la situation.

A ce moment des salves d'artillerie se font entendre.

Le Président de la Conférence fait connaître que ces salves annoncent la promulgation de la Constitution Ottomane.

"Un grand acte," dit-il, "qui s'accomplit à cette heure même, vient de changer une forme de Gouvernement qui avait duré 600 ans. La Constitution dont Sa Majesté le Sultan a doté son Empire est promulguée. Elle inaugure une ère nouvelle pour le bonheur et la prospérité de ses peuples."

Le Comte de Chaudordy fait remarquer que la paix est absolument nécessaire pour que la Constitution puisse aboutir aux résultats qu'on en attend et que l'accord de toutes les Puissances dans la Conférence est la condition essentielle pour l'efficacité de

cet acte solennel.

Le Marquis de Salisbury se plait à constater que la Conférence est réunie pour assurer la paix.

Le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman dit que, de son côté, la Turquie désire ardemment la paix dans le but de réaliser un momentaplus tôt les bienfaits de la nouvelle

Le Général Ignatiew pense que l'application des nouvelles institutions en déterminerait la valeur réelle, et que la paix doit être assurée avant qu'on puisse procéder à

Safvet Pacha dit que la Constitution peut être considérée aussi comme un nouvel

élément de nature à assurer la paix et qu'il espère que des concessions réciproques permettront d'atteindre à ce but unanimement désiré.

(Signé)

La prochaine séance est renvoyée à Mardi ou Mercredi.

SAFVET. EDHEM. WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY.

SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI

L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

. Ist Protocol.—Sitting of the 6th Zilhidjé, 1293 (December 11/25, 1876.)

Present:

For Turkey-

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany—

His Excellency the Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency the Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency the Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency the Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain-

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

For Italy—

His Excellency the Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia—

His Excellency the General Ignatiew, Ambassador for Russia.

UPON the invitation of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Turkey, the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia having met to-day in Conference, in accordance with the agreement come to between their respective Cabinets, at the Hotel de l'Amirauté, the sitting opened at 12 o'clock.

Their Excellencies Edhem Pasha, the Marquis of Salisbury, Count de Chaudordy, Baron de Calice, Special Plenipotentiaries, communicate their respective full powers, which are placed on the records of the Conference.

The presidency of the Conferences is conferred on his Excellency Safvet Pasha, who

expresses his thanks in the following terms:-

"It is my duty to express my warmest thanks to the Plenipotentiaries who do me

the honour to confide to me the presidency over their meetings.

"Independently of all personal feeling I hope I may be permitted to see in the first act of the Conference, a presage favourable to the success of our work at the same time as the confirmation of a diplomatic tradition. I will do all that in me lies to justify your confidence.

"But I count, above all things, on your indulgence as regards me personally as to

the accomplishment of the duties to which you have been good enough to call me."

His Excellency the President presents as Secretary of the Conference the Mustechar of the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs, his Excellency Alexander Effendi Carathéodory, to whom are joined Serkis Effendi, Secretary General of the same Ministry, and M. Charles de Moüy, First Secretary of the French Embassy.

His Excellency the President, in resuming, reads the following statement:—

"The nature of the labours of this Conference leads me to think that it will not be useless if, at the very outset of our meetings, I try to recall in a few words the series of events, the just appreciation of which cannot but be the object at which we are aiming.

"About eighteen months ago disorders broke out in certain villages of a district of Herzegovina, bordering on Montenegro. These disorders were provoked by a certain number of persons, who, after having been settled some time in Montenegro, were authorized to return to their homes at the solicitation of Prince Nicholas. As soon as they had received information, the Imperial Government hastened to send to the spot a Commission of Inquiry, charged with examining into the grievances which might have been alleged to justify or, at least, explain this rising. Our Commissioners were fired upon; all their propositions were rejected without inquiry, and the local authorities found themselves in a short time in face of an armed resistance, for which they were in no way prepared.

"At this moment, prompt military action would have soon got the better of the

few factious bands who were endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity of this province.

"Nevertheless, moderate counsels prevailed; notwithstanding the repeated advice which came from different quarters, the Imperial Government would not make immediate use of the superiority of their forces against their misguided subjects; instead of chastizing them, it endeavoured to calm them, and we still like to think that its efforts would not have remained fruitless, had not the troubles of Névésigné shown the first symptoms of a formidable conspiracy which, as facts have since proved, made Herzegovina the starting

point of a more general action against the peace and tranquillity of the Empire.

"Under the influence of emissaries paid by insurrectionary committees the moderation of the Imperial Government appeared in the eyes of these ignorant and credulous people to be a proof of weakness. The interest to which the steps taken by the Powers testified in favour of prompt measures of peace, was interpreted by them as an indirect encouragement; and the two neighbouring Principalities having given to the insurrection a support both moral and material, adventurers from all countries at once began to bear down on these unhappy districts. Acts of unheard-of barbarity were inflicted in one way or another by these strangers on the misguided populations, with the perfidiously calculated object of giving to the conflict the character of a strife of nationality and religion; and when the Imperial Government recovered from its first illusion, frustrated in its benevolent intentions, had recourse at last to arms, in order to chastise these criminal attempts, the movement had already assumed the proportions of a formidable insurrection, which being directed by strangers supported by resources from abroad, and taking for its base of operations the very territory of the two Principalities of Servia and Montenegro, favoured by the season and the nature of the ground, dared to oppose the military forces which had been sent.

"Beaten in every encounter, the insurgents did not the less re-form behind the boundary of the two Principalities; and the bands driven back on one point of Servia or Montenegro reappeared some days afterwards at another point, to fall on the neighbouring districts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the addition each time of a large number of Servians, Dalmatians, and Montenegrins.

"In the midst of this disorder the Imperial Government raised its voice more than once, in order to bring back its misguided subjects, in order to turn their attention afresh on useful reforms, but in vain. Efforts were made to impugn the sincerity of its word; and there is no artifice which the instruments of the conspiracy directed against the security of the Empire did not employ to prevail upon the insurgents to persevere in civil war. This is a fact that cannot be contested; and it is so much the more necessary to signalize it, inasmuch as it characterizes the sum total of all the facts which relate to the insurrection of Herzegovina, as well as to the other movements which followed it closely.

closely.

"The strife continuing under these conditions, the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary took the initiative in the proposition of certain reforms applicable to

the insurgent provinces.

"These propositions were not of a nature to meet in principle with the opposition of the Sublime Porte, considering that they remained within the limits of the institutions which it could introduce spontaneously in the administrative organization of the provinces. Nevertheless, the Imperial Government hesitated to receive them in the form which had been given them, drawing attention to the fact that it was possible that the system of concession applied to revolted subjects might defeat the proposed object, and that, far from disarming the rebellion, it might lend to it new strength and ardour; in a word, that it was to be feared lest the insurgents should see in this step (of which

nothing, by the way, guaranteed the efficacy with regard to the cosmopolitan Chiefs of the insurrection) the proof of sympathies which should make them persist more than ever

in the system of resistance which they had adopted.

"Notwithstanding these observations, the justice of which the course of events has shown but too clearly, the majority of the friendly Powers, having upheld the advisability of this measure, the Sublime Porte adhered to the propositions of Count Andrassy, which were sanctioned by Imperial Iradé, and thus became a law of the State.

"It is well known how this attempt at peace failed as had been feared; this failure was followed by a reappearance of audacity on the part of the insurgents, and of a

redoubled activity of the revolutionary party in the two Principalities.

"The internal circumstances of the Empire increased the difficulties of the situation, and the conspirators thought that the moment had come for extending the circle of the insurrection to other provinces of the Empire where for a long time they had been keeping quite prepared the elements of a general outbreak. The disturbances at the beginning of 1876 in some of the Bulgarian villages were the first attempts of this new plan of action. They were, however, promptly put down, and the Imperial Government thought itself justified in counting upon the good sense and fidelity of its Bulgarian population, when, towards the end of March, the Bulgarian insurrection broke out suddenly with great violence in a country as quiet as it was prosperous, and whose inhabitants, both Mussulmans and Christians living side by side, had never undertaken anything against the authority of the Sultan.

"The documents which have fallen into the hands of the authorities, and the confessions of the principal delinquents, show convincingly that the insurrection in Bulgaria, organized at a distance, was only to be, according to the ideas of the chief instigators, the complement of the vast plot which proposed to carry the civil

war to the very doors of the capital.

"I cannot help calling observation here to the fact that the countries inhabited by the Bulgarians were those which, during the period posterior to the Treaty of Paris, had profited most from material and administrative improvements. The Bulgarian population and its moral wants had been the object of a special solicitude, to such an extent that among the other populations of the Empire, some were found who went as far as to accuse the Sublime Porte of partiality in favour of its Bulgarian subjects.

"Unfortunately the revolutionary propaganda had systematically worked at the same time at turning and working against the authority itself, all its concessions, all its benefits.

"At the time of which I am speaking the Insurrectionary Committees had sent to the Christian villages emissaries charged with calling the Bulgarians to arms, and with inviting them to the massacre of the Mussulmans. A certain number of Bulgarians, blinded by deceitful promises, by fallacious visions of immediate help from abroad, let themselves be dragged into a revolt, and signalized themselves in the first instance by a massacre of the Mussulmans, by pillaging their goods, and setting fire to their habitations. The danger was great. The Bulgarian districts which were in insurrection were completely denuded of regular troops. The prolongation of the insurrection in Herzegovina, and difficulties of all sorts, paralyzed the administration. Notwithstanding this, the Bulgarian movement in the countries bordering on the Balkans was repressed, and that without that effusion of blood which was pretended.

"Quite on the contrary, if one takes into consideration the vast scale on which the plot was organized, the numerous means of action which were at its disposal, and the circumstances so extraordinarily unfavourable to the Imperial Government, in the midst of which it broke out, one would be astonished that an insurrection, which had for its object the conversion of all the Peninsular of the Balkans into a vast field of slaughter could have been suppressed and completely annihilated, in so short a time, and without having had more losses to complain of; and one will have at once the explanation of the sad episode of the civil war, and all the elements necessary for judging of it with

"The Imperial Government equally deplored this revolt and its consequences, and strove, as soon as it was able to resume its disregarded power, to heal the wounds of the civil war, and to accomplish the work of reparation, which commanded its solicitude,

and to which Europe, better enlightened, will not hesitate to do justice.

"While the Sublime Porte was occupied with punishing the guilty, and was finishing the pacification of the country, a new programme of reforms exclusively applicable to the insurgent provinces was proposed and submitted to the examination and approbation of the Great Powers. It is no business of mine to pronounce judgment here on a scheme on which the Sublime Porte has not been in a position to give its official judgment. If I make allusion to it, it is because this project has come before the public, and that it is

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just to mention it in the chronological order of facts which preceded the new calamities

which burst upon Turkey.

"Servia and Montenegro have taken such an active part in the rising of Herzegovina and Bosnia, that it can be affirmed and demonstrated conclusively in case of need that if these two Principalities had kept, as it was their duty to do, the most strict neutrality, instead of allowing the insurrection to find support in their territories, and to recruit itself amongst their populations, the complete pacification of these two provinces would long ago have been obtained.

"The facts which prove this participation are too recent and too well known for it to be necessary to lay stress on them, but it is useful to recall them, in order to show that, up to the month of June, Servia and Montenegro, notwithstanding the support, real, though not avowed, granted by them to the insurgents, had continually protested their firm intention to preserve neutrality, and to remain faithful to their duties to the Porte.

"Nevertheless, these two Principalities having, on their own confession, no subject of complaint, suddenly and simultaneously notified to the Sublime Porte, the one that it thought proper to substitute a state of open hostility for the strained situation which resulted from the revolt of the neighbouring province; the other, that it judged it necessary to invade Bosnia, in order to pacify and administer it, and that it would proceed to execute its project with or without the consent of the Sublime Porte; they might have added, also, that of Europe, or the Great Powers, of which they had lavished the most pacific assurances. For any one who has followed the course of events from their origin till the day of this double declaration of war, as audacious as it was unprecedented, it will be quite clear that all the events which succeeded one another during a period of more than ten months had their origin in the same idea; that in short, the peace of the Ottoman Empire, and the security of its inhabitants, have been disturbed by a cause absolutely foreign to the interests of the Christian populations, in whose name, however, all these acts have taken place.

"Turkey, in the course of these events, has always shown herself disposed to defer to the friendly advice of Europe; and the simple statement of the different phases of the struggle in the Balkans, from its starting point up to the day when it acquired its greatest development by the entrance into the field of Servia and Montenegro, should suffice to convince any impartial mind that, without injustice, she cannot be made responsible under any pretext and in any degree, for the misfortunes which are its consequence, and which

she strove to dispel, to diminish, or to repair.

"When the Servians, conquered on the field of battle, in spite of the assistance of every kind which came to them from without, were reduced to ask for the mediation of the Great Powers to obtain peace, the Imperial Government did not hesitate to grant successively the suspensions of hostilities asked of her, and her deference to the views of the Mediating Powers had no other bounds than those which anxiety for the security of her armies prescribed to her.

"Quite lately again, it is not necessary to repeat, the Servians, by breaking the truce granted by the Imperial Government, have necessitated on her part a more vigorous military action, the consequences of which have made themselves so keenly felt

in the sphere of diplomacy.

"While the Sublime Porte was bravely fighting in defence of its rights, and for the re-establishment of the rightful authority of the Sultan, other works not less important and not less pressing were being accomplished in the Ottoman Empire. The principles of a political and administrative re-organization were proclaimed. In conformity with these principles, emanating from the free and spontaneous will of the Sultan, and in accordance with the wishes expressed by the most enlightened men of the Empire, new institutions, embracing the whole body of society, from top to bottom, were in preparation in the councils of the Sublime Porte.

"This work, now completed, considered as a general constitution, secures civil and political equality between all Ottomans without distinction of race or religion, the participation of the country in the management of its own affairs, under the double form of a Legislative Assembly elected by itself, and of principal Councils likewise elected and appointed to exert direct action on the local administrations in accordance with a programme of decentralization, which is in harmony with respect for the unity of the Empire, and with the maintenance of the central authority.

"The development of these general institutions, which will establish the reform of all the administrative Departments of the State, could not be doubtful, since this principle, new to Turkey, which is due to the magnanimous and generous initiative of the Sultan, associates the whole country in the preparation of the laws which will result

from it.

"In one word, the work will develop by itself, and in virtue of its own power, and to some extent, independently of the Government itself. It is the best guarantee that the Sublime Porte can give for the complete and sincere execution of its programme of reforms; for it is the country itself which is constituted guardian of its own institutions.

"The principle of equality which forms the principal feature of the Imperial Constitution is not to be applied only to all the members of the great Ottoman family, but also, and in the first instance, to every one of those parts of which the Ottoman Empire is composed, whatever may be its geographical situation or its ethnological character. All are to have a common lot, to enjoy the same advantages, to be subject to the same authority, and to submit to the same laws.

"To infringe on this principle would be to compromise the work of the re-construciont of the Empire, to prepare the disintegration of its national elements, to set up a formidable antagonism between the provinces, and, in short, to sow the seeds of new causes of disturbance and of rebellion.

"The friendly Powers, anxious to contribute to the establishment of a durable peace, founded on the unity of institutions and on the integrity of the Empire, will give their entire and loyal adhesion to this principle of general equality, which forms the base and which constitutes the strength of the public law of all European nations.

"It is under these circumstances that the Imperial Government, presenting, on the one hand, a faithful statement of the events which have troubled the Ottoman Empire, and brought about the present state of affairs; and, on the other, the new Constitution, which fixes henceforth Ottoman public law, comes to take her place in the Councils of Europe.

"Turkey can say that it is her firmness and moderation which have overpowered that great revolutionary conspiracy which openly aimed at the overthrow of the Ottoman

Empire, and at profoundly disturbing the peace of Europe.

"If in the midst of the difficulties, perhaps unexampled in history, which have assailed it, the Imperial Government had allowed the principle of authority, which it had the right to defend, to be endangered; if it had flinched before the attacks of which it has been the mark; and if the revolt had triumphed, it is not difficult to see that the gravest complications would not have failed to arise. In giving incontestable proofs of vitality, in rendering a marked service to the general cause of order, and, in consequence, to that of true progress as well, the Ottoman Government believes it has acquired new claims to the sympathetic interest of the Great Powers.

"Turkey now undertakes to consolidate by a series of new institutions, conceived in a spirit both liberal and practical, the order which she has been able to maintain. She is conscious of being able to bring to a good result this second portion of the important task which devolves on her; and in reviewing the period which has elapsed since the Treaty of Paris, as also the recent events which I have just placed more especially before the eyes of the members of the Conference, she sees nothing which can prevent her from reckoning on the profound confidence of the Great Powers friendly to her, of whom I have the honour to recognize in you, Messieurs, the authorized Representatives."

The Marquis of Salisbury considers that the first task of the Conference is not the discussion of the events which have taken place in Bulgaria in the course of last summer. But his Excellency cannot in any case admit the correctness of the observations on this subject, which are contained in the speech of his Excellency the Chief Plenipotentiary of Turkey.

General Ignatiew concurs entirely in the opinion of the Marquis of Salisbury. The moment would be ill chosen for recalling painful reminiscences. He would further be afraid that if he attempted to discuss, he would find himself obliged to contradict on several points the observations of his Excellency the Chief Plenipotentiary of Turkey.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha remarks that he also experiences a painful feeling in having to speak of the events of which he has made a succinct summary, and that he abstained from entering into the details of the circumstances which have brought about the present state of things.

Count Zichy adheres to the opinion given by the Representatives of Russia and Great Britain, and will say no more, but leave Count de Chaudordy to speak, who is

commissioned to communicate the views of his colleagues.

Count de Chaudordy:

" Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans,

"The Conferences which are commenced to-day between the Representatives of the Great Powers and those of the Ottoman Empire aim at the prevention of grave complications by seeking to bring to a practical result the efforts which have been exerted up till

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now to secure peace in the East. I need not recall the events in consequence of which $w\epsilon$ are assembled. They are present to the minds of all, and I think that, putting aside unfortunate reminiscences, we ought to place ourselves without delay on diplomatic ground, and with this view, taking for our guide the negotiations carried on between the Powers and the Sublime Porte during the successive phases of the present crisis we have, in order to facilitate our deliberations and the better to define the intentions of our Governments, committed to writing the whole of the measures which we think are such as will ensure the success of the work which ought to be common to us all.

"I am commissioned by my colleagues to place this report in your hands. You cannot misunderstand the sentiment which has animated us in drawing it up. We have striven to arrive, with the greatest impartiality, at what, under the present circumstances, can be considered as most exactly corresponding to the just anxieties of Europe, as well as to the most important interests of the Empire which you represent. These projects, as you will allow in reading them, have been drawn up with this twofold object and under

this twofold inspiration.

"Allow me, then, to appeal, in the name of our Governments, to your wisdom, to the high sense which you have of the wants of your country, and to ask you to associate yourselves with us, and, consequently, with united Europe, in order to provide a remedy for a state of things the gravity of which the Sublime Porte cannot misunderstand, and thus

to secure the position of an Empire to which we all wish prosperity."

Count de Chaudordy hands to the two Ottoman Plenipotentiaries the Report to which he has just alluded, and which is annexed to the present Protocol as annex A. His Excellency the President says that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries will make it their duty to examine forthwith, and with all the attention that they merit, the documents that have just been handed to them, and on which they are naturally not in a position, at the present moment, to give any opinion.

The Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers express their desire that this delay may be as short as possible. As the armistice will expire on the 1st January next, it would be necessary that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries should be in a position to fix the next sitting for a very early date, in order to agree upon the prolongation of the armistice.

General Ignatiew suggests a prolongation of the armistice for a fortnight.

The examination of this question is reserved for the following sitting.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha asks if the report which has just been presented by Count de Chaudordy is preceded by a statement of reasons. Such a statement would abridge the task of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, by permitting them to grasp more easily the general idea by which it has been governed.

General Ignatiew says that there is no statement of reasons, but that the general

idea which pervades the whole of this report is the necessity of decentralization.

The Marquis of Salisbury adds that it is founded on the bases presented by England.

Count de Chaudordy points out that it has been based on all the previous documents

relating to the subject, and on the notes exchanged between the Powers.

The Chief Plenipotentiary of Austria-Hungary says that the leading points are to be found to a great extent in the note of December 30th, 1875, which was accepted by all the Powers.

The Plenipotentiary of Italy says that the principal motive is to be found in the gravity of the situation.

At this moment salvoes of artillery are heard.

The President of the Conference states that these salvoes announce the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution.

"A great act," he says, "which is at this moment being accomplished, has just changed a form of Government which had lasted 600 years. The Constitution with which His Majesty the Sultan has endowed his Empire is promulgated. It inaugurates a new era for the happiness and prosperity of his people."

Count de Chaudordy points out that peace is absolutely necessary, in order that the Constitution may produce the results expected of it, and that the agreement of all the Powers in the Conference is the essential condition for the efficacy of this solemn act.

The Marquis of Salisbury is glad to record that the Conference has met to secure

The Chief Ottoman Plenipotentiary says, on his part, that Turkey ardently desires peace, with the object of realizing as soon as possible the benefits of the new Constitution.

General Ignatiew thinks that the manner of application of the new institutions will be the real test of their value, and that peace must be secured before they can be put into execution.

Safvet Pasha says that the Constitution may be also considered as a new element of a nature to secure peace, and that he hopes that mutual concessions will allow of the attainment of this end which all desire.

The next sitting is fixed for Tuesday or Wednesday.

(Signed)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 168.

IIème Protocole.—Séance du 11 Zilhidjé, 1293 (16 Décembre, 1876).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie—

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Président du Conseil d'Etat.

Pour l'Allemagne—

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France—

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France. Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie—

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance qui, dans l'intervalle, avait été remise d'un jour est ouverte à une heure après-midi.

Le premier Protocole est lu et, après diverses observations et rectifications relatives à l'exposé de son Excellence le Président, il est définitivement approuvé.

Son Excellence le Président rappelle que dans la séance précédente il avait été question de l'urgence qu'il y avait à prolonger l'armistice dont le terme expire dans trois jours, et que son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie avait proposé une prolongation de quinze jours. Son Excellence fait remarquer que, vu la grande étendue de la ligne d'opérations, le défaut de lignes télégraphiques sur plusieurs points et le mauvais état des voies de communication, surtout dans cette saison, une courte prolongation de l'armistice présenterait de graves inconvénients dans la pratique. Il cite à ce sujet les malentendus survenus sur la frontière du Monténégro lors de la conclusion de l'armistice, malentendus causés par la difficulté des communications. Pour toutes ces raisons, il est d'avis qu'il y aurait lieu d'assigner un terme plus long en prolongeant l'armistice de deux mois.

Le Général Ignatiew admet le bien-fondé des considérations alléguées par son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire de Turquie en faveur d'un terme plus long que celui qu'il avait proposé dans la séance précédente. Le but principal étant d'assurer la paix il désirerait, toutefois, que la prolongation de l'armistice fournit à MM. les

Plénipotentiaires Ottomans l'occasion de donner des assurances de nature à faire espérer que les négociations ne traîneront pas en longueur et qu'une prompte solution de toutes les questions soumises aux décisions de la Conférence viendra bientôt calmer l'impatience des esprits qui sont dans l'attente d'une situation nette. Son Excellence désirerait mieux comprendre la pensée qui motiverait une prolongation aussi considérable.

Son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman pense qu'une prolongation de deux mois ne peut manquer d'avoir pour effet l'apaisement des esprits et de faire apprécier le désir de paix qui domine dans les conseils de la Conférence.

Le Général Ignatiew répète que, de sa part, il n'y a aucune opposition systématique

aux vues de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans concernant l'armistice.

Le Comte de Chaudordy ajoute qu'il faut bien espérer que le temps pour lequel

l'armistice sera prolongé ne sera perdu pour les travaux de la Conférence.

Une conversation s'engage entre MM. les Plénipotentiaires de Turquie, d'Autriche, et de Russie, à la suite de laquelle il est convenu que l'armistice sera prolongé jusqu'au 1^{er} Mars, 1877 (N.S.), exclusivement, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à minuit du dernier jour de Février.

Le Marquis de Salisbury dit que l'armistice ayant été arrêté tout d'abord entre la Turquie et la Russie, aujourd'hui que ces deux Puissances sont d'accord pour le prolonger jusqu'à la date précitée, il ne reste à la Conférence qu'à en prendre acte.

Le Comte de Bourgoing donne son plein assentiment aux paroles du Marquis de

Salisbury et déclare, de son côté, adhérer à la prolongation de l'armistice.

Le Général Ignatiew dit qu'il prend acte des dispositions exprimées par les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans d'accélérer l'œuvre de la Conférence.

Séance tenante MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans informent son Altesse le Grand

Vézir de la décision que la Conférence vient de prendre.

De son côté, le Général Ignatiew, en qualité de doyen du Corps Diplomatique, expédie deux télégrammes à leurs Altesses les Princes du Monténégro et de Serbie pour leur notifier cette même décision et les pris d'agir en conséquence.

Son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman prend la parole et s'exprime dans

les termes suivants:—

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se sont fait un devoir d'étudier le travail qui leur a été remis à la séance précédente avec toute l'attention qu'il mérite. Ils se trouvent à même de communiquer à la Conférence, dès aujourd'hui, les réflexions d'ensemble que cette étude leur a suggérées, sauf à revenir plus tard sur différents points auxquels ils s'abstiendront pour le moment de toucher d'une manière spéciale.

"En se reportant aux accords intervenus entre les Puissances, on trouve qu'il avait été entendu que la Conférence se réunissait sur la base du maintien de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance de l'Empire; qu'en ce qui concerne la Serbie et le Monténégro on reviendrait au statu quo ante; et que pour ce qui est des provinces du nord de la Turquie d'Europe il s'agissait de leur concéder un système d'institutions locales qui donnerait aux populations quelque contrôle sur leurs officiers locaux et fournirait des garanties contre les actes d'autorité arbitraire; ainsi que de maintenir l'entente établie sur les propositions de Son Excellence le Comte Andrassy.

"La Sublime Porte adhérait d'autant plus volontiers à cette manière de voir que, pour le fond, elle ne lui semblait pas contraire aux stipulations du Traité de 1856, et à l'esprit des réformes bien plus larges qu'elle devait inaugurer pour tout l'Empire.

"En se plaçant à ce point de vue, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne dissimuleront pas que dans la partie du travail qui traite de la Serbie et du Monténégro ils ont vu, non sans un certain sentiment de surprise, qu'on proposait une cession de territoire au Monténégro, ainsi que la cession à la Serbie de certaines localités qui avaient fait précédemment aussi l'objet de la convoitise de l'administration Princière. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne sauraient s'exqliquer comment ces propositions pourraient se rattacher soit aux assurances antérieurs, soit aux précédents mêmes de la question qui ont établi jusqu'à l'évidence la nécessité de garantir la Sublime Porte contre la répétition, de la part de la Serbie surtout, d'une agression aussi injustifiée que celle qui vient de troubler si profondément la paix de l'Empire.

"Les Puissances connaissent quelle avait été sur ce point l'opinion de la Sublime Porte, opinion pour l'appréciation de laquelle elle s'en était entièrement remise aux sentiments d'équité des Grandes Puissances. L'expression de rétablissement du statu quo en termes généraux contenue dans la communication du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique avait fait même espérer au Gouvernement Impérial que les Grandes Puissances étaient disposées à choisir, parmi les moyens proposés par la Sublime Porte pour assurer la paix dans l'avenir, ceux qui semblaient les plus adaptés

à la situation; et dès lors les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne peuvent s'empêcher de faire remarquer que la partie du travail consacrée à la Serbie et au Monténégro s'est trouvée complètement en dehors du cercle des prévisions et de l'attente de leur Gouvernement.

"En ce qui concerne l'organisation à donner aux trois vilayets ou Gouvernements-Généraux dont il est question dans l'autre partie du travail, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans regrettent de se trouver dans la nécessité de présenter des observations analogues. À côté de dispositions qui visent directement le but qu'on avait eu en vue, dispositions dont l'admission serait d'autant plus facile pour la Sublime Porte qu'elles s'allient parfaitement avec les vues libérales du Gouvernement Impérial, et qu'elles restent même en deça des concessions dont toutes les populations de l'Empire sont appelées à bénéficier, il s'en trouve malheureusement d'autres qui, non-seulement n'ont rien de commun avec le programme arrêté, mais seraient de nature à déjouer tous les efforts que le Gouvernement Impérial pourrait faire pour les fondre dans un tout harmonique avec les exigences morales et matérielles de la nouvelle Constitution, ainsi qu'avec celles de tout système gouvernemental qui voudrait se conserver des chances de durée et de progrès.

"Parmi les dispositions auxquelles ils viennent de faire allusion, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans citeront l'institution de la Commission Internationale; l'introduction d'un corps de gendarmerie étrangère; le cantonnement des troupes dans les forteresses; le mode de nomination concernant les Gouverneurs; la division administrative proposée; les dispositions concernant les finances et la justice; le déplacement en Asie

des Colonies Circassiennes, &c.

"Le désir ardent du Gouvernement Impérial pour tout ce qui peut assurer la paix et la prospérité de ses provinces lui ferait accepter avec empressement toute proposition qui serait de nature à contribuer à un pareil résultat. Mais il ne saurait évidemment se prêter à des combinaisons qui, il en est fermement convaincu, tendant à amener un état de choses tout-à-fait nouveau, ne sauraient manquer de surexciter les esprits dans tout l'Empire, d'alarmer les populations, de troubler le mécanisme administratif, de provoquer et de perpétuer les luttes et les conflits passionnés."

En présence des réflections qui précèdent et que le travail en question est de nature à provoquer, même à une première lecture, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans croient de leur devoir d'appeler l'attention de la Conférence sur les points qu'ils viennent de signaler et qui se résument en somme à savoir si dans la pensée de leurs Excellences MM. les Plénipotentiaires il n'y a plus lieu de tenir compte des limites qui avaient été assignées par un accord unanime au but qui devait être poursuivi en

commun.

Le Général Ignatiew désire présenter quelques observations. Il rappelle que, pour ce qui est de la Serbie, la Porte, tout en faisant connaître ses vues aux Grandes Puissances, s'en était entièrement remise à leur appréciation. Le maintien de l'intégrité de l'Empire est hors de cause. La pensée des Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances a été uniquement de prévenir le retour de difficultés dont on a eu souvent à se préoccuper. En ce qui concerne le Monténégro, au moment où les derniers événements se produisaient, une Commission Spéciale avait été envoyée sur les lieux pour établir la frontière.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha fait aussitôt remarquer qu'il s'agissait simplement alors

de rectifier la frontière existante.

Le Général Ignatiew, continuant ses observations, convient qu'il ne s'agissait que d'une rectification; mais il ajoute qu'il semblera très-naturel que la Conférence se soit préoccupée de la situation de certains districts voisins de Monténégro, et qui, dans l'annuaire officiel de l'Empire même, figurent sous la désignation de "districts insurgés" ("nevahii assiyé"). Le Prince du Monténégro exerce sur ces districts de facto un pouvoir réel pour lequel il serait avantageux de le constituer responsable. Sous l'influence des mêmes idées la Conférence, tout en rétablissant le statu quo pour la Serbie, a voulu établir un principe de solution pour les difficultés qui ont surgi de tout temps au sujet de la possession des îles formés par la Drina.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha fait remarquer qui si l'on prend, ainsi que cela est indiqué dans le travail qui lui a été remis comme ligne de démarcation le thalweg de

la Drina, la Serbie entrera en possession du Petit Zvornik.

Le Général Ignatiew n'avait pas l'intention de poser actuellement cette question. Mais si elle était posée, il rappellerait qu'à la suite du Traité d'Andrinople un Commissaire Russe avait été chargé de tracer la ligne de démarcation en exécution de l'Article VI du Traité, et que, d'après la carte dressée par lui, c'est le thalweg de la Drina qui devait être adopté comme ligne de démarcation. Il cite le Hatti Chérif de

1833, dans lequel cette même frontière avait été indiquée par l'énumération des districts qui revenaient à la Serbie.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha ne saurait dire quelles sont les stipulations du Traité

d'Andrinople, auxquelles le Général Ignatiew vient de faire allusion.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha affirme qu'il en pourrait dire autant des Hatti-Chérifs invoqués par l'Ambassadeur de Russie, et que si l'on examine à fond la question on verra qu'au contraire c'est à la suite d'une pure erreur matérielle que des localités non comprises dans les six districts se sont trouvées faire partie de la Principauté de la

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, afin de faire mieux remarquer la portée de ses observations, constate que l'on se trouverait en dehors du programme tracé aussitôt qu'on essaierait d'aborder des questions qui n'y rentrent pas.

L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre voudrait pourtant que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne perdissent pas de vue que la question du Petit Zvornik est de celles sur lesquelles

feu Aali Pacha s'était montré disposé à entrer en discussion.

Le Marquis de Salisbury pense que les propositions relatives aux frontières de Serbie et du Monténegro, telles qu'elles sont formulées dans le travail de la Conférence, ne sont pas de celles dont on peut dire qu'elles portent réellement atteinte au principe de l'intégrité du territoire de l'Empire; d'autant plus que si la Porte en exprimait le

désir on pourrait mettre ces territoires sous sa suzeraineté.

Le Premier Plénipotentiaire de Turquie dit qu'il ne saurait retrouver le principe de la proposition qui est faite relativement à la frontière de Serbie ni dans les communications Anglaises, ni dans la nature même de la question. Il est évident que ce n'est pas la possession du Petit Zvornik qui a poussé la Serbie à la rébellion. causes de ce soulèvement ont été tout autres. Et c'est dans cette pensée même que la Sublime Porte avait appelé la sollicitude des Puissances sur les moyens les plus propres à prévenir le retour de semblables calamités.

Le Comte de Bourgoing invoque l'expression de "en termes généraux" contenue dans les communications du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique pour montrer que le rétablissement du statu quo n'avait pas été entendu comme excluant toute discussion sur les détails, du moment qu'il serait incontestable que ces détails ont une importance réelle pour l'œuvre de la Conférence et il ajoute que cette expression

autorise la discussion de rectification de frontières.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans donnent chacun à leur tour des explications sur la manière dont l'expression "en termes généraux" du programme Anglais avait été entendue par la Sublime Porte. Ces termes lui avaient semblé impliquer le retour absolu au statu quo. Mais, en tout cas, ils ne sauraient admettre que l'institution de Commissions qui avaient été expédiées sur les lieux à différentes reprises et encore en dernier lieu puisse autoriser aujourd'hui à mettre en discussion l'abandon de territoires situés tout à fait en dehors de l'action de ces mêmes Commissions.

Le Général Ignatiew ne peut s'empêcher de rappeler que la Commission dont il est

question n'avait pas terminé ses travaux.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans admettent la justesse de l'observation de son Excellence le Général Ignatiew, mais ils constatent encore une fois qu'il ne s'agissait

que des îles formés par la Drina.

Le Général Ignatiew retient que, d'aveu des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans eux-mêmes, il résulte que des Commissions avaient été jugées nécessaires. Ces Commissions n'ont pas abouti. Il y a lieu de craindre qu'à l'avenir aussi les mêmes causes empêchent les deux parties d'arriver à une entente directe. Il lui semble donc naturel que la Conférence se soit préoccupée d'un état de choses qui donne lieu à des contestations pour tracer un principe pouvant mener à une solution certaine.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne contestent pas l'opportunité qu'il y aurait à arriver à une entente en ce qui concerne les îles de la Drina. Leurs objections ne visent que la conséquence qu'on voudrait tirer de la ligne de démarcation proposée relativement à la possession du Petit Zvornik, qui fait partie depuis cinq siècles du territoire Ottoman et qui est considéré comme rentrant dans le rayon de la forteresse

du Grand Zvornik.

L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre croit que les progrès de l'artillerie moderne font que, sous le rapport militaire, la possession du Petit Zvornik ne saurait avoir une importance réelle.

Le Général Ignatiew cite à l'appui des considérations émises par son collègue, l'opinion autorisée d'un officier Allemand.

Le Comte de Chaudordy désirerait voir mieux précisé le point que les Plénipoten. tiaires Ottomans voudraient élucider.

Le Second Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, répondant au désir exprimé par le Plénipotentiaire Français, revient sur la nécessité de fixer si une pareille discussion est bien dans les limites du programme convenu.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ne doute pas que l'expression "en termes généraux"

comportait bien la latitude que la Conférence a un devoir lui donner.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha hésite à se ranger de l'avis de sa Seigneurie qui, pour compléter sa pensée, ajoute que l'Angleterre a toujours ainsi entendu l'expression précitée et cite à preuve la correspondance échangée entre Lord Derby et le Prince Gortchakow, d'après laquelle il était entendu que le rétablissement du statu quo n'exclurait pas quelques arrangements sur des points secondaires.

L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne dit que, dès l'apparition du programme Anglais, on

l'avait ainsi compris.

Le Ministre d'Italie s'associe aux paroles de son Excellence l'Ambassadeur

d'Allemagne.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, revenant encore sur le sens de l'expression "en termes généraux," s'excuse de ne pouvoir pas partager l'avis que vient d'être exprimé quant à la partie de cette expression relativement à la question du Petit Zvornik. Cette localité a fait depuis longtemps l'objet des demandes du Gouvernement Serbe. On ne pouvait, dès lors, penser qu'en proposant le rétablissement du "statu quo en termes généraux" le Gouvernement Britannique avait entendu trancher en faveur de la Principauté une question qui était demeurée jusqu'alors en suspens. La proposition du Gouvernement Britannique pourrait aisément se comprendre comme impliquant des rectifications sur des points de la ligne de démarcation qui ont donné lieu à des difficultés. Mais il pense qu'on ne devrait pas aller plus loin.

Le Baron de Calice pense que l'expression "en termes généraux" équivaut à cette autre, "en règle général," et qu'elle admet ainsi quelques petites exceptions au statu quo.

Edhem Pacha reconnaîtrait aisément la portée de la proposition du Gouvernement Britannique pour tout ce qui est de rectifications de frontières, dont diverses Commissions avaient été chargées.

L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre rappelle que ces Commissions se sont dissoutes toujours

avant d'avoir présenté de rapports définitifs.

Le Comte Zichy dit qu'en effet les Commissions ne sont jamais tombées d'accord; c'est pourquoi on a cru nécessaire de proposer actuellement un état de choses durable.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que c'est précisément le désir d'arriver à l'établissement d'un état de choses durable qui avait fait formuler à la Sublime Porte ses propositions de pacification. Ces propositions, à son avis, constituaient un moyen certain de prévenir le retour des mêmes inconvénients.

Le Comte Zichy propose de suivre une marche de discussion plus précise.

Le Comte de Chaudordy est d'avis qu'il faudrait procéder par ordre; commencer, par conséquent, par la Serbie et suivre les Articles, soit en les adoptant, soit en les réservant.

Sur quelques observations du Second Plénipotentiaire Ottoman concernant la teneur exacte du programme présenté par le Gouvernement Britannique, son Excellence Safvet Pacha donne lecture des propositions Anglaises d'après le télégramme dont la teneur suit :

"Les propositions suivantes sont celles que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique juge calculées à former la base d'une pacification:—

"1. Quant à la Serbie et au Monténégro en termes généraux le statu quo.

"2. Que la Porte s'engage simplement, par un Protocole à signer à Constantinople avec les Représentants des Puissances Médiatrices, à concéder à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine un système d'autonomie locale ou administrative, cette expression signifiant un système d'institutions locales qui donnera aux populations quelque contrôle sur leurs officiers locaux et fournira en même temps des garanties contre des actes d'autorité arbitraire, sans être question de la création d'un Etat tributaire.

"Des garanties du même genre doivent être trouvées contre les abus en Bulgarie,

dont les détails exacts pourront être discutés ultérieurement.

"Les réformes auxquelles la Porte a adhéré dans sa note aux Représentants des Puissances, en date du 13 Février dernier, sont considérées comme devant être comprises dans les arrangements administratifs pour la Bosnie et pour l'Herzégovine et, autant qu'elles conviennent à cette Province, pour la Bulgarie."

A l'occasion de cette lecture, son Excellence l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre fait remarquer que dans la transmission du télégramme précité il y a eu une erreur et

qu'au lieu "d'officiers locaux" c'est "affaires locales" qu'il faut lire.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha croit de son devoir de constater que dans le document

transmis à la Porte il n'est parlé que d'officiers locaux.

Le Comte de Chaudordy dit qu'en somme la Conférence, en présentant son travail, n'a pas eu la pensée de s'écarter du programme Anglais aussi bien dans la partie relative à la Serbie et au Monténégro que dans celle relative au règlement des trois provinces.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha dit que si telle est la pensée de la Conférence on peut

commencer par examiner les articles relatifs à la Serbie.

Le Comte Corti, pour ne pas laisser sans réponse l'observation des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans concernant la non-discussion des moyens proposés par la Porte pour la pacification de la Serbie, fait remarquer que le but que l'on a voulu atteindre, avant tout, c'était d'établir un état de choses moralement et matériellement durable que, dès lors, on a dû éviter tout ce qui serait de nature à perpétuer l'hostilité entre la Porte et la Serbie, et que c'est là la raison qui a fait proposer comme ligne de démarcation le thalweg de la Drina.

Le Général Ignatiem et le Marquis de Salisbury s'associent aux paroles du

Comte Corti.

Sur la proposition du Comte de Chaudordy on commence la discussion par articles du document relatif à la Serbie. (Annexe sous la lettre A au premier Protocole.) L'Article 1 est lu. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ayant fait remarquer qu'il est

dans le programme, il ne donne lieu à aucune discussion.

L'Article 2, relatif au thalweg de la Drina, fournit aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans l'occasion de renouveler les objections qu'ils ont précédemment émises. être sans instructions sur ce point, et par conséquent cet Article est réservé.

Les Articles 3, 4, et 5 sont adoptés et la Conférence passe à la discussion du document relatif au Monténégro. (Annexe sous la lettre B au premier Protocole.)

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans déclarent que, n'ayant pas d'instruction, ils ne peuvent entrer dans la discussion des Articles I, 2, et 3 qui, à leurs avis, se trouvent être en dehors dú programme.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ne voit dans l'Article 2 relatif à la Boyana qu'une

disposition favorable à la liberté de navigation.

Ces Articles sont réservés.

Les Articles 4 et 5 étant les mêmes que les Articles 4 et 5 du document relatif à

la Serbie, sont approuvés.

Le Comte de Chaudordy pense qu'il serait maintenant opportun de passer à l'examen d'un autre document en le suivant également Article par Article, sauf à revenir plus tard sur les points que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans auront voulu

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans font remarquer qu'il ne s'agit, d'ailleurs, que d'une

première lecture.

Le Comte de Chaudordy commence la lecture du règlement de Bulgarie Article par

Article (Annexe C au premier Protocole).

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, à propos de l'Article premier qui indique les limites des deux nouveaux vilayets qu'il s'agirait d'organiser, dit que le Gouvernement Ottoman ne saurait accepter la délimitation proposée, que ce n'est pas la division actuelle qui a donné lieu aux derniers événements et qu'il y a des populations qui ne se prêteraient pas à ce nouveau groupement.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha demande les raisons qui ont fait fixer les limites Il ne voit aucun motif qui justifie les modifications si importantes qui seraient ainsi introduites dans la division administrative, et il serait d'autant plus désireux de connaître quels sont les éléments qui ont guidé les Représentants des Puissances Garantes dans un projet qui lui semble devoir rencontrer en pratique des difficultés insurmontables. Il est vrai que parfois les limites des vilayets ont été modifiées, mais ces changements de pure convenance administrative n'ont rien de commun avec le plan dont il s'agit. La division présente a pour elle la sanction du temps et de l'expérience.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ayant fait observer qu'on a cherché à grouper autant que possible les cultes et les races, son Excellence Edhem Pacha répond qu'il repousse la classification par race et que le Gouvernement Ottoman désire au contraire leur fusion.

Le Général Ignatiew dit qu'il ne s'agit que d'un groupement de sandjaks et de cazas tels qu'ils existent.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha insiste pour le maintien de la division actuelle et, en présence de ces observations, l'Article premier est réservé.

Art. 2. Sur le premier paragraphe relatif à la division par canton (nahié), après

une observation d'Edhem Pacha sur les avantages du système actuellement suivi pour la formation des nahiyés, le paragraphe est accepté, sauf à s'entendre sur le chiffre des habitants qui feront partie du canton.

Le paragrape 2, "en respectant autant que possible, &c.," donne lieu à diverses explications desquelles il résulte que le mot "groupes" ne doit pas s'entendre d'un déplacement des populations, mais d'une répartition administrative. Néanmoins, il n'est accepté qu'ad referendum.

Le paragraphe 3, "le canton sera administré, &c.;" le paragraphe 4, "le Conseil Cantonnal sera composé, &c.;" le paragraphe 5, "la commune conservera, &c.;" le paragraphe 6, "toutes les questions relatives, &c." (sauf la Commission de Surveillance); le paragraphe 7, "le Conseil Cantonnal, &c.," sont acceptés.

Le paragraphe 8, "deux de ses membres, &c.," est accepté mais seulement en

principe.

Le paragraphe 9, "la Commission Internationale, &c.," est réservé. Le paragraphe 10, "les villes et les bourgs, &c," est accepté en principe.

La Conférence passe à l'Article 3, qui est entièrement réservé, puis à l'Article 4.

A propos de l'expression, "à la tête de chacune des Provinces," son Excellence Safret Pacha fait remarquer incidemment que le terme de Bulgarie, employé en tête du document que la Conférence discute, ne saurait être admis par le Gouvernement Impérial.

Les Représentants des Puissances Garantes répondent que ce terme n'a été employé

que pour distinguer le règlement qu'on discute des autres documents.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha présente une objection contre le terme de cinq ans fixé pour la durée du pouvoir du Vali. Il n'admet point d'analogie entre l'organisation du Liban, qui a toujours eu une administration séparée, et le système qu'il s'agirait

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne ayant fait observer que cette condition lui paraît très-essentielle pour le bien du pays et la stabilité des institutions, son Excellence Safvet Pucha répond que la Porte pourrait donner seulement l'assurance que le Vali ne serait pas changé trop fréquemment. Au surplus, ce passage est réservé ainsi que le passage du même paragraphe relatif à l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes.

Le deuxième paragraphe, "il sera retribué, &c.," est accepté.

Le paragraphe 3, "en cas de mort, &c;" et le paragraphe 4, "le Vali ne pourra être destitué, &c.," sont réservés.

Le paragraphe 5, "le Vali représentera l'autorité suprème, &c.," est accepté.

Le paragraphe 6, "il sera Chrétien, &c." est réservé.

Le paragraphe 7, "le Gouverneur-Général administrera, &c.;" le paragraphe 8, "les plaintes qui surgiraient, &c.;" le paragraphe 9, "les arrondissements électoraux, &c.," sont acceptés.

Le paragraphe 10, "ils doivent compter en moyenne, &c.," est accepté en principe, mais son Excellence Safvet Pacha fait remarquer qu'il n'y donne son assentiment

qu'autant que ses dispositions pourraient s'adapter à la nouvelle Constitution.

Le paragraphe 11, "sont électeurs et éligibles;" le paragraphe 12, "les délibérations de l'Assemblée, &c.;" le paragraphe 13, "l'Assemblée nommera, &c.;" le paragraphe 14, "il y aura au moins un membre de ce Conseil, &c.," sont acceptés.

Sur le paragraphe 15, "le Gouverneur-Général prendra l'avis du Conseil, &c.," Safvet Pacha dit qu'il faudrait stipuler que le Gouverneur-Général devra s'adresser à la Sublime Porte dans les cas prévus.

La Conférence est d'avis qu'en effet le Vali pourra toujours en référer à la Ce paragraphe néanmoins demeure réservé.

Les quatre premiers paragraphes de l'Article 5 sont également réservés.

Au moment de lever la séance, le Président signale à MM. les membres de la Conférence l'opportunité de garder le secret des délibérations.

La prochaine séance est renvoyée à Samedi, 1 heure.

(Signé)

SAFVET. EDHEM. WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT. L. CORTI N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

IInd Protocol.—Sitting of the 11th Zilhidjé, 1293 (December 16, 1876).

Present:

On behalf of Turkey—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, President of the Council of State

On behalf of Germany-

His Excellency Baron de Werther, German Ambassador,

On behalf of Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

On behalf of France-

His Excellency Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

On behalf of Great Britain-

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

On behalf of Italy-

His Excellency Count Corti, Italian Envoy Extraordinary.

On behalf of Russia—

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Russian Ambassador.

THE sitting which, meanwhile, had been put off for a day, is opened at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

The first Protocol is read, and after various observations and corrections relating to

the statement of his Excellency the President, it is finally approved.

His Excellency the President recalls the fact that in the previous sitting the question had been raised of the urgency of prolonging the armistice which expires in three days, and that his Excellency the Russian Ambassador had proposed the prolongation of a fortnight.

His Excellency points out that considering the great extent of the line of operations, the want of telegraphic lines at several points, and the bad state of the lines of communication, especially at this season, a short prolongation of the armistice would practically

offer serious difficulties.

He cites on this point the misunderstandings which have occurred on the frontier of Montenegro since the conclusion of the armistice—misunderstandings caused by the difficulty of the communications. For all these reasons, he is of opinion that there is ground for deciding on a longer term by prolonging the armistice for two months.

General Ignatiew admits that the considerations are well founded, which have been brought forward by his Excellency the Chief Plenipotentiary of Turkey, in favour of a

longer term than that which he had proposed at the last sitting.

The principal object being to secure peace, he would wish, however, that the prolongation of the armistice might give to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries the opportunity of giving assurances of a nature to give good hope that the negotiations will not drag out at length, and that a prompt solution of all the questions submitted to the decision of the Conference will soon ensue to calm the minds of those who are impatient for a solution.

His Excellency would be glad to have a better understanding of the idea on which a

prolongation for so considerable a time is based.

His Excellency the Chief Ottoman Plenipotentiary is of opinion that a prolongation of two months could not fail to have the effect of calming people's minds, and of making the desire for peace, which predominates in the Councils of the Conference, appreciated.

General Ignatiew repeats that on his part there is no systematic opposition to the views of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries in respect to the armistice.

The Count de Chaudordy expresses a hope that the time of the prolongation of the armistice will not be wasted as regards the labours of the Conference.

A conversation ensues between the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Austria, and Russia, which results in an agreement that the armistice shall be prolonged to the 1st of March, 1877, (N.S.) exclusive, that is to say, till midnight of the last day of February.

The Marquis of Salisbury observes that, as the armistice was agreed on in the first instance between Turkey and Russia, now that these two Powers agree to its prolongation to the above-mentioned date, all the Conference has to do is to record it.

The Count de Bourgoing gives his full assent to the words of Lord Salisbury, and

declares for his part, his adhesion to the prolongation of the armistice.

General Ignatiew says that he takes note of the willingness expressed by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries to forward the work of the Conference.

In the course of the sitting the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries inform his Highness the

Grand Vizier of the decision just come to by the Conference.

On his side General Ignatiew, as Doyen of the Corps Diplomatique, dispatches two telegrams to their Highnesses the Princes of Montenegro and Servia, informing them of this decision, and begging them to act accordingly.

His Excellency the Chief Ottoman Plenipotentiary expresses himself in the following

 $\mathbf{terms}:$

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have made it their duty to study the document which was delivered to them at the preceding sitting with all the attention it deserves. They find themselves in a position to communicate to the Conference to-day the reflections suggested to them by this, leaving them at liberty to return later to different points

which they refrain from touching on in a particular manner at this moment.

"Referring to the agreements come to between the Powers, it is found that it was understood that the Conference assembled on the basis of the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Empire; that as concerns Servia and Montenegro, the status quo ante would be reverted to; and as regards the Provinces of the north of Turkev in Europe, it was suggested to concede to them a system of local institutions which would give the populations some control over their local officers, and would furnish guarantees against acts of arbitrary authority; as well as of maintaining the understanding established in the proposals of his Excellency Count Andrassy.

"The Sublime Porte adhered the more willingly to this view, because it did not seem radically contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, and to the spirit of reforms

made more liberal, which it would inaugurate for the whole Empire.

"From this point of view the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries will not conceal that in that part of the paper which treats of Servia and Montenegro, they saw, with some feelings of surprise, that a cession of territory was proposed to Montenegro, as well as the cession to Servia of certain localities, which had been previously coveted by the Prince's Administration. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries cannot understand how these proposals could be reconciled either with previous assurances, or with the antecedents of the question, which have conclusively established the necessity of guaranteeing the Sublime Porte against the repetition, especially on the part of Servia, of an attack so unjustifiable as that which has

just disturbed so deeply the peace of the Empire.

"The Powers know what had been the opinion of the Sublime Porte on this point, the appreciation of which it had left entirely to the sentiments of equity of the Great Powers. The expression of the re-establishment of the status quo in general terms contained in the communication of Her Britannic Majesty had afforded hope to the Imperial Government that the Great Powers were disposed to choose, from among the measures proposed by the Sublime Porte to ensure peace in the future, those which seemed most suited to the situation; and from that time the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries cannot help drawing attention to the fact that that part of the report devoted to Servia and Montenegro was completely outside the range of the anticipations and expectation of their Government.

"As regards the organization for the three Vilayets or Governments-General, which is discussed in another part of the paper, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries regret that they find it necessary to present analogous observations. Side by side with arrangements which aim directly at the end in view, arrangements the admission of which would be all the easier for the Sublime Porte, since they correspond perfectly with the liberal views of the Imperial Government, and are even within the limit of the concessions by which all the populations of the Empire are invited to benefit, there are, unhappily, other arrange ments, which not only have nothing in common with the programme determined upon, but would be calculated to upset any efforts of the Imperial Government to render them in harmony with the moral and material requirements of the new Constitution, as well as with those of any system of Government which should wish to preserve a chance of duration and progress.

"Among the arrangements they allude to, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries mention the institution of the International Commission; the introduction of a body of foreign gendarmerie; the cantonment of the troops in the fortresses; the method of the

nomination of the Governors; the administrative division proposed; the arrangements about finance and justice; the removal into Asia of the Circassian Colonies, &c.

"The ardent desire of the Imperial Government for all that can insure the peace and prosperity of its provinces would make it accept eagerly any proposal likely to contribute to such a result. But it could not, it is clear, lend itself to combinations which, it is firmly convinced, while conducive to an entirely new state of things, could not help over-exciting the minds of the whole Empire, alarming the populations, troubling the administrative mechanism, provoking and perpetuating struggles and passionate conflicts."

In presence of the preceding reflections, which the report in question is of a character to call forth, even at first sight, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries think it their duty to draw the attention of the Conference to the points they have mentioned, and which may be summed up in the question whether, in the opinion of their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries, there is no longer any ground to take into consideration the limits assigned by unanimous assent to the end which was to be pursued in common.

General Ignatiew wishes to offer some observations. He recalls the fact that, as regards Servia, the Porte, while acquainting the great Powers with her views, had entirely submitted the matter to their consideration. The maintenance of the integrity of the Empire is beside the question. The one idea of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers has been to prevent the recurrence of difficulties such as have often caused so much trouble. As regards Montenegro, at the time the later events occurred, a special Commission had been dispatched to the spot to arrange the frontier.

His Excellence Safvet Pasha, on this, remarks that it was then simply a question of rectifying the existing frontier.

General Ignatiew, continuing his observations, agrees that it is only a question of rectification; but he adds that it would be very natural for the Conference to pay some attention to the position of some districts adjacent to Montenegro, and which, even in the official Annual of the Empire, figure under the designation of "insurgent districts" ("nevahii assiyé"). The Prince of Montenegro exercises de facto over these districts a real power, for which it would be advantageous to make him responsible. Influenced by these same ideas the Conference, while re-establishing the status quo for Servia, wished to arrange a principle of solution for the difficulties which have always arisen on the subject of the possession of the islands formed by the Drina.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha makes the remark that, if the thalweg of the Drina is taken as the line of demarcation, as is indicated in the report delivered to him, Servia will enter into possession of Little Zvornik.

General Ignatiew had not intended at present to raise this question. But if it was raised, he would recall the fact that, after the Treaty of Adrianople, a Russian Commissioner was charged to trace the line of demarcation in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty, and that, according to the map drawn up by him, the thalweg of the Drina should be adopted as the line of demarcation. He quotes the Hatti-Chérif of 1833, in which this same boundary had been indicated in the enumeration of the districts which belonged to Servia.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha is at a loss to tell what were the stipulations of the Treaty of Adrianople to which General Ignatiew has alluded.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha affirms that he might say as much of the Hatti-Cherifs, quoted by the Russian Ambassador, and that if the question is thoroughly examined, it will be seen, on the contrary, that it is in consequence of a purely material error that localities not comprised in the six districts have been considered to form part of the Principality of Servia.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, in order to make the bearing of his observations clearer, affirms that the programme traced will be overstepped as soon as it shall be attempted to approach irrelevant questions.

The English Ambassador would wish, however, that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries should not lose sight of the fact that the question of Little Zvornick is one of those about which the late Aali Pasha showed himself disposed to enter into discussion.

The Marquis of Salisbury thinks that the propositions relative to the frontiers of Servia and Montenegro, as they appear in the minutes of the Conference, are not such as to infringe the territorial integrity of the Empire; more especially as, if the Porte expressed the wish, these territories might be put under its suzerainty.

The First Plenipotentiary of Turkey says that he cannot discover the principle

The First Plempotentiary of Turkey says that he cannot discover the principle of the proposition made relative to the frontier of Servia, either in the English communications or even in the nature of the question. It is evident that it is not the possession of Little Zvornick which incited Servia to rebellion. The causes of this insurrection were quite of a different nature. And it is with this idea that the Sublime

Porte had invited the attention of the Powers as to the best means of preventing a return of similar calamities.

The Count de Bourgoing refers to the expression "speaking roughly," contained in the communications of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, to show that the re-establishment of the status quo had not been understood as excluding all discussion of details, from the moment that it should be incontestable that these details had a real importance for the work of the Conference, and he adds that this expression authorizes the discussion of the rectification of frontiers.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries give, each in his turn, explanations on the manner in which the expression "speaking roughly" in the English programme had been understood by the Sublime Porte. Those terms seemed to it to imply the absolute return to the status quo; but in any case they could not admit that the institution of Commissions which had been sent to these places at different times, and again lately, could authorize at the present time the discussion of the abandonment of territorics situated quite beyond the scope of these said Commissions.

General Ignatiew cannot help calling attention to the fact that the Commission in question has not finished its task.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries admit the justice of the observation of his Excellency General Ignatiew, but they affirm once more that the point at issue was only the islands formed by the Drina.

General Ignatiew maintains that, on the acknowledgment of the Plenipotentiaries themselves, Commissions had been judged necessary. Those Commissions have not ended. There is reason to think that in the future also the same causes will prevent the two parties from coming to a direct understanding. It seems then natural that the Conference should have considered a state of things which leads to disputes in order to define a principle which may lead to a certain solution.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries do not contest the opportunity which there may be of coming to an understanding respecting the islands of the Drina. Their objections aim only at the consequence which may result from the proposed line of demarcation relative to the possession of the Little Zvornick, which for five centuries has formed part of the Ottoman territory, and which is considered as being within the radius of the fortress of Great Zvornick.

The English Ambassador thinks that the progress of modern artillery renders the possession of Little Zvornick from a military point of view of no real importance.

General Ignatiew, in support of the considerations mentioned by his colleague, cites the authoritative opinion of a German officer.

The Comte de Chaudordy wishes to have the point, which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries wish to elucidate, more clearly defined.

The Second Ottoman Plenipotentiary, in answer to the desire expressed by the French Plenipotentiary, reverts to the necessity of determining whether such a discussion comes within the limits of the programme agreed on.

The Marquis of Salisbury has no doubt that the expression "speaking roughly" admits of the latitude which the Conference is bound to give to it.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha hesitates to agree with his Lordship, who further adds that England has always thus interpreted the above-mentioned expression, and quotes in proof of this the correspondence between Lord Derby and Prince Gortchakow, according to which it was understood that the re-establishment of the status quo should not exclude the possibility of some arrangements being made on secondary points.

The German Ambassador says that from the time of the appearance of the English programme, it had been thus understood.

The Italian Minister agrees with his Excellency the German Ambassador.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, reverting again to the meaning of the expression "in general terms," excuses himself for not being able to share in the opinion which has been expressed regarding that part of the expression which relates to the question of Little Zvornik. This district has for a long time been the object of the demands of the Servian Government. It was, then, impossible to think that in proposing the re-establishment of the "status quo speaking roughly," the English Government had meant to settle, in favour of the Principality, a question which had, so far, remained in suspense. The proposition of the English Government might easily be understood as implying rectifications of the line of demarcation which have caused difficulties. But he thinks that it would not do to go beyond this.

Baron de Calice thinks that the expression "speaking roughly" is equivalent to that other "as a general rule," and that it thus admits of some small exceptions to the status quo.

Edhem Pasha easily recognizes the bearing of the proposition of the British Government as concerns the rectification of frontiers with which various Commissions had been charged.

The English Ambassador reminds them that these Commissions have always been dissolved before having presented definite reports.

Count Zichy says that, as a matter of fact, the Commissions have never agreed, and that this is the reason why it has been thought necessary at present, to propose a lasting state of things.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that it is precisely the desire of establishing a lasting state of things which has made the Sublime Porte draw up its propositions for pacification. These propositions, in his opinion, constituted a sure means of preventing the return of the same inconveniences.

Count Zichy proposes that a more accurate line of discussion be adopted.

Count Chaudordy is of opinion that it is necessary to proceed in order; beginning, that is to say, with Servia, and following the Articles, either adopting them or reserving them.

On some remarks of the second Ottoman Plenipotentiary respecting the exact tenor of the programme presented by the British Government, his Excellency Safvet Pasha reads the English proposals according to the following telegram:—

"The following propositions are those which the Government of Her Britannic

Majesty considers calculated to form the basis of a pacification:—

"1. Respecting Servia and Montenegro in general terms the status quo.

"2. That the Porte undertakes simply, by a Protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the Representatives of the Mediating Powers, to concede to Bosnia and Herzegovina a system of local or administrative autonomy, this expression signifying a system of local institutions which shall give to the people some control over their local officers, and shall furnish at the same time guarantees against acts of arbitrary authority, without there being any question of the formation of a tributary State.

"Guarantees of the same kind should be devised against abuses in Bulgaria, of which

the exact details can be discussed later.

"It is considered that the reforms to which the Porte has adhered in its note to the Representatives of the Powers, dated 13th February last, ought to be comprised in the administrative arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, as far as concerns that province, for Bulgaria also."

On the occasion of this reading his Excellency the English Ambassador calls attention to the fact that in the transmission of the above-mentioned telegram there was an error,

and that instead of "local officials" the reading should be "local affairs."

His Excellency Safvet Pasha think it his duty to state that in the document transmitted to the Porte, only local officers are mentioned.

The Count Chaudordy says, that as a matter of fact the Conference in presenting its report, has not thought of departing from the English programme either in the part relative to Servia and Montenegro, or in that relative to the regulation of the three provinces.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha says, that if that is the opinion of the Conference they

can begin by examining the Articles relative to Servia.

Count Corti, so as not to leave unanswered the observations of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries with respect to the non-discussion of the means proposed by the Porte for the pacification of Servia, remarks that the object that they wished to arrive at, before everything, was to establish a state of things morally and materially durable, that consequently everything had been avoided which could perpetuate hostility between the Porte and Servia, and that that was the reason why the "thalweg" of the Drina had been proposed as the line of demarcation.

General Ignatiew and the Marquis of Salisbury agree with what Count Corti had said.

On the proposition of Count Chaudordy the discussion was begun with the Articles of the document relating to Servia. (Annex A of the first Protocol.)

Article 1 is read. The Turkish Plenipotentiaries having remarked that it is in the

programme, it does not give rise to any discussion.

Article 2, relating to the "thalweg" of the Drina, furnishes to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries an opportunity of renewing the objections that they had previously raised. They declare that they are without instructions on this point, and consequently this Article is reserved.

The 3rd, 4th, and 5th Articles are adopted, and the Conference passes to the discussion of the document relating to Montenegro. (Annex B to the first Protocol.)

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries declare, that having no instructions, they cannot enter into the discussion of Articles 1, 2, and 3, which, in their opinion, exceed the programme.

The Marquis of Salisbury can only see in Article 2, relating to the Boyana, a stipulation

favourable to free navigation.

These Articles are reserved.

Articles 4 and 5 being the same as Articles 4 and 5 of the documents relating to

Servia, are approved.

Count Chaudordy thinks that it will be now advisable to pass to the examination of another document, going through it also Article by Article, and returning afterwards to points that the Turkish Plenipotentiaries might wish to reserve.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries remark, however, that it is only the question of a first

reading.

Count Chaudordy begins the reading of the regulation for Bulgaria, Article by Article.

(Annex C of the first Protocol.)

His Excellency Safvet Pasha with respect to the first Article, which defines the boundaries of the two new vilayets which it was proposed to form, says that the Turkish Government could not accept the boundaries proposed, that it is not the existing division which has given rise to the recent events, and that some of the population would not favour the new arrangement.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha asks the reasons for having fixed the proposed limits. He sees no motive which justifies the very important modifications which would thus be introduced in the administrative division, and he would be proportionately anxious to know what are the reasons which have led the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers into a project which, as it seems to him, must meet with insurmountable difficulties in practice. It is true that from time to time the limits of the vilayets had been modified, but these changes of pure administrative convenience have nothing in common with the plan in question. The present division has in its favour the sanction of time and experience.

The Marquis of Salisbury having remarked that they had sought to group religions and races as much as possible, His Excellency Edhem Pasha answers that he repels raceclassification, and that the Ottoman Government desires, on the contrary, the fusion of

General Ignatiew says, that it only affects the grouping of sandjaks and cazas as they now stand.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha insists on the maintenance of the existing division, and,

in consequence of these observations, the first Article is reserved.

Art. 2. With respect to the first paragraph, relative to the division by cantons (nahié), after a remark of Edhem Pasha on the advantages of the system at present followed for the formation of nahiés, the paragraph is accepted, reserving only for future agreement the number of inhabitants who shall make up the canton.

The second paragraph, "respecting as much as possible," &c., gives rise to different explanations, from which it results that the word "groups" should not be understood to mean a displacement of population, but an administrative repartition. Nevertheless it

is only accepted ad referendum.

Paragraph 3, "The canton will be administered," &c.; paragraph 4, "The Cantonal Council will be composed," &c.; paragraph 5, "The commune will keep," &c.; paragraph 6, "All questions relating," &c., (with the exception of the Commission of Surveillance); paragraph 7, "The Cantonal Council," &c., are accepted.

Paragraph 8, "Two of its members," &c., is accepted, but only in principle.

Paragraph 9, "The International Commission," &c., is reserved.

Paragraph 10, "The towns and the villages," &c., is accepted in principle.

The Conference passes to Article 3, which is entirely reserved, then to Article 4.

With respect to the expression "at the head of each of the provinces," his Excellency Safvet Pasha remarks incidentally that the term "Bulgaria," employed at the head of the document which was under the discussion of the Conference, could not be admitted by the Imperial Government.

The Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers answer that this term has only been

employed to distinguish the regulation under discussion from the other documents.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha offers an objection against the term of six years fixed for the duration of the power of the Vali. He does not admit any analogy between the organization of the Lebanon, which has always had a separate administration, and the system which it is proposed to establish.

The German Representative having observed that this condition seemed to him very essential to the welfare of the country and the stability of the institutions, his Excellency

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Safvet Pasha answers that the Porte could only give the assurance that the Vali should not be changed too often. In the end, this passage is reserved, as well as the passage in the same paragraph relative to the assent of the Guaranteeing Powers.

The second paragraph, "He shall be," &c., is accepted.

Paragraph 3, "In case of death," &c., and paragraph 4, "The Vali cannot be deprived," &c., are reserved.

Paragraph 5, "The Vali shall represent the supreme authority," &c., is accepted. Paragraph 6, "He shall be a Christian," &c., is reserved.

Paragraph 7, "The Governor-General shall administer," &c.; paragraph 8, "The complaints that may arise," &c.; paragraph 9, "The electoral districts," &c., are

Paragraph 10, "They should calculate in proportion," &c., is accepted in principle, but his Excellency Safvet Pasha remarks that he only gives his assent so far as its pro-

visions can be adapted to the new Constitution.

Paragraph 11, "Are electors and eligible," &c.; paragraph 12, "The deliberations of the Assembly," &c.; paragraph 13, "The Assembly will nominate," &c.: paragraph 14, "There must be at least one member of the Council," &c., are accepted.

With reference to paragraph 15, "The Governor-General will take the advice of the

Council," &c., Safvet Pasha says that it must be stipulated that the Governor-General

should appeal to the Porte in such cases.

The Conference is of opinion that certainly the Vali could always refer to the Porte. The paragraph, nevertheless, is reserved.

The four first paragraphs of Article 5 are also reserved.

At the moment of suspending the sitting, the President expresses to the members of the Conference the necessity for keeping the deliberations secret.

The next meeting is fixed for Saturday at 1 o'clock.

(Signed)

SAFVET. EDHEM. WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT. L. CORTI. N. IGNATIEW.

No. 169.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 12)

My Lord, Pera, January 4, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the fitth meeting of the Conference took place to-day.

A paper was read by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, stating their reasons for refusing to agree to the nine points enumerated in my despatch of the 1st instant.

A discussion of some length ensued, which was especially directed to the questions of the appointment of the Valis and the establishment of a Commission of Supervision.

The Conference was adjourned until the 8th instant, in order to give time to the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers to prepare an answer to the statement of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

> I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 170.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby .— (Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 30, 1876. MR, VICE-CONSUL DUPUIS reports, under date of the 22nd instant, that the disarmament of the inhabitants of the Province of Adrianople by the authorities is being

peaceably and quietly carried out, and that quantities of arms during the last few days have been collected and brought in from the surrounding villages, and deposited at the konak.

> I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

No. 171.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

Constantinople, December 30, 1876. My Lord,

ALTHOUGH it is usual for an Ambassador to call upon the Grand Vizier immediately on his nomination it was not till two days ago that I was well enough to pay the customary visit to Midhat Pasha.

We have long been intimate, and knowing the support I had always given to his efforts to introduce the radical reforms required in the administration of the country he spoke with the greatest freedom of the present position of affairs.

There was, he said, in the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries much that was practical

and important to which he was ready to give a willing assent.

They were based upon the principle of decentralization for which he had long contended, and which was now formally adopted, but they carried it further than even he could admit.

The project as it now stood would be a step towards the certain realization of the

Russian dream of creating small autonomic States in European Turkey.

We had only to look back to what had occurred fifty years ago in Servia to become convinced that the compulsory confinement of the Ottoman troops to the fortresses and principal towns would shortly lead to the expulsion of the Turks from the Province, and the establishment of its quasi independence.

It was proposed, moreover, that the Governors-General should be practically selected by the foreign Powers, and a position assured to them, rendering them almost

independent of their own Government.

The assignment of a third or of any fixed proportion of the revenues of the Province to Imperial purposes was a principle differing little from a tribute in disguise to which it was impossible for the Porte to consent, and the proposal bore on the face of it evidence of having been drawn up by persons who could not by possibility be in possession of the information required for dealing properly with the fiscal requirements of a country respecting which their information was necessarily superficial.

The proposed guarantees for the execution of the reforms were of a nature which no Turkish Minister could agree to; for though he admitted that war might be nearly the ruin of the Empire, the country was unanimous in preferring the chance of honourable ruin to the acceptance of conditions which were considered dishonourable and, at

the same time, fatal.

To a Commission of Control, composed of foreigners, with administrative and legislative powers as was proposed he never would consent, nor would he acquiesce in the presence of any corps of foreign troops.

The Turkish Minister at Brussels had indeed reported that the Belgian Government would not send such a corps except upon the direct invitation of the Porte, which invita-

tion would never be given at the dictation of foreign Powers.

The Porte was, however, quite ready of its own initiative to engage foreign officers, non-commissioned officers, and men to organize an efficient gendarmerie or police force, but these must be in the service of the Ottoman Government.

On the other hand, while he was compelled to reject the guarantee proposed by the Powers he was willing to offer them others which he thought should be held sufficient.

Let a fixed time, say a year, be granted to the Porte for carrying out the reforms now being inaugurated, and at the end of that period let the Ambassadors report whether they were being fairly executed or not.

If they report in the negative the Porte will submit to the appointment of an International Commission, or such other form of control as may be held desirable.

Midhat Pasha concluded by saying that he perfectly understands that he has no assistance to expect from Great Britain, but he expressed the hope that if Russia now proceeds to endeavour to carry out her long cherished designs against the Turkish Empire she will meet with no support from Her Majesty's Government. 2 I 2

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I need not repeat to your Lordship the arguments I used in trying to overcome His Highness's objections.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 172.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord, Constantinople, December 31, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a Memorandum on the proposal for the neutrality of Roumania which has been communicated to me by M. Bratiano, the Agent specially sent by the Roumanian Government to Constantinople during the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 172.

Memorandum on the Neutrality of Roumania.

PAR le Traité de Paris et les Conventions qui l'ont suivi, les Grandes Puissances ont donné une nouvelle sanction aux droits souverains des Roumains, en reconnaissant d'une manière solonnelle les Capitulations conclues par leurs Princes avec les Sultans Ottomans; en même temps, elles ont pris sous leurs auspices la reconstitution et la consolidation de l'Etat Roumain, et elles ont voulu faire de la Roumanie un gage de pair pour l'Orient.

paix pour l'Orient.

Les Roumains, mûs par un profond sentiment de gratitude pour cette haute sollicitude dont ils ont été l'objet, et jaloux de se montrer dignes de la confiance que les Puissances Garantes et la Sublime Porte ont placé en eux, se sont mis immédiatement à l'œuvre avec une volonté qu'aucun obstacle n'a pu décourager, avec la conscience éclairée de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs envers eux-mêmes et envers l'Europe civilisée; aussi, en moins de vingt ans, ils ont fait dans toutes les branches de l'activité humaine des progrès réels, sensibles, des progrès qui sont d'ordinaire l'œuvre des siècles.

Ils ont abordé déjà la plupart des grandes questions politiques, économiques, et sociales qui préoccupaient le plus leur pays, et ils ont eu le bonheur de les résoudre successivement avec un plein succès, sans secousses, pacifiquement, car dans toutes leurs réformes ils ont pris pour base leurs vieilles institutions nationales qu'ils n'ont fait que

rajeunir et développer.

En quelques années ils ont doté leur pays d'une justice et d'une administration, lesquelles, par leur organisation, par leur contingent chaque année plus grand d'hommes instruits et meilleurs que reçoit leur personnel, et par les résultats pratiques qu'elles ont déjà donnés, font bien augurer de l'avenir du pays; aujourd'hui même la sécurité publique est si bien garantie en Roumanie qu'elles n'a rien à envier sous ce rapport aux pays les mieux administrés. Ils ont réussi à asseoir sur des bases rationnelles et équitables la répartition et la perception des impôts. Ils se sont appliqués à donner une grande extension dans leurs villes et dans leurs campagnes à l'instruction primaire, qui est obligatoire et gratuite; quant à l'instruction secondaire et supérieure, également gratuite; indépendamment des gymnases et lycées que possèdent beaucoup de villes et des universités qu'ils ont fondées à Bucarest et à Jassy, 500 à 600 jeunes gens Roumains suivent constamment les cours des facultés et des écoles spéciales de l'Europe éclairée.

Leurs forces matérielles aussi n'ont pas été négligées. Ils peuvent mettre sur pied de guerre en quelques jours 60.000 hommes de troupes régulières, bien exercés, avec 210 canons, dont 150 canons Krupp, et un nombre égal d'hommes de troupes

territoriales ou gendarmerie à cheval et à pied.

Ils ont établi dans tout le pays un service régulier de postes et télégraphes. Ils ont construit 1,600 kilom. de chemins de fer et 6,500 kilom. de chaussées, en ne parlant que de grandes voies de communication ou de grandes routes.

Dans ce moment ils s'occupent surtout à donner un plus grand développement à leur commerce et à leur industrie naissante. Mais ce qui fait le couronnement de cette œuvre de régénération, c'est l'émancipation des paysans. La Roumanie, en

émancipant son paysan, en le rendant propriétaire du terrain qu'il cultive, en l'instruisant et en lui mettant en même temps une arme entre les mains, lui a donné un sol à aimer et à défendre, et les moyens, l'intelligence, et la force de le bien défendre.

Un trait caractéristique du peuple Roumain, qui donne la mesure de ses vertus civiques, et doit le recommander à l'estime de la diplomatie, c'est qu'il a su concilier l'ordre le plus parfait avec les libertés presque illimitées que lui garantit une des Constitutions les plus libérales des Etats Constitutionnels.

C'est ce bien précieux de l'ordre dans la liberté qui a rendu la Roumanie maîtresse d'elle-même et lui a donné la force de résister à la tourmente qui emportait ses voisins, et d'avoir constamment, au milieu des menaces et des tentations de toute espèce, l'atti-

tude la plus correcte que l'Europe a été unanime à louer.

Sûre d'elle-même, la Roumanie ne peut pas répondre de ce qui peut se passer dans les pays qui l'avoisinent; elle est en conséquence fort inquiète, car les Conventions et les Traités existants ne lui garantissent que ses droits vis-à-vis de la Sublime Porte, et la garantie collective accordée à elle et à la Turquie ne lui servirait à rien lorsque cette dernière se trouverait en guerre avec une autre Puissance. Les Grandes Puissances se refuseraient-elles à légitimer leur titre de Puissances Garantes, qui les honore, à compléter, à rendre réelle la garantie promise à la Roumanie? Dira-t-on que leurs armées sont trop loin de la Roumanie pour qu'elles puissent lui venir efficacement en aide au besoin? Mais si les Puissances prenaient solidairement l'engagement de garantir la Roumanie, alors elles auraient des armées en tout lieu, et d'ailleurs rien que la force morale d'un pareil engagement arrêterait ceux qui seraient tentés de violer le territoire Roumain, et encouragerait ceux qui auraient à le défendre. Il n'y a pas d'exemple qu'une Puissance se soit jamais permis d'essayer de rompre seule, par la force des armes, les engagements pris collectivement par plusieurs Puissances.

Les membres de la Conférence réunie à Constantinople pour assurer la paix en Orient, se croiraient-ils incompétents pour aborder le seul point propre à assurer cette paix pour le présent et pour l'avenir, pour tirer parti de la position géographique de la Roumanie, et déclarer son territoire neutre dans l'intérêt de tous, à l'instar de ce qui a été fait pour la Suisse en 1815 et pour la Belgique en 1870? Non, cela n'est pas raisonnablement admissible; aussi la Roumanie a-t-elle pris la liberté d'adresser à ce sujet à la Conférence par l'organe de son Envoyé Extraordinaire, la prière qui suit, destinée à être remise à son Excellence Safvet Pacha, le Président de la Conférence:—

"1. En conséquence des démarches faites par le Gouvernement Roumain auprès des Puissances Garantes, j'ai l'honneur de demander en son nom à la Conférence de vouloir bien consacrer l'état politique de la Roumanie en garantissant d'une manière

spéciale la neutralité perpétuelle du territoire Roumain.

"2. Pour le cas où il y aurait une guerre entre l'une des Puissances Garantes et la Sublime Porte, j'ai l'honneur de demander également à la Conférence, au nom de mon Gouvernement, que les autres Puissances Garantes veuillent bien indiquer à la Roumanie la ligne de conduite qu'elle devra tenir, et lui accorder une garantie spéciale afin que ses droits, sa neutralité, et l'intégrité de son territoire soient respectés."

asin que ses droits, sa neutralité, et l'intégrité de son territoire soient respectés."

Vient après l'expression de l'espoir que la Conférence accueillera avec bienveillance la demande du Gouvernement Roumain, destinée à empêcher que la Roumanie ne

devienne pas le théâtre de la guerre, et à mieux assurer la paix.

(Translation.)

BY the Treaty of Paris, and the Conventions which have followed it, the Great Powers have given a new sanction to the sovereign rights of the Roumanians, by recognizing in a solemn manner the capitulations concluded by their Princes with the Ottoman Sultans. At the same time, they have taken under their care the reconstitution and the consolidation of the State of Roumania, and they have wished to make Roumania a pledge of peace for the East.

The Roumanians, inspired by a profound sentiment of gratitude for the high solicitude of which they have been the object, and anxious to show themselves worthy of the confidence that the Guaranteeing Powers and the Sublime Porte have placed in them, set themselves immediately to the work with an energy which no obstacle has been able to discourage, with the enlightened conscience of their rights and of their duties towards themselves and civilized Europe; thus in less than twenty years they have made in all the branches of human activity real and sensible progress—a progress which is generally the work of centuries.

They have already undertaken most of the great political, economical, and social

questions which most chiefly concerned their country, and they have been fortunate enough to solve them, one after the other, with the greatest success, without shocks and peacefully, for in all their reforms they have taken their ancient national institutions as a

base, and these they have only given fresh life to and developed.

Within the space of a few years they have endowed their country with a system of justice and administration which, by its organization, by the increasing addition each year of learned and superior men to the staff, and by the practical results which it has already given, argues well for the future of the country. To-day, indeed, public security is so well guaranteed in Roumania that she is on an equal footing in this respect with the best governed countries. They have succeeded in settling on rational and equitable bases the assessment and levying of taxes. They have applied themselves to extend largely primary instruction in their towns and in the country. This instruction is obligatory and free; secondary and higher education is also free and independently of the schools and colleges which many towns possess, and of universities which have been founded at Bucharest and at Jassy, 500 to 600 young Roumanians follow regularly the professional lectures and the special schools of enlightened Europe.

They can put on a war Their material strength also has not been neglected. footing in a few days 60,000 regulars, well drilled, with 210 cannons, of which 150 are

Krupp guns, and as many militia or horse and foot gendarmerie.

They have established throughout the country a regular service of posts and telegraphs. They have constructed 1,600 kilom. of railways and 6,500 of roads, speaking

only of main routes of communication and highways.

At this moment they are occupied especially in bringing about a greater development of their commerce and of their infant manufactures, but that which crowns this work of regeneration is the emancipation of the peasants. Roumania in emancipating her peasant, in giving him the land which he cultivates, in instructing him and simultaneously putting an arm in his hands, has given him soil to love and defend, and the means, the intelligence, and the force to defend it well.

A characteristic trait of the Roumanian people, which is a gauge of their civil virtues and ought to recommend them to the esteem of diplomacy, is that they have been able to conciliate the most perfect order with the almost limitless freedom, which one

of the most liberal constitutions of Constitutional States guarantees them.

This precious gift of order combined with freedom has made Roumania mistress of herself, and has given her the power to resist the agitation which carried away her neighbours, and to observe constantly, amid menaces and every kind of temptation, a most

correct attitude which Europe has been unanimous in praising.

Sure of herself, Roumania cannot answer for that which may happen in neighbouring countries. She is consequently very anxious, for the Conventions and Treaties in force only guarantee her her rights with reference to the Sublime Porte, and the collective guarantee granted to her and to Turkey would be of no use if the latter were at war with another Power. Would the Great Powers refuse to give effect to their title of Guaranteeing Powers which does them honour, by completing by realising the guarantee promised to Roumania? Will they say that their armies are too far from Roumania for them to come with effect to her help if necessary? But if the Powers would undertake conjointly the engagement to guarantee Roumania, then they would have armies everywhere, and, moreover, the moral force alone of such an engagement would stop those who might be tempted to violate Roumanian territory, and would encourage those whose duty it was to defend it. There is no instance of a Power trying to break by force of arms the engagements undertaken by several Powers collectively.

Would the members of the Conference assembled at Constantinople to assure peace in the East think themselves incompetent to broach the only subject which can secure peace for the present and for the future, take advantage of the geographical position of Roumania, and declare her territory neutral in the interest of all, on the basis of that which was done for Switzerland in 1815 and Belgium in 1870? No, this is not reasonably admissible; so Roumania has taken the liberty to address to the Conference on this subject, through the agency of its Envoy Extraordinary, the following petition, which is to be given to his Excellency Safvet Pasha, the President of the Conference:-

"1. Consequent on the communications made by the Roumanian Government to the Guaranteeing Powers, I have the honour to ask the Conference in its name to assure the political state of Roumania by guaranteeing in a special manner the perpetual neutrality of the Ronmanian territory.

"2. In case of a war between one of the Guaranteeing Powers and the Sublime Porte, I have also the honour to ask of the Conference, in the name of my Government, that the other Guaranteeing Powers will be good enough to point out to Roumania the line of conduct she ought to follow, and to give her a special guarantee that her rights, her

neutrality, and the perpetual integrity of her territory shall be respected."

Then follows the expression of a hope that the Conference will receive with goodwill the demand of the Roumanian Government, which is calculated to prevent Roumania from becoming the theatre of war, and secure peace.

No 173.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord,

Lord, Constantinople, January 1, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis, reporting the progress which is being made in the rebuilding of the burnt villages in Bulgaria.

Much has been certainly done, but Mr. Dupuis' informant has evidently greatly overstated it, as the suffering in many districts is undoubted, and the effects of the late

devastation are very far indeed from being as nearly effaced as he intimates.

I take this opportunity of inclosing the extract from a letter from Mr. James Long, who came out here for the purpose of building houses with funds entrusted to him in

England.

The testimony he bears to the facilities given by the Turkish authorities agrees with those which we receive from the agents of our own Relief Committee, and it is curious to see that these gentlemen, sent expressly to succour the Bulgarians, and with their sympathies strongly enlisted in their favour, continually contrast their apathy and unwillingness to assist their own countrymen with the active charity and energy of the populations of the Mussulman villages which had suffered in the same manner.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 173.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Adrianople, December 29, 1876.

AT the risk of conveying information already known to your Excellency, I beg I may be permitted to quote from a private letter received from my correspondent in the interior of this province dated the 24th instant, that two-thirds of the villages destroyed during the recent disturbances, have been rebuilt by the Turkish Commissioners, and some on this side of the Balkans by the aid of the English Relief Fund.

That two-thirds of the dwellings in Sindjirlzi, Krashtovo, Aivadjik, Novo Selo, Cheren, and Klissura, and a few others have also been rebuilt. At Batak upwards of 250,

and at Peroushtiza about 200 houses have likewise been rebuilt.

In the neighbourhood of Tatar-Bazardjik also my informant tells me, that under the supervision of Mr. Long, many habitations are in course of reconstruction, and that before long all traces of the late devastations will have disappeared.

My informant adds that all the inhabitants who abandoned their villages during the

troubles have since returned to find their dwellings rebuilt.

I have, &c. J. H. DUPUIS. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 173.

Mr. Long to Sir H. Elliot.

Tatar-Bazardjik, December 21, 1876. (Extrait.) J'AÍ l'honneur de vous informer que je suis actuellement à Tatar-Bazardjik entre Philippopoli et les Balkans. C'est ici que j'ai établi mon centre actuel d'opérations, me proposant de porter secours aux villages environnants.

Vous connaissiez mon intention de venir en aide aux malheureux livrés aux rigueurs de l'hiver par le manque des maisons, en leur construant des abris en bois. J'ai déià terminé mes travaux dans trois villages, et j'espère avoir, avant la fin de l'année, 200

maisons et sept écoles bien achevées.

Je me suis approvisionné du bois nécessaire à mes travaux, à la forêt de Belowa, qui se trouve à la tête de ligne du chemin de fer établi de Constantinople dans ces contrées. Grâce à l'obligeance de la Compagnie de ce chemin de fer, qui a bien voulu me donner le transport gratuit de mon personnel et matériel, je puis avoir mes bois avec la plus grande rapidité. J'ai installé à cette forêt de Belowa une scierie à vapeur que j'ai fait venir de France, et qui me rend de grands services en façonnant les pièces de bois indispensables à mes constructions. M. le Baron de Hirsch, concessionnaire de la forêt de Belowa, m'a prêté également son puissant concours.

Les autorités Turques se sont aussi montrées bien disposées en ma faveur, et je n'ai qu'à me louer de l'appui qu'elles ont bien voulu me prêter en toutes circonstances. serais content si je pouvais en dire autant du peuple que je suis venu secourir, et que je trouve ou exalté par des idées peu convenables à leur sort, idées inspirées soit par des démagogues, soit par des journalistes, soit par des missionnaires, qui ont récemment parcouru le pays, et travaillé l'imagination de ces malheureux, chacun pour atteindre son propre but; ou, bien crétinisés par le système de religion, de Gouvernement, et de mœurs qui a longtemps régné parmi eux. Ce ne sont certes pas des administrés faciles à mener!

(Translation.)

(Extract.) Tatar-Bazardjik, December 21, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I am now at Tatar-Bazardjik, between Philippopoli and the Balkans. It is here that I have established my centre of operations,

whence I propose to distribute succour to the neighbouring villages.

You are aware of my intention to assist those unfortunate persons who, owing to the scanty number of houses, are exposed to the rigours of winter, by building for them wooden sheds. I have just concluded my work in three villages, and I hope, before the end of the year, to have finished 200 houses and seven schools.

I procured the wood necessary for my work in the forest of Belowa, which is at the head of the Constantinople railroad. Thanks to the kindness of the Company of this line, who have transported, free of charge, my men and materials, I obtain wood with the greatest rapidity. I have established in the forest of Belowa a steam saw mill, which I have brought from France, and which is very useful to me in shaping the pieces of wood which are required for my buildings. The Baron Hirsch, "Concessionnaire" of the forest of Belowa, has also given me his powerful support.

The Turkish authorities have also been very friendly to me, and I have every reason

to be grateful for the support which they have invariably given me.

Would that I could say as much of the people whom I have come to help, and whom I find excited with ideas very inappropriate to their condition-ideas which have been suggested to them either by demagogues, newspaper correspondents, or missionaries, all of whom have recently been traversing the country and working upon the imagination of these poor creatures, each with his own particular object in view, or reduced to the verge of idiocy by the system of religion and Government, and the customs which have so long prevailed amongst them. They are certainly not a flock easy to lead.

No. 174.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 12.)

(Extract.) Constantinople, January 1, 1877. I INCLOSE a translation of the decision of the Philippopolis Commission sentencing Achmet Agha to death. On receiving a telegram from Mr. Baring reporting the anxiety of the Commission to retreat from their decision, I sent to Midhat Pasha a letter, of which I inclose a copy, as well as that of the reply, which I received to-day.

I likewise inclose copy of my answer to Mr. Baring stating that, if the sentence on Achmet Aga is reversed, or the other prisoners acquitted in the face of conclusive evidence, he should return at once to Constantinople, as it was not desirable that he

should be present at a delusive inquiry.

Inclosure 1 in No. 174.

Decision sentencing Achmet Agha to Death.

(Translation.)

IT results, from inquiries made by the Commission, that after some two or three days' fighting at Batak acts of murder and pillage took place there after the surrender of a certain number ("bir takem") of arms, and subsequent examinations have established the fact that Achmet Agha, having been the leader of the men who committed these acts, was aware of the committal of the former crime, and took an active part in the latter. Under these circumstances his offences are held to come within the scope of the latter part of Article 56 and the whole of Article 57 of the Code, and Achmet Agha is accordingly condemned to death in conformity with those Articles.

(Signed)

SADOULLAH. YOVANTCHO. SALIM. IKIADES. Wassa.

Inclosure 2 in No. 174.

Sir H. Elliot to Midhat Pasha.

Chère Altesse,

Péra, le 1 Janvier, 1877.

JE viens de recevoir de Mr. Baring une nouvelle bien fâcheuse. Il paraît que la Commission avait décidé, par une majorité de cinq contre un, pour la peine capitale sur Achmet Agha de Dospat.

Maintenant il paraît que Sadoullah Bey, craignant de mécontenter la Porte, voudrait

revenir sur cette décision.

En attendant Vassa Effendi a reçu des ordres de partir immédiatement pour Monastir, laissant ainsi les membres Chrétiens dans la minorité.

Les autres ne veulent pas revenir sur la décision déjà adoptée et donneront probablement leur démission, si le Président insiste sur la modification de la sentence.

Dans ce cas je dois rappeler immédiatement Mr. Baring, qui ne pourra pas assister

à un pareil procédé.

Votre Altesse jugera de l'effet que tout cela produira sur l'opinion publique, et sachant que vous avez toujours voulu que l'enquête fût sérieuse, je suis convaincu que vous verrez comme il est urgent de faire comprendre à Sadoullah Bey qu'il n'y a pas à revenir sur une décision à laquelle il s'était lui-même associé avec la presque unanimité de ses collègues.

Je vous prie, &c. (Signé) HENRY ELLIOT.

(Translation.)

Chère Altesse.

Pera, January 1, 1877.

I HAVE just received from Mr. Baring most distressing news. It seems that the Commission had decided, by a majority of five to one, for capital punishment on Achmet Agha, of Dospat.

It appears now that Sadoullah Bey, fearing the displeasure of the Porte, wished to

revoke this decision.

In the meanwhile Vassa Effendi has received orders to go immediately to Monastir, thus leaving the Christian members in the minority.

The others will not agree to alter the decision already adopted, and will probably

resign, if the President insists on the moderation of the sentence.

In such case, I must immediately recall Mr. Baring, who could not countenance such

a proceeding

Your Highness will judge of the effect which all this will produce on public opinion; and knowing that you have always wished that the inquiry should be a serious one, I am convinced that you will see how urgent it is to make Sadoullah Bey understand that there is no alteration to be made in the decision which he himself and his colleagues almost unanimously concurred in.

I pray, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 174.

Midhat Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

Chère Excellence,

Le 1 Janvier, 1877.

N'ayant pas encore reçu J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de votre billet. aucune communication concernant Achmet Agha, j'ai télégraphie à Sadoullah Bey afin qu'il m'expédie immédiatement le dossier de cette affaire, pour qu'après en avoir

pris connaissance, nous puissions agir.

Quant à la question de la composition actuelle de la Commission, je pense qu'il doit y avoir un malentendu. Attendu que cette Commission, qui était formée de quatre membres Musulmans, Sadoullah Bey, Hamdi Bey, Ismail Bey, et Salim Bey, et par quatre membres Chrétiens, Aho Effendi, Ikiades Effendi, Yovantchow Effendi, et Wassa Effendi, ne se trouve pas modifiée par la nomination à d'autres fonctions de Wassa Effendi, Hamdi Bey ayant antérieurement donné sa démission et n'en faisant plus parti.

Je suis heureux, cher Excellence, de vous donner ces éclaircissements qui, je l'espère,

vous tranquilliseront, et je vous prie, &c.

MIDHAT. (Signé)

(Translation.)

Chère Excellence,

January 1, 1877.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your note. Not having yet received any communication concerning Achmet Agha, I have teleragphed to Sadoullah Bey, in order that he may at once send the papers relating to this affair, so that, having studied them, we may act accordingly.

Concerning the question of the present composition of the Commission, I think there

must be some mistake.

For the Commission, which was formed of four Mussulman members—Sadoullah Bey, Hamdi Bey, Ismael Bey, and Salim Bey; and by four Christian members-Abo Effendi, Ikeades Effendi, Govantchow Effendi, and Wassa Effendi—is in no way modified by the nomination to other functions of Wassa Effendi, Hamdi Bey having previously resigned, and no longer forming part of it.

I am happy to give you this information which will, I hope, set your mind at rest. (Signed) MIDHAT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 174.

Sir H. Elliot to Mr. Baring.

Constantinople, January 1, 1877. Sir, UPON communicating with the Porte on the subject of your telegram, which,

owing to the interruption of the lines, did not reach me until yesterday, I was informed that no communication had been received from the President of the Commission respecting Achmet Acha, but orders have now been sent to have the proceedings at once forwarded here.

The Commissioners having declared themselves by an overwhelming majority for the condemnation of Achmet Agha, it is impossible now to permit the decision to be

Should this be done, or the other prisoners acquitted in the face of conclusive evidence, it will be proper for you at once to return to Constantinople, as your presence at a delusive enquiry is not desirable.

You may, however, use your discretion if you see reason for believing that any good

could be effected by remaining a short time longer.

I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

No. 175.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

Constantinople, January 1, 1877. My Lord, I HAD the honour this morning to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 21st ultimo, respecting the address from the Greek Community of Philippopolis protesting against any part of the country south of the Balkans being included in a scheme of autonomy, and directing me to inform the memorialists that their memorandum had reached Her Majesty's Government, and would receive the attention of Her Majesty's Representatives at the Conference.

MM. Psichari and Sarakioti having called upon me in the forenoon I was able at once to execute your Lordship's instruction, and I endeavoured at the same time to satisfy them that though Her Majesty's Government had been obliged to limit their present action to the Provinces where there had been disturbances threatening the general peace, they took an equal interest in the Greek populations, and would always

encourage the adoption of measures calculated to advance their prosperity.

The two gentlemen insisted that the course which was being pursued was in the highest degree detrimental to Greek interests. They had, they said, nothing to fear from Turkish encroachment, but they had every cause to dread that of the Slavs, over whom Russia would acquire an irresistible influence by a guaranteed autonomic administration being granted to the Slav Provinces without any such equivalent being secured to the Greeks.

The Greek population was unanimous in this opinion. Addresses from Thessaly and Epirus were being spontaneously sent in urging the Porte not to consent to the proposals of the Powers, and upon that point there was no difference between the views

of all the Christians of the Empire and those of the Mussulmans.

They spoke with especial indignation of the creation of a Bulgaria extending to the south of the Balkans, but I told them there was no question of the creation of any Bulgaria at all, and that if the reforms were to be applied to some southern districts, which had suffered in the recent disturbances, the Greek population would profit by them as much as the Bulgarians.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 176.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 4, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Consul Holmes,*
reverting to Canon Liddon's statement of having seen persons impaled on the banks of

Although I believe no one any longer doubts Canon Liddon to have been deceived as to to what he supposed himself to have seen, as Mr. Holmes considers his own good good faith impugned in the letters published on the subject, he has requested me to say that, if your Lordship sees no objection to it, he would be glad that his present explanation should be made public also.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 177.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord,

I RECEIVED a letter last November from Dr. Thomson, of the Bible Society at Constantinople, stating that he had been informed that a number of Bulgarians were detained in the prison at Uscup on a general chage of being concerned in insurrectionary plans, and I requested Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica to endeavour to ascertain the facts of the case.

I have the honour to inclose an extract of Dr. Thomson's letter.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 177.

Dr. Thomson to Sir H. Elliot.

Constantinople, November 14, 1876. (Extract.)

I AM informed that there are now, or were, on November 4th, in prison at Uscup, and had been so for about four months, some twenty-seven Bulgarians, on the general charge of being concerned in insurrectionary plans, but with no specific charge whatever that can be brought against them. My informant also states that their number was thirty-nine at first, but that about a fortnight before he wrote twelve of their number purchased their liberty by the payment of several hundred Turkish liras. The origin of their imprisonment, he says, was as follows:-

In or near Kotchani, or Katshanik, near Uscup, a priest, on returning from Divine service, is said to have found his house in the possession of a number of Turks, said to be seven, who were offering violence to his eldest daughter. A younger daughter had escaped observation. On hearing this, without saying a word, he got ready his horse, mounted his younger daughter upon it, quietly secured the doors of his house, and set fire to it; and then, mounting behind his daughter, galloped off, probably to Montenegro

or to Servia, and has not since been heard of.

As this took place just at the time when the outbreak took place in Bulgaria, the authorities at once concluded that it was the beginning of the insurrection in that neighbourhood, and immediately sent thither a number of regular troops, Circassian and Bashi-Bazouks, who soon pillaged the whole district, named Maleschovo, and reduced it to misery, though it is affirmed that no tendency to insurrection existed at all among the

As a further precaution, the thirty-nine individuals above referred to were apprehended and lodged in prison as hostages for their fellows, being all heads of families and persons of some consideration. After having been confined elsewhere for some weeks, they were brought to Uscup about four months ago, where twenty-seven of them still are.

Your Excellency may think this a romance rather than a fact, and I confess there are several particulars which I could have wished had been given in greater detail. But the twenty-seven men in prison are no mere imagination, and my informant is a man of great sense and truthfulness. He certainly would not knowingly report to me a fable instead of sober truth, nor has he any prejudice against the Turkish Government as such. He has urged me to try and do something for these poor sufferers, who are languishing undeservedly in prison, and who have already suffered severely in health, property, and comfort, and all through the excusable, perhaps, yet still reckless haste of the authorities. And certainly, though one might excuse the action of the Government in the first instance, it is surely high time now to set these men at liberty, if there is really no accusation that can be laid to their charge.

May I therefore beg your Excellency to take such measures as you may think proper to ascertain what amount of truth there is in the above matter, which I have felt bound to report to you, and to act therein, as I am sure your Excellency's sense of justice and compassion will dictate, should it unhappily be found that the facts are as I have

reported them.

No. 178.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

Constantinople, January 5, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, I have received a telegram from Mr. Baring, informing me that Achmet Tchaoush, of Kara Boulak, was sentenced to hard labour for life, on the 3rd instant, by the Philippopoli Commission.

> I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

No. 179.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch and its inclosures, dated the 2nd instant, which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the impalements stated by Canon Liddon and Mr. Mac Coll to have occurred in Bosnia. The reason why this despatch was not written at an earlier date was the necessity of waiting for Bishop Strossmayer's answer to the letter addressed to him by the Austrian Consul-General in Bosnia.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 179.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Constantinople, January 2, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd November, regarding Canon Liddon's and Mr. Mac Coll's statements of impalement in Bosnia, I now give your Excellency the

results of my further inquiries on this subject.

In the first place I beg to inclose a letter written to me by M. de Vienne, the French Consul at Serajevo, who had been making an excursion, a little before Canon Liddon's journey, on the frontiers of Bosnia along the Save, and extending to Novi Bazar; and his explanation appears to me conclusive as to what Canon Liddon and Mr. Mac Coll really saw, namely, a watchman who had mounted on his stake, probably to look at the steamer descending the Save. When I suggested that these gentlemen might have seen the remains of beans on stakes erected to facilitate their drying, I was seeking what might be an explanation according to the best of my experience, not being aware that in the flat country along the Save single poles were adopted as means of obtaining an extended view of the country around.

Secondly, on my late journey to Constantinople I inquired at Brood, on the Save, regarding impalements, and could find no one of any denomination who had so much as

heard of anything of the kind.

I then travelled down the Save in a steamer which during the past year has performed alternate voyages with the boat on board which Canon Liddon travelled. I related to the captain and officers what had been stated by that gentleman. The story was received with a general laugh, and declared to have been undoubtedly a joke on the part of the officers of the steamer, which they had expected would have been received as it was intended, but which, on it being taken seriously, they had not ventured to explain. I asked the captain, however, whether he thought it possible that such atrocities could have occurred during a year without his having observed them. He replied that it was utterly impossible; and that if the officers of the other steamer had remarked them, they were bound by standing orders to have reported them to the authorities of the different stations at which they touched. He also said that even if such deeds had been unnoticed by the officers of the steamers of the Save, they could not possibly have failed to attract the attention of all the Slavs on the Austrian side of the river, and would have created a general cry of indignation.

In my despatch to which I have referred above, I stated that my Austrian colleague at Serajevo had, at my request, written to Bishop Strossmayer, to ask some definite explanation as to what he said to Canon Liddon and Mr. Mac Coll. I now inclose copy of a letter from the Consul-General, inclosing Bishop Strossmayer's answer, of which I send

an extract containing all that relates to the present subject of discussion.

It will be remarked that the Bishop does not specify what he said to Canon Liddon, and does not mention the word "impalement," but only states in general terms that what he told the English gentlemen he had heard from trustworthy sources. He seems to show a sense of annoyance at being asked to particularize and substantiate what he said. He repeats the idea, originated by certain English writers who have endeavoured to throw discredit on experience which they cannot deny, that English Consuls, and Austrian also, write to order, to which "ils accommodent tout ce qu'ils voient et tout ce qu'ils ne voient pas," and seems to wish to pass by the question of impalement by saying that it does not at all signify what may have been the peculiar nature of the

atrocities committed by the Turks, but the principal thing to consider is whether the Christians can live under the laws of the Koran; and the rest of his letter is a dissertation on the general hopeless position of Christians under Turkish rule, of which I do not give a copy, as it does not concern the immediate matter under consideration, namely,

whether impalements have taken place or not.

I would now venture to make a few remarks on the letters of Canon Liddon and Mr. Mac Coll, published in the "Times" and dated the 20th October, which I did not see until after my last despatch was written. These gentlemen had the advantage of sneering at my first despatch on the subject, and at Mr. Stuart Glennie's testimony, on the ground that we seemed to evade the question by referring to localities 100 miles away from those where they had witnessed the impalement. The reason of this was that my only information had been that these gentlemen had "entered Servia by the Bosnian frontier," and had seen the atrocities mentioned at several military stations. Now the only way to enter Servia from the Bosnian frontier is by the Drina. I was puzzled, because I knew it was impossible they could have done so without falling into the hands of a patrol, and being reported at Serajevo; but I had no idea that they had seen what they stated along the Bosnian frontier on the banks of the Save. Had this been known Mr. Stuart Glennie could have stated the fact that he had performed the same journey on the Save within a week of the reverend travellers, and had not heard a word of these pretended impalements, and I should have been able to reply more to the purpose.

I ought perhaps to be thankful for the indulgent consideration of Canon Liddon, who states that every allowance is to be made for Mr. Holmes, "as he is writing to order, and has to make the best of the case before him." I should have thought that any gentleman would have hesitated to have thus insulted a public servant; but as, perhaps, Canon Liddon has long since regretted having done so, I shall say no more than that, in the whole course of my thirty-five years' service, I have never received from any Foreign Secretary or Ambassador the slightest hint to report otherwise than according to fact, and have always stated the plain truth, and the whole truth, to the best of my

Canon Liddon remarks that "Mr. Holmes characterizes our statement as astounding." I did so because it was "astounding" that these gentlemen could have believed that it was reserved for them alone to discover, on a great European highway, what could not have possibly occurred without the widest publicity; astounding from the credulity displayed; astounding from the tenacity with which these cruelties have been insisted on, and almost irresistible evidence to the contrary disregarded, when one would have imagined that charitably-minded clergymen would have been only too glad to be convinced, for the sake of humanity, that such frightful atrocities as those they thought they had witnessed had not in reality occurred; and, lastly, I now say astounding that gentlemen should have thought it necessary to support their assertions by endeavouring to weaken evidence, given with no malevolent animus, but simply to establish the truth, by sneers and insult.

I have, &c W. R. HOLMES. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 179.

M. de Vienne to Consul Holmes.

Cher et Honoré Collègue, Bosna Seraï, le 19 Novembre, 1876.

VOUS voulez bien me demander si, dans le cours d'excursions entreprises en Bosnie pendant ces douze derniers mois et tout récemment encore, j'ai vu, ainsi que l'ont rapporté deux voyageurs Anglais, des hommes empalés et si j'ai eu connaissance de telles atrocités.

Non, je n'ai jamais vu d'homme empalé, soit en longeant la Save, soit en suivant la frontière de la Drine ou la route de Constantinople que les Serbes ont occupée en plusieurs points. Mon assertion ne peut, sans doute, démentir le fait raconté par des voyageurs de très bonne foi, et d'autres raisons me permettent de discuter leur

Le premier de ces arguments est qu'aucun de nos collègues n'a jusqu'ici entendu parler de rien de semblable. J'ajouterai que les riverains de la Save, sujets Autrichiens de race Slave, sont en mesure de vérifier l'allégation des voyageurs et qu'ils ne l'ont pas confirmée. C'est, en effet me dites-vous, en suivant la Save en bateau à vapeur que vos compatriotes auraient vu, sur la rive Turque, le supplicié, et j'admets difficilement que la population hostile à la Turquie de la rive opposée devant laquelle ces actes de cruauté

auraient été commis, ne les signalat pas de l'indignation.

Je cherche donc une explication plausible et je crois l'avoir trouvée. Vous avez dû voir comme moi dans la campagne des poteaux assez élevés, au sommet desquels une plateforme occupée par un paysan sert de poste d'observation. Le cultivateur garde ainsi tout un champ de maïs pour le défendre contre les ravages des bestiaux paissant ici à l'aventure. Souvent les poteaux sont simplement entaillés sur les côtés de sorte que le gardien monte facilement au sommet en se retenant avec les bras. Je me rappelle avoir vu un homme dans cette position et mon compagnon de promenade me dit, "Voilà un empalé." C'était bien avant que les récits des voyageurs eussent motivé des investigations.

Je suppose donc que des voyageurs dont l'imagination était surexcitée ont pris des observatoires aussi primitifs, et servant actuellement à surveiller la campagne, pour des instruments de supplice. Je ne contredis ni n'affirme, et je ne puis que vous soumettre

cette explication.

Croyez, &c. (Signé) CH. DE VIENNE.

(Translation.)

Dear and respected Colleague, Bosna Seraï, November 19, 1876.

YOU wish to know whether in the course of my excursions in Bosnia during the last twelve months, and again quite recently, I have seen, as has been reported by two English travellers, any men impaled, and whether I have any knowledge of such atrocities. No; I have never seen a man impaled, neither on the banks of the Save nor in following the Drina frontier, nor on the road from Constantinople, which the Servians have occupied at several points. My assertion does not, indeed, disprove the fact related by travellers of perfect good faith, and other reasons enable me to discuss their evidence.

The first of these arguments is that up till now not one of our colleagues has heard of anything of the kind. I may add that people living on the banks of the Save, Austrian subjects of Slave origin, are in a position to verify the assertion of these travellers, and that they have not confirmed it. It was, in fact, you tell me, in coming down the Save in a steamboat that your compatriots had seen the execution on the Turkish bank, and I can hardly think that the population of the opposite bank, hostile as they are to Turkey,

would not have related it with indignation.

I therefore sought some plausible explanation, and I think I have found one. You must have seen, as I have, in the country raised posts, on which a platform is placed, which is used by the peasant who occupies it as a look-out place. The husbandman is thus enabled to overlook a whole maize-field, and to protect it from the inroads of stray cattle which may be grazing in the vicinity. In many cases the posts have only footholds cut in them, in such a fashion that the keeper is easily enabled to go up to the top by hanging on by his arms. I remember having seen a man in this position, and the person with whom I was walking exclaimed, "There is a man impaled." That was long before these travellers' tales led to the present investigations.

I conclude, therefore, that the overheated imagination of the travellers took these very primitive observatories, used in the present day for look-out posts over the country, for instruments of torture. I can neither contradict nor confirm it, and can only offer

you the above explanation.

Believe me, (Signed) CH. DE VIENNE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 179.

M. Theodorovic to Consul Holmes.

Serajevo, le 11 Décembre, 1876.

A LA suite de votre démarche j'ai demandé à M. l'Evêque Strossmayer par écrit, s'il était vrai qu'il avait raconté à MM. Liddon et Mac Coll que sur la rive droite de la Save des personnes de l'un et de l'autre sexe, et entre autres une femme enceinte, avaient été empalées vivantes. Je suis dans le cas maintenant de vous transmettre, M. le Consul et cher collègue, ci-adjointe la traduction en Français de la réponse de M. l'Evêque Strossmayer, écrite en langue Croate.

J'observe en même temps qu'au sujet d'une cruauté pareille je n'ai pu obtenir des informations authentiques ni par le moyen des Vice-Consulats de Livno, Brcha, et de Banialuka, situés sur les frontières de la Bosnie et dépendant de ce Consulat-Général, ni d'autre part.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) THEODOROVIC.

(Translation.)

Serajevo, December 11, 1876.

AFTER the steps taken by you I requested Bishop Strossmeyer in writing to inform me whether it was true if he had told Messrs. Liddon and McColl that on the right bank of the Save persons of both sexes had been impaled living, and among others a pregnant woman, I am now able to forward to you herewith, M. le Consul and dear colleague, a French translation of Bishop Strossmeyer's answer, written in Croatian.

I may remark, at the same time, that I have been unable to obtain authentic information concerning a case of such cruelty either through the Vice-Consulates at Livno, Brcha, or Banialuka, situated on the frontiers of Bosnia, and under this Consulate-

General, or from any other source.

I avail, &c. (Signed) THEODOROVIC.

Inclosure 4 in No. 179.

Bishop Strossmayer to M. Théodorovic.

(Extrait.)

Diakovar, le 28 Novembre, 1876.

VOÍCI la réponse à votre lettre:—
Ce que j'ai raconté à cet honorable Anglais je l'ai entendu de témoins complétement dignes de foi, parmi lesquels se trouvent des prêtres de mon diocèse résidant sur les bords de la Save et qui me réfèrent des horreurs inouïes dont ils ont été les témoins oculaires. Il n'y a pas là, il est vrai, de quoi s'étonner. Des passions s'étant déchaînées, de nos jours, en Bosnie, qui produisent des horreurs chez les nations civilisées, comment n'auraient-elles point cet effet dans un pays sauvage et complétement barbare jusqu'à nos jours?

Vous me pardonnerez, M. le Consul-Général, une observation que je vais faire. Dans nos contrées l'opinion générale est que MM. les Consuls-Généraux suivent une direction donnée, à laquelle ils accommodent tout ce qu'ils voient et tout ce qu'ils ne

voient pas.

C'est de là que provient—c'est ainsi qu'on le pense chez nous—l'admission de l'exceptionnel dans les jugements rendus sur ces évènements, et conformes plutôt aux idées de l'élément prédominant. Je ne sais pas combien de vrai il y a dans ces assertions; mais je remarque, non sans étonnement, que c'est précisément vous et le Consul Britannique qui ont cru nécessaire de me provoquer à cette réponse. En outre j'ai été frappé par la question que vous me faites dans votre lettre, à savoir si j'avais vu ce que MM. les Anglais racontent, de mes propres yeux? Comme s'il appartenait à moi de visiter les bords de la Save et de surveiller ce qui s'y passe, ou bien comme s'il ne pût être vrai que ce que nous voyons de nos propres yeux!

M. le Consul-Général, il ne s'agit point, à mon avis, de savoir si dans l'espèce tel ou autre a été le cours d'un évènement que les gens nous rapportent; mais il s'agit d'un grand principe qui décide, d'un seul coup, de toute la question, à savoir, s'il est possible ou non que sous le régime du Coran le peuple Chrétien puisse exister sans oppression ni

martyre.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

Diakovar, November 28, 1876.

HERE is the answer to your letter. What I told this worthy Englishman I learnt from unimpeachable witnesses, among whom are priests in my diocese, living on the banks of the Save, and who tell me of unheard of atrocities, of which they have been eye witnesses. There is nothing, it is true, astonishing in that. If passions have been roused lately in Bosnia which are productive of horrors among civilized nations, what other effect could they have in a country which has remained savage and barbarous up to the present day?

You will pardon, M. le Consul-General, a remark I am about to make. In our country an opinion is prevalent that the Consuls-General obey a fixed instruction, to

which they accommodate all that they see and all that they do not see.

Thence arise, at least, so people here think, exceptional judgments upon these events, and in conformity with the predominant idea.

I do not know what truth there is in these assertions; but I notice, not without astonishment, that you and the British Consul are the only ones who have thought it necessary to elicit this answer from me. Beyond that I am struck by the question that you put to me in your letter, as to whether I had myself seen what the English gentlemen speak of. As if it was my business to go to the banks of the Save and to see what goes on there, or as if things must be seen with one's own eyes in order to be true!

M. le Consul-General, in my opinion, this is not a question of ascertaining if in such or such a space of time an event happened similar to that of which these people tell us; but it is a question of a great principle which settles in a moment the whole question, which is, whether it is possible or impossible that under the rule of the Koran the Christian race can exist without oppression and martyrdom.

No. 180.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch telegraphed yesterday acquainting me with the operative clause of an Act which General Ignatiew had proposed should be signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers who attended the Preliminary Conference at Constantinople, I have the honour to report that I immediately communicated with Count Andrassy on the subject. His Excellency did not clearly understand the object of the proposed Act, as it merely declares what had been already notified to the Porte, and he said he could not express a positive opinion as to the expediency of signing it, having not yet received any report from Count Zichy with respect to it. It appeared to him, however, that it might be signed without danger or inconvenience if a clause were added after the word "peace" stating that "it is, however, understood that it shall be open to the Porte to propose modifications in details and as to the manner of carrying out the views of the Powers."

A clause of this kind, he said, seemed to be necessary to show that the proposals made to the Porte shall be subject to discussion, as the Conference would otherwise be a useless formality.

After he has received a report on the subject from Count Zichy, he will instruct him to communicate with Lord Salisbury in order that they may arrange, as far as their respective instructions may point out, to adopt a common course with respect to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN

No. 181.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

WITH reference to the suggestion that in the event of the Conference at Constantinople terminating unsatisfactorily the Ambassadors should not separate but resume their sittings in an Italian town, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Italian Ambassador here has made a similar suggestion, but I am told that Count Andrassy has expressed no opinion upon it, as he does not consider the question to require an immediate decision.

No. 182.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to Sir Augustus Paget of the 4th instant, on the subject of the proposal that in the event of the Conference at [195]

Constantinople breaking up, the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers should resume their deliberations at some place out of the Turkish dominions, I have acquainted Baron Orczy with the reasons which your Lordship has expressed to General Menabrea for personally disapproving of such a course, and I had ventured previously, on the question being first mentioned to me here, to express a personal opinion, that a prolonged absence of Lord Salisbury from England would probably be objected to, as inconvenient to the public service.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 183.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 12.).

(Télégraphique.)

DANS la séance d'aujourd'hui de la Conférence, nous avons proposé l'institution d'une Commission composée en nombre égal de Musulmans et de Chrétiens pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et nous avons déclaré même que la Sublime Porte est disposée à procéder à la nomination de cette Commission conformément aux bases contenues dans la note du Comte Andrassy en date du 13 Février. Quant à la nomination des valis avec l'assentiment des Puissances, nous avons dit de nouveau les raisons qui ne nous permettent pas d'acquiescer à ce point, et nous avons donné des assurances formelles sur le choix et sur la stabilité de nos Gouverneurs. Les Plénipotentiaires étrangers ont considéré notre proposition et nos considérations comme constatant une divergence d'opinion, et ils n'ont pas continué la discussion.

La prochaine séance est fixée à Lundi.

L'attitude des Représentants des Puissances n'indique point que leurs dispositions précédentes relativement à un départ éventuel aient été modifiées.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 11, 1877.

IN the meeting of the Conference to-day we proposed the institution of a Commission composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we have even declared that the Sublime Porte is disposed to proceed to the nomination of this Commission in conformity with the bases contained in Count Andrassy's note of the 13th February. As to the nomination of Valis with the assent of the Powers, we have repeated the reasons which do not allow us to accept this point, and we have again given formal assurances as to the choice and continuance in office of our Governors. The Foreign Plenipotentiaries have considered our proposition and our considerations as proofs of a difference of opinion, and they have not continued the discussion.

The next meeting is fixed for Monday. The attitude of the Representatives of the Powers does not indicate that their former intentions as to an eventual departure have been modified.

No. 184.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, January 12, 1877.

HER Majesty's Government approve the steps taken by your Excellency upon the subject of Shefket Pasha's case, as reported in your despatch of the 26th ultimo.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 185.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 13.)

(Extract.) Paris, January 12, 1877.

THE Duc Decazes told me this morning that General Cialdini, the Italian Ambassador here, who had just left him, had been dwelling upon the Italian idea that, if the members of the Conference were obliged to leave Constantinople, they should immediately reassemble at Venice, or some other place out of the Ottoman Empire.

The Duc Decazes did not speak with favour of this idea.

No. 186.

Memorandum.

MUSURUS PASHA and Odian Effendi called upon Lord Beaconsfield by appointment on the 8th of January, in order that Odian Effendi might deliver to the Prime Minister a letter from the Grand Vizier, of which he was the bearer.

After delivering the letter, Odian Effendi proceeded to state that he had been sent to England to explain to the British Government the reasons which had made it impossible for the Porte to accept the proposals made in Conference by the Plenipotentiaries Those proposals, he said, might be divided into two parts, the of the Six Powers. reforms for the disturbed Provinces and the guarantees for their execution. As regards the reforms themselves, there were points to which the Turkish Ministers felt strong objec-For instance, the creation of a Province of Bulgaria (a country which had never hitherto existed), and the limits which it was proposed to assign to it, and which would include large portions of country mainly inhabited by a Greek population, were proposals to which the Porte could not accede. The arrangement, again, that a third only of the revenue derived from the taxes should be paid into the Imperial Exchequer, and that the amount of this quota should be fixed for a term of years, was virtually equivalent to the constitution of a fresh tributary State. The stipulation that the Governors of the new Province or Provinces of Bulgaria must be Christians offered great difficulties on account of the small number of Christian employés in the service of the Porte properly qualified It seems, too, a strange proposition when it was for such high appointments. remembered that under Midhat Pasha's Government an improved system of administration had been introduced into a portion of this very country, and that the general prosperity of the Province had benefitted so much under his direction that the revenue derived from it had been doubled or even trebled without the imposition of fresh taxes. All these points, however, were not incapable of adjustment if discussed with patience and address. It was the question of the guarantees which seemed to offer insuperable difficulties, for the proposals of the Powers appeared to the Porte to involve concessions such as no independent Power could make consistently with self-respect. That the Turkish troops should be withdrawn into the principal towns, leaving the police of the country to the care of a foreign gendarmerie, and that a Commission of foreigners should be instituted, which should exercise or have power to exercise all the principal functions of Government (Odian Effendi here enumerated the various powers with which it was proposed that the Commission should be invested); these were stipulations which it would be not merely humiliating, but suicidal for the Sultan to agree to. It would be better that the Province or Provinces should be taken from Turkey entirely, than that they should remain nominally subject to the Sultan's rule, but under conditions which implied an incapacity to govern them, and which must ruin his prestige and authority with his other subjects. Odian Effendi continued that he was himself a Christian and an Armenian, that he knew well the feeling that was prevalent in the various parts of the Empire; that the prospect of exceptional advantages being granted to the Slav Provinces was exciting a feeling of jealousy and dissatisfaction elsewhere; that the Greeks were already clamouring for similar privileges; that his own fellow-countrymen were being roused to make the same claim, but that nowhere throughout the Ottoman dominions was there any feeling but one of opposition to the guarantees which the Powers sought to exact. The only exception, perhaps, was that of the Bulgarians themselves, who, he ventured to say, were, of all the Sultan's subjects, nearly the least informed and the most devoid of political capacity. Odian Effendi went on to speak of the Constitution which had recently been proclaimed for the whole Turkish Empire, of the security which it would offer for the real fulfilment of the promises made by the [195]

Porte to its subjects (which, he admitted, had in many respects been heretofore very imperfectly carried out), and, he added, that the personal character both of the Sultan and of the present Grand Vizier offered in themselves a guarantee that the new institu-

tions would be thoroughly and conscientiously carried into execution.

Lord Beaconsfield replied that as Odian Effendi was a bearer to him of a letter from the Grand Vizier, he thought it would be discourteous to refuse the honour of receiving the Effendi, but that Lord Beaconsfield could not in any way enter into negotiations respecting the matters referred to the Conference. It was impossible to negotiate in two places at the same time; the negotiations now were conducted at Constantinople, not at London, on the part of Her Majesty's Government by Lord Salisbury, who possessed their entire confidence. Lord Beaconsfield would, however, take this opportunity of saying that no one wished more than he did that Turkey should maintain her place in the European system; that she should enjoy internal and external tranquillity, and have an opportunity of placing her affairs, and especially her finances, on a reputable footing. As a well-wisher of Turkey, he felt convinced that her first object should be to secure an interval of peace. She had a brave army, but it was impossible to suppose that in a contest with Russia the latter Power should not in the end come off victorious. The struggle might last for more than one campaign, but the ultimate result could scarcely be doubtful. On the other hand, by accepting the conditions proposed to her, Turkey would gain a respite probably of some years, during which the Sultan would have time to reform his administration, to conciliate his subjects, and by these measures to regain the sympathy of England and the rest of Europe, which, as Odian Effendi must be aware, had been alienated by recent deplorable events. Lord Beaconsfield believed that the proposals of the Conference had undergone considerable modifications, and that as now presented to the Porte they certainly contained nothing which might not honourably be accepted. In the interest of Turkey herself principally, though also in that of Europe in general, he strongly advised the Porte not to reject them.

Odian Effendi said that he would at once report by telegraph to his Government the substance of the Prime Minister's observations. He had not, however, as yet heard from Constantinople that any modifications had been made in the proposals presented by the Plenipotentiaries, and he must repeat that in their original shape it was impossible for the Porte to accept them. That even supposing Midhat Pasha should make the great sacrifice of agreeing to such an arrangement, a step which must inevitably lead to his fall, the attempt to carry it out would ruin the Sultan and the Ministers who might assist him in the task. They would not be able to stand against the force of public opinion. Odian Effendi went on to say that he saw no occasion for further guarantees than what the Powers had ready to their hand. They had Consuls whose duty and practice it was to report on the state of affairs in the districts where they resided, and to notify any abuses or shortcomings in the administration. They had Ambassadors to represent these matters to the central Government. If the present Consuls were not considered equal to the task, the Porte made no objection to the appointment of others better qualified. Why should not the Constitution just granted be embodied in a Protocol and placed under an European guarantee, thus giving to the Powers the right to interfere on behalf of any portion of the Sultan's subjects, who might hereafter suffer from misgovernment? Odian Effendi mentioned that the special Constitution granted to the districts of the Lebanon was secured by no other guarantee but a Protocol of this nature, and that it had never been alleged that the Porte had failed to fulfil its engagements in that respect. In conclusion, Odian Effendi said that he knew that recent events had unhappily alienated from Turkey the sympathy and goodwill of England, which she had enjoyed in former years, but that his Government still relied on the English love of equity. When it was considered that after being victorious in a war unjustly and treacherously waged against them, they had been called upon to give such terms to their opponents as might have been exacted if Turkey had been the vanquished and not the successful party; that they had declared themselves ready to agree to these hard conditions, and had only broken off on the ground that they were called upon to submit to stipulations and restrictions in regard to their own revolted subjects such as they felt were incompatible with their existence as an independent Government, he felt convinced that the sympathy of impartial persons would not be with the Power which took up arms to enforce upon them such concessions.

To this Lord Beaconsfield only replied that he would still hope that a satisfactory settlement might result from the deliberations of the Conference.

Foreign Office, January 13, 1877.

No. 187.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held at your andience of the Sultan on the 10th instant, as reported in your telegram of the 11th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 188.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 13, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that you are authorized to accept the modified proposals of which a résumé is contained in your telegram dated the 11th instant, 3:40 P.M.

But having reference to the possibility of the Conference breaking up without result, it will be necessary to avoid all appearance of menace, and to hold no language that can be construed as pledging Her Majesty's Government to enforce those proposals at a later date.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 189.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 15.)

Sir,

I AM informed by Mr. Monson that a Committee at Cambridge, who have been forwarding to Cettigné contributions for the Herzegovinian refugees, lately stated that their last remittance not being larger might be accounted for by reports which had reached England of Montenegrin cruelties in the field, and they offered at the same time to make public any denial which might be sent to them of the reports.

The Montenegrin Government have consequently communicated to the Committee the substance of their correspondence on this subject with Mr. Monson, who has therefore requested me to give the above explanation to your Lordship in case any part of the correspondence should be published in the English newspapers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 190.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 1st instant, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the note which you addressed to Midhat Pasha on the 31st ultimo, respecting the sentence passed on Achmet Agha, and of your having instructed Mr. Baring to leave the Commission at Philoppopolis if the sentence is not carried out.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 191.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 26th ultimo, reporting your conversation with the Minister of Greece, who complained of the injustice that he considered would be inflicted on the Greek subjects of the Porte if special advantages were conferred on the provinces that had rebelled and not granted to those which had remained tranquil, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 192.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha January 16.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 15 Janvier, 1877.

DANS la séance d'aujourd'hui de la Conférence, le Marquis de Salisbury a présenté, au nom de ses collègues, un nouveau projet qui, quoique mitigé sous plusieurs rapports, contenait toujours les deux points relatifs à la Commission Internationale et à la nomination des Valis avec l'agrément préalable des Puissances. Sa Seigneurie a prononcé en même temps un discours pour déclarer que, dans le cas où ce nouveau projet définitif ne serait pas accepté par la Sublime Porte jusqu'à Jeudi prochain, il n'y aurait plus de base de discussion et qu'elle sera obligée de quitter Constantinople.

Tous les Représentants des Puissances ont tenu le même langage, en ajoutant qu'ils laisseraient ici des Chargés d'Affaires. Le Général Ignatiew seul n'a pas ajouté qu'il remettrait la gestion de l'Ambassade de Russie à un Chargé d'Affaires. J'ai répondu que la Sublime Porte ne saurait adhérer d'aucune façon aux deux propositions susmentionnées; que, quant aux autres points, le Gouvernement Impérial est disposé à entrer en discussion si les deux propositions sont définitivement écartées du programme. J'ai conclu en disant que la question sera soumise à un Conseil Général.

Je dois ajouter que le Sultan, le Ministère, et toute la nation sont unanimes pour rejeter catégoriquement les deux propositions dont il s'agit. Il est certain que le Conseil Général qui va se réunir, et auquel les Patriarches aussi sont invités à prendre part, n'y consentira à aucun prix. Parmi 30,000,000 d'Ottomans il n'y pas un seul qui pût les accepter, execpté peut-être quelque individu malintentionné. Ce n'est pas une concession raisonnable qu'on nous demande, c'est une proposition injurieuse, c'est la mutilation de l'Empire. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne pourra jamais laisser entamer son indépendance avant d'avoir épuisé tous ses moyens de résistance; et, comme c'est une question de vie ou de mort pour lui, il doit agir en conséquence.

Veuillez entretenir de ce qui précède le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et me

télégraphier sa réponse.

(Translation,)

(Telegraphic.)

IN to-day's sitting of the Conference the Marquis of Salisbury presented, in the name of his colleagues, a new project, which, although modified in certain respects, still contained the two points relating to the International Commission and the nomination of the Valis with the previous consent of the Powers. His Excellency at the same time delivered a speech to the effect that, in case this new and final project were not accepted by the Sublime Porte by Thursday next, there would be no further basis for discussion,

and he would be compelled to quit Constantinople.

All the Representatives of the Powers held the same language, adding that they would leave Chargés d'Affaires. General Ignatiew alone did not add that he would leave the charge of the Russian Embassy in the hands of a Chargé d'Affaires. I replied that the Sublime Porte could not in any way consent to the two above-mentioned propositions; that, as to the other points, the Imperial Gevernment is disposed to discuss them if the two propositions are finally struck out of the programme. I concluded by saying that the question will be submitted to a General Council.

I must add that the Sultan, the Ministry, and the whole nation, are unanimous in rejecting categorically the two propositions in question. It is certain that the General Council which is about to meet, and in which the Patriarchs are also invited to take part,

will not consent to them at any price.

Among 30,000,000 of Ottomans there is not one who could accept them, except, perhaps, some ill-intentioned individual. It is not a reasonable concession that is asked of us, it is an insulting proposal, it is the mutilation of the Empire. The Imperial Government can never allow its independence to be trenched upon without having first exhausted every means of resistance, and, as it is a question of life or death for it, it must act accordingly.

Be so good as to communicate the preceding to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and

send me his reply by telegraph.

No. 193.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir, Foreign Office, January 16, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador has communicated to me a telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople of which I inclose a copy,* stating that the fresh proposals presented by the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers in the meeting of the Conference yesterday, though modified in several respects, still contained the two points relative to the International Commission, and to the nomination of the Valis with the previous consent of the Powers. These two proposals Safvet Pasha maintains that it is impossible for the Porte to accept, and he expresses his conviction that the General Council, to which they are to be referred, will reject them.

I have expressed to Musurus Pasha my deep regret at this announcement, and have said that I could not hold out to him the slightest hope that the Powers would yield on these points. I not only believed but knew the contrary. I reminded his Excellency that very large concessions had been made already, and I said that the terms as they

stood would have to be accepted or rejected.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 194.

Report addressed by Saadoullah Bey to the Grand Vizier.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 17, 1877.)

(Traduction.)

PAR son télégramme responsif du 9 Novembre, 1292, votre Altesse nous a invité à lui fournir sans retard des reseignements détaillés et précis sur le nombre des maisons incendiées dont la reconstruction ne pourrait pas avoir lieu à cause de la saison avancée, ainsi que sur les localités où devaient être installées les familles restées sans abri. Conformément à cet ordre Véziriel, nous avons l'honneur de soumettre à votre Altesse l'état général ci-joint dressé sur des relevés exacts envoyés à cet effet par les sous-Commissions.

Ainsi qu'il résulte de cette pièce, les districts qui ont été le plus éprouvés par les derniers événements sont ceux de Phillipopoli et de Bazardjik; des 9,475 maisons qui composaient les 54 villages de ces deux districts, 5,300 ont été la proie des flammes. Sur ce nombre, 1,598 maisons ont déjà été reconstruites, et 1,014 autres sont en voie de construction. Les travaux sont poussés avec la plus grande activité, sous la surveillance de nombreux agents et comités, et l'on a tout lieu d'espérer que le beau

temps aidant, ils pourront-être achevés sous peu.

La question de l'installation des victimes de l'incendie pourra alors être considérée comme presque réglée d'une manière satisfaisante. Mais comme il vaut bien mieux s'en rapporter aux résultats déjà acquis que de se baser sur des probabilités, nous allons établir nos calculs sur l'état actuel des choses. Or le chiffre des maisons qui n'ont pas été détruites par l'incendie, ajouté au chiffre de celles qui viennent d'être reconstruites, s'élèvent à plus de la moitié des demeures primitives, il s'ensuit que pour cette année une seule et même maison devra servir d'habitation pour deux familles.

Il est cependant à remarquer que tous les villages n'ont pas été ravagés par le feu au même degré; les uns n'ont été détruits qu'en partie, tandis que d'autres l'ont été entièrement. Par conséquent la disposition ci-dessus ne saurait s'appliquer à tous les villages indistinctement. Dans ces conditions, il devient nécessaire ou de transporter ailleurs les villageois dépourvus de gites, ou de réparer les baraques de manière à les rendre habitables pendant les rigueurs de l'hiver. Aussi la Commission a-t-elle donné pour instructions à ses divers comités de transférer dans les localités avoisinantes les habitants des villages dont les maisons n'auraient pas été terminées; de leur procurer toutes les facilités nécessaires, telles que le transport par des chariots des enfants, des vicillards et des infirmes, ainsi que des provisions de bouche qui leur auraient déjà été distribuées et d'en fournir, à leur installation, à ceux qui n'en auraient pas encore reçues, afin de ne pas les abandonner à la charge de leurs hôtes.

La plupart des paysans ont préféré cependant passer l'hiver dans leurs villages pour mettre leurs affaires en ordre, et comme on ne saurait les faire déménager de force, il a été jugé convenable de rendre plus comfortables les baraques dans les localités où le nombre des maisons est insuffisant. En conséquence, les Commissions ont reçu pour instructions ultérieures de répartir les paysans sans abri dans les maisons du village, si elles sont en nombre suffisant; dans le cas contraire, de réparer les baraques existantes, et pour les localités où cette double mesure ne serait pas praticable, de transférer dans les villages circonvoisins les habitants manquant d'asile. Des agents spéciaux ont même été désignés pour veiller à la stricte et bonne exécution de ces dispositions.

Les paysans étant en ce moment occupés à la reconstruction de leurs maisons on ne peut, des maintenant et avant que les travaux n'aient été menés à fin, connaître le nombre de ceux qui resteront chez eux et de ceux qui seront transférés dans d'autres

villages.

De fortes probabilités et le progrès continuel des travaux nous font pourtant espérer qu'on n'aura guère besoin de recourir au mode de délogement. Des agents sont chargés de s'enquérir de l'installation des villageois et des garanties de sécurité que leurs nouvelles demeures offrent contre les intempérées de l'hiver. Nous nous réservons de faire parvenir à votre Altesse ces renseignements qui seront consignés dans les certificats émanés des mouktars de chaque village.

Les localités les plus éprouvées et qui méritent par cela même toute notre attention et toute notre sollicitude, sont les villages de Batak, de Parasdine-Dérbent, et de Peroussitcha. A Batak il a été reconstruit jusqu'ici 260 maisons; le reste est en

voie de construction.

Les habitants de Batak ont tous été réinstallés chez eux, à l'exception de cinq à dix familles qui sont, en attendant l'achèvement de leurs logements, installées dans

des baraques confortables.

Pour ce qui est de Parasdine-Dérbent, ses habitants étant pour la plupart industriels ou commerçants, ils se sont provisoirement installés, les uns à Carlova, les autres à Akdjé Kilissa ou ailleurs; ceux qui, n'ayant pas quitté le village, avaient été logés sous des tentes, viennent d'être, d'après ce qui nous informe le Commissaire Spécial, installés dans le batiment récemment construit dans ce village, et les tentes ont été déjà supprimées. De même, la construction de 89 maisons ayant été terminée dans le village de Pérouchitza, ses habitants y ont été en partie installés; les autres n'ayant pas voulu, malgré l'avis des autorités, se rendre dans les villages des alentours, on est en train de réparer leurs baraques et d'achever leurs demeurs.

On voit par ce qui précède que la population de ces trois villages, les plus importants sous le rapport du chiffre de leurs habitants et de leur étendue, est en ce moment réinstallée presque tout entière chez elle. Quant aux villages secondaires, tels que Tcheumlek, Yéni-Keuy, Chenk, Ouzoundja-Keuy, Zindjirli, et Eurekli, dont les constructions ne sont pas aussi avancées, on y travaille avec une infatigable

activité.

En ce qui regarde les districts de Selimno, de Sofia, et de Tirnova, le premier de ces districts n'a eu qu'un seul village détruit, celui de Boyadjik. Sur les 108 maisons incendiées, 86 ont été rebâties, et 8 autres sont en voie de construction. Dans le vilayet de Sofia, le village de Ramanitcha, dépendant d'Izladi, a eu 7 maisons d'incendiées; Ismosokia, 21; Raslocdja, 9; Racobdja, 40; et Facona, 32; toutes ces maisons, à l'exception de celles de Racobdja et de Facona, ont été reconstruites. Dans le Sandjak de Tirnova, le district de Serai a seul été ravagé par le feu; six de ses villages ont eu 541 maisons réduites en cendre. En outre, dans deux villages du district de Gabrova, 15 maisons ont brûlé; cependant, comme le nombre des habitations, qui n'out pas été endommagées dépasse 3,000, les autorités locales nous informent que toutes les familles éprouvées ont trouvé un abri dans les mêmes villages.

Il résulte de tout ce qui précède que les maisons incendiées de Sélimno, de Sofia, et de Tirnova, étant en petit nombre, leurs habitants ont pu être facilement réinstallés chez eux, et qu'en ce qui regarde les populations des villages détruits dépendant de Philippopoli et de Bazardjik, les difficultés de leur logement ayant été aplanies les familles éprouvées ne courent plus le risque de rester sans abri pendant la mauvaise saison, grâce aux mesures efficaces que, sous les auspices de notre auguste Souverain, votre Altesse a adoptées, en décrétant la prompte reconstruction des maisons incendiées. Quant aux dispositions à prendre pour assurer le bien-être de ces populations et leur procurer des céréales, des animaux, et des instruments aratoires, la Commission y pourvoira au fur et à mesure de leurs besoins, et elle aura l'honneur de soumettre prochainement à la haute appréciation de votre Altesse un état circonstancié des résultats obtenus.

Le 21 Novembre, 1876.

(Translation.)

BY your telegraphic reply of November 9, 1292, your Highness has invited us to furnish you without delay with detailed and precise information as to the number of houses burnt which could not be rebuilt by reason of the lateness of the season, as well as to the localities where families left without a shelter should be installed. In accordance with this Vizieral order, we have the honour to submit to your Highness the accompanying general report, drawn up from exact information sent for this purpose by the Sub-Commission.

As this document shows the districts which suffered most from the late events were those of Philippopoli and Bazardjik; of the 9,475 houses which composed the 54 villages of these two districts, 5,300 were burnt. Out of this number, 1,598 houses have already been rebuilt, and 1,014 others are in course of construction. The works are being pushed on with the greatest activity under the supervision of numerous agents and committees, and we have every reason to hope that, with the help of good weather, they will shortly be finished.

The question of the housing of the sufferers from the fires, may then be considered as almost settled in a satisfactory manner. But as it is more to the purpose to rely upon results already arrived at than upon probabilities, we will fix our calculations on the actual state of affairs. Now, the number of houses which were not burnt added to those which have just been rebuilt, amounts to more than half of the houses that formerly existed; it follows that for this year one house will have to be inhabited by two families.

It is, nevertheless, to be observed that all the villages were not ravaged by fire to the same extent; some were only partly, whilst others were entirely, destroyed. Consequently the above suggestion could not be applied to all the villages indiscriminately. Under these circumstances it becomes necessary, either to take elsewhere the villagers deprived of shelter, or to repair the huts so as to make them habitable during the severe winter weather. The Commission has, therefore, instructed its different Committees to transfer into the neighbouring places the inhabitants of the villages in which the houses have not been finished—to procure them all the necessary facilities, such as the carriage of children, of old and infirm people in carts, as well as of provisions, which have already been distributed, and to distribute these, on their taking up their quarters, to those who may not have received them, so as not to leave them to be provided for by their hosts.

The greater part of the peasants have nevertheless preferred to pass the winter in the villages, so as to put their affairs in order; and since it would not be possible to turn them out by force, it has been judged fitting to make the huts more comfortable in the places where the number of houses is insufficient. Consequently, the Commissions have received orders in their later instructions to portion out the peasants without shelter among the houses in the village, if they are in sufficient number; if not, to repair the existing huts; and in the places in which this twofold measure would not be practicable, to transfer into the adjoining villages the inhabitants wanting shelter. Special agents have, indeed, been nominated to look after the strict and thorough execution of these dispositions.

The peasants being at this moment occupied in the reconstruction of their houses, it is impossible just now, and before the works are concluded, to ascertain the number of those who will remain at home, and of those who will be transferred into other villages.

Strong probability and the constant progress of the work make us think, nevertheless, that we shall have no necessity to resort to eviction. Agents are instructed to inquire into the housing of the villagers and into the guarantee of safety which their new dwellings afford against the severities of the winter. We intend to forward to your

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Highness this intelligence, which will be contained in the certificates issued by the

Moukhtars of each village.

The places that suffered the most, and which deserve from that cause alone every attention and care we can bestow, are the villages of Batak, of Parasdine Derbent, and of Peroustitza. At Batak 260 houses have been built up to now; the rest are in course of construction.

The inhabitants of Batak have all been replaced in their houses, with the exception of from five to ten families, who are lodged in comfortable huts, whilst waiting for the

completion of their houses.

As to Parasdine-Derbent, its inhabitants being for the most part industrial or commercial, they were provisionally lodged, some at Carlova, the rest at Akdjé Kilissa or elsewhere; those who, not having left the village, had been sheltered under tents, have just been lodged, according to information received from the Special Commissioner, in the building lately constructed in this village, and the tents have already been taken down. Similarly, the construction of eighty-nine houses having been completed in the village of Perouchitza, the inhabitants have been in part lodged there, as the rest were not willing to return to the neighbouring villages, in spite of the recommendation of the authorities. The repair of their huts and the completion of their dwellings are being proceeded with.

It is shown by what precedes that the population of these three villages, which are the most important both in the number of their inhabitants and in their extent, are at

this moment almost entirely re-installed in their own homes.

As to the lesser villages, such as Tcheumlek, Yénikeuy, Chenk, Ouzoundja-Keuy, Zindjirli, and Eurekli, where the buildings are not so far advanced, they are being

proceeded with with indefatigable activity.

With regard to the districts of Selimno, of Sofia, and of Tirnova, the first of those districts had only one village destroyed, that of Boyadjik. Of the 108 houses burnt, eighty-six have been rebuilt, and eight others are in course of construction. In the Vilayet of Sofia, the village of Ramanitcha, a dependency of Izladi, has had seven houses burnt; Ismosokia, twenty-one; Rasloedja, nine; Racobdja, forty; and Facona, thirtytwo; all these houses, except those of Racobdja and Facona, have been rebuilt. In the Sandjak of Tirnova, the district of Serai alone was ravaged by fire; six of its villages had 541 houses reduced to ashes. Besides, in two villages of the district of Gabrova, fifteen houses were burnt; nevertheless, as the number of habitations which have not been injured exceeds 3,000, the local authorities inform us that all the families which have suffered have found shelter in the same villages.

It results from all that precedes that as the burnt houses of Selimno, of Sofia, and of Tirnova, are few in number, that the inhabitants have been re-instated in their homes with great ease, and that with respect to the inhabitants of the destroyed villages near Philippopoli and Bazardiik, since the difficulties of sheltering them have been removed. the suffering families no longer run the risk of remaining without shelter during the winter, thanks to the effectual measures which your Highness has adopted, under the auspices of our august Sovereign, by ordering the immediate reconstruction of the burnt

houses.

As to the measures to be taken to secure the well-being of this population, and to procure grain, stock, and agricultural instruments, the Commission will provide for them according to their needs, and it will have the honour of submitting to the exalted judgment of your Highness, without delay, a circumstantial statement of the results obtained.

November 21, 1876.

No. 195.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury,

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 18, 1877. YOUR despatch of the 1st instant, giving an account of your interview with the Grand Vizier, has been received and laid before the Queen; and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to his Highness on that occasion.

> I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 196.

Messrs. Rothschild and Sons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18.)

My Lord, New Court, January 18, 1877.

WE trust we may be excused for troubling your Lordship respecting the sad and painful accounts which have been received of the atrocities and persecutions perpetrated in the neighbourhood of Jassy, on the poor and unprotected Jews of Moldavia.

The letters which have come to hand are from too respectable sources to leave any doubt as to the correctness of the painful details they bring, and which, therefore, call

for immediate help being rendered to these poor and distressed sufferers.

Remembering, and gratefully acknowledging, the many previous occasions on which efforts of our Government have been exerted to obtain protection for our co-religionists abroad, whenever interference in their behalf has been necessary, we feel sure that we shall not appeal in vain to you to use your powerful influence on behalf of those now so cruelly and unjustly persecuted, and who stand so urgently in need of help and protection.

We hope we may be excused in asking your Lordship to telegraph to the British

Consuls in Jassy and Bucharest to this effect.

Renewing to your Lordship our excuses for troubling with this appeal, we have, &c. (Signed) N. M. ROTHSCHILD AND SONS.

No. 197.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 29th ultimo, reporting the return of Major-General Sir A. Kemball from Nisch, and bearing witness to the great ability and tact which he has displayed during the time that he has been employed at the head-quarters of the Turkish army, I have to instruct your Excellency to convey to Sir A. Kemball the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his very valuable services, which are highly appreciated.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 198.

The Earl of Derby to Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield.*

FURTHER accounts have been received in England of outrages perpetrated on Jews in neighbourhood of Jassy. Her Majesty's Government desire you to inquire into this matter, and to take such measures as you properly can for the protection of the Jews. You should send Mr. St. John the necessary instructions immediately.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 199.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 19, 1877.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held in your conversation with M. Bratiano on the subject of neutrality with Roumania, as reported in your despatch of the 26th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

* Substance telegraphed.

† No. 139.

No. 200.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, January 19, 1877.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency in your conversation with the Sultan respecting the Conference, and the difficulties that His Majesty might feel in acceding to the suggestions of the Plenipotentiaries, as reported in your despatch of the 26th ultimo.*

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 201.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot.

My Lord and Sir, Foreign Office, January 19, 1877.

MUSURUS PASHA called upon me this afternoon to communicate to me formally the decision of the General Council held yesterday, of which, however, he said, I was doubtless already aware.

I expressed my regret at the conclusion to which the Council had come.

Musurus Pasha endeavoured to argue that the rejection of the proposals of the Powers need not entail the departure of the Ambassadors from Constantinople; but I declined to enter into this question, as I said the course to be followed had been settled some time since, and had been formally announced to the Porte.

I went on to say that as the Turkish Government had apparently made up their mind to reject the proposals of the Powers, I would venture to advise that they should take the earliest opportunity to come to an arrangement with Servia and Montenegro.

If they could succeed in satisfactorily settling their differences with those Principalities, it might considerably diminish the risk of hostile action on the part of other Powers

Musurus Pasha thanked me, and promised to telegraph this advice to his Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 202.

Mr. Lister to Messrs. Rothschild and Sons.

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, respecting the further accounts which have been received of outrages perpetrated on poor and unprotected Jews in the neighbourhood of Jassy; and I am to inform you, in reply, that his Lordship has instructed Colonel Mansfield, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Bucharest, by telegraph, to inquire into this matter, and to take such steps as he properly can for the protection of the Jews. Colonel Mansfield was at the same time directed to send immediate instructions to that effect to the British Vice-Consul at Jassy.

I have, &c. (Signed) T. V. LISTER.

No. 203.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 5, 1877.

THERE was a meeting at the Russian Embassy to-day to consider the answer to be returned to the objections put in by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries at the last Conference to the proposals which had been submitted to them.

Believing that I possessed a greater knowledge than most of my colleagues of the character of the Turks and of their present disposition, I thought it right very freely to express my opinion that if we were still to hope to bring the labours of the Conference to a successful issue, we should not confine ourselves to an endeavour to refute the objections of the Porte, but that we must show a willingness so far to modify our proposals as to bring them back more strictly within what the Turkish Government will consider a fair interpretation of the bases upon which the Conference had been proposed to them.

It would, I thought be difficult to maintain that the proposed organization of the Provinces, the nomination of the Valis, and other officials, in the manner suggested, the deprivation of the Sultan of all authority over the movement of his troops, and the appointment of a Commission with such extended powers as those to be attributed to it, would not seriously impair the independence of the Porte, which we had promised to respect, and render probable the rejection of such demands.

I was not criticizing the merits of the proposals themselves, but we must remember that the success of the Conference, of which we need not despair, depended upon their acceptance by the Turks, which I believed could only be obtained by sufficient modifications to bring them within what the Porte would regard as the limits of the programme.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 204.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 5, 1877.

I HAVE the honour, to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a paper which has been communicated to the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers by General Ignatiew, and which contains a summary of the terms which his Excellency proposes should be submitted by them to the Porte in identic notes, with an intimation that the continuance of the Conference will depend on the acceptance of them.

Your Lordship will observe that several important points of the proposals, communicated to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries at the first meeting of the Conference, are not alluded to in this summary, and that the effect of it is to make large concessions to the views of the Turkish Government.

The proposal has not been formerly discussed, and no resolution with reference to it has been agreed to.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 204.

Summary of Proposals.

Monténégro.

RECTIFICATION des frontières du Monténégro, avec annexion des Baniani, Piva avec Niksich, Drobniak, une partie de Charantzi, le district de Kolachine, les Kutchi-Drekalovitchi, les Kutchi-Kraïni, les Vassoïevitchi de la Zievna au Lim, les Maly et Vely Brda, Spouj, et Jabliak.

Commission Internationale de Délimitation ad hoc.

Liberté de navigation et neutralisation des fortins sur la Boyana.

Serbie.

Status quo ante bellum pour la Serbie, avec règlement des difficultés de limites du côté de la Bosnie par une Commission Arbitrale, conformément au Hatti-Chérif de 1833.

Pour les deux Principautés: évacuation par les troupes Ottomanes et par les troupes princières des territoires en dehors des limites fixées, échange de prisonniers de guerre, et amnistie aux sujets employés au service ennemi.

Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie.

Les Gouverneurs-Généraux des provinces doivent être nommés pour cinq ans par la Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances.

Subdivision des provinces en sandjaks, avec des Mutessarifs nommés par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis pour un terme fixe, et en cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants, avec des autorités cantonales librement élues par la population dans chaque commune, et compétentes pour toutes les questions touchant les intérêts du canton.

Assemblées provinciales élues pour un terme de quatre ans par les Conseils Cantonaux, d'après le système indiqué dans les projets. Elles établiront le budget de la Province, et nommeront les Conseils Administratifs Provinciaux, dont les Valis devront prendre l'avis dans les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires et sur lesquelles ils pourront en référer à la Sublime Porte.

Amélioration de l'assiette des impôts: les Assemblées Provinciales et les Conseils Cantonaux auront la répartition et perception des contributions, sauf les douanes, postes, et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et les spiritueux, et la régie. Abolition complète de l'affermage. Remise des arriérés des impôts. Fixation du budget des provinces chaque cinq ans sur la moyenne des revenus. Une partie sera affectée au paiement de la dette publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement Central, et le reste à ceux des provinces.

Réorganisation de la justice dans le sens d'une plus grande inpépendance du magistrat. Nomination des juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels par les Valis, avec l'assentiment du Conseil Administratif, et des membres de la Cour d'Appel par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis et avec l'assentiment des Puissances. Publicité des séances et enquête judiciaire obligatoires. Juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions.

Entière liberté de culte. Êntretien du clergé et des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique par les communautés elle-mêmes, garanties contre les conversions forcées.

Usage de la langue du pays dans les tribunaux et l'administration également avec le Turc.

Défense absolue de l'emploi des troupes irrégulières. Formation d'une milice et d'une gendarmerie de Chrétiens et de Musulmans proportionnellement à la population, avec des officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs-Généraux.

Interdiction de la colonisation des Circassiens.

Amnistie générale pour les Chrétiens condamnés pour causes politiques.

Amélioration du sort des laboureurs et des fermiers en Bosnie et Herzégovine. Facilités pour l'acquisition de terrains de l'Etat ainsi que pour le rapatriement des émigrés.

Mise en vigueur de ces dispositions dans un terme fixe de trois mois.

Commission de Contrôle.

Deux Commissions de Contrôle seront nommées par les Représentants des Puissances garantes pour veiller à l'exécution des règlements et aider les autorités locales dans différentes mesures touchant l'ordre et la sécurité publique, ainsi que cela est dit dans des instructions spéciales communiquées au Gouvernement Ottoman.

[This Summary of Proposals was modified later. See Inclosure in Lord Salisbury's despatch of January 15, page 307.]

No. 205.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

(Extract.) Pera, January 7, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers met yesterday for the purpose of drawing up an answer to the statement read at the fifth meeting of the Conference by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

Some conversation took place with reference to the paper communicated by General Ignatiew, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch of the 5th instant, and it was understood that the concessions which it embodied would be adopted in Conference,

whenever we made our final proposals to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, without any condition as to the presentation of an identic Note to the Porte.

I have been in frequent communication through various channels with the Grand

Vizier, and have had a long conversation with his Highness to-day.

I urged earnestly upon him the importance of satisfying the opinion of Europe by conceding the proposed guarantees of a Commission of Control, and by the appointment of a Vali with the assent of the Powers. With respect to the former, I urged upon him the precedent of the Andrassy Note, and pointed out to him that there could be no derogation to the dignity of the Porte in appointing an independent Commission, when a Commission of that character had already been conceded by a former Sultan.

I regret to say that he has not yet agreed to concede any of the points in dispute. He attempted to prove that a general European war would result from an invasion of

Turkish territory by Russia.

The Conference will meet again to-morrow and probably on the 10th instant, but I have little hope of any progress being made by discussion with the Turkish Plenipotentiaries. If a solution is possible, I believe that it can only be obtained by negotiating directly with the Grand Vizier.

No. 206.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 8, 1877.

THE sixth meeting of the Conference was held to-day.

Count Corti read the answer of the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers to the arguments submitted by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to the previous meeting. I then read a special answer to their assertion that the proposals of the Powers were not within the bases proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

A warm discussion followed on the question of the definition of the term "Bulgaria" according to the bases. The Turkish Plenipotentiaries first professed their ignorance of its meaning, and then asserted that it included only the district north of the Balkan. Their attention was called to the fact that the worst horrors of last summer had taken place to the south of those mountains, and they then proceeded to inveigh against the religious persecutions which took place in former days in France, citing as instances the dragonnades and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Their observations were looked upon as disrespectful by the French Plenipotentiaries, who replied with much warmth.

A discussion then took place on the question of the guarantees, and the Turkish Plenipotentiaries objected to any but moral ones. They were reminded of the precedent established by the Andrassy Note for the establishment of a Commission. They desired a further interval to consider that document and the papers which had been read; and accordingly the Conference adjourned to the 10th instant, without having obtained any positive concessions from the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 207.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

THIS morning I took to Midhat Pasha the inclosed paper which I had received from the Marquis of Salisbury, embodying the conditions upon which he is endeavouring to come to an understanding with the other Plenipotentiaries, and very urgently pressed his Highness to authorize its acceptance in Conference, pointing out how much was omitted of what he had regarded as inacceptable in the first proposals.

I have noted in the margin the substance of his remarks as we went through the

paper together.

He did not give me the impression of intending to make any determined objection to the additional territory to be made over to the Prince of Montenegro, admitting what I said of the Porte, having no real interest in it, but denying that such an extensive

cession could properly be demanded of the Porte on the basis of the statu quo ante in

however general terms that expression was to be taken.

The only really important points upon which serious difficulty seems likely to be encountered are those relating to the Valis, to the International Commission, and to the formation of a militia.

He could not, he said, consent by any written official document to subordinate the authority of the Sovereign in the selection of the Governor in his dominions to the approval of Foreign Powers; but, at the same time, with the view of coming to an understanding with us, it might be possible to promise confidentially that the names of the proposed Valis should be unofficially communicated to us before their nomination.

I reminded his Highness that in the case of the Lebanon this engagement had been

taken in a perfectly formal manner.

To the period of five years, for which it was proposed to fix the appointments of the Governors-General, he objected, as restricting the still more permanent character of the appointment of public functionaries established by the Constitution.

I said they would have no security of tenure under the clause of the Constitution

authorizing the Government to dismiss them if they thought it indispensable.

He said that it was never intended that such dismissals should take place at the mere caprice of the Government, that in the regulations to be framed in reference to their appointments, care would be taken to provide against this by providing that their case should be formally inquired into; but it would be impossible to admit that no Governor should be recalled except upon a legal conviction.

Mere incompetence was not a crime, nor was bodily or mental illness, but these and other equally sufficient causes might make the removal of a Governor indispensable, which would be impossible if the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries were assented to.

I do not imagine that it will be difficult to agree upon an arrangement which shall guarantee the Governors against arbitrary removal during a fixed period, without the

inconvenience of rendering it dependent upon a legal conviction.

I should have stated that the paper alluded to was communicated to Midhat Pasha as one to which it was hoped to obtain the general consent of the Plenipotentiaries, but not as being already agreed to by them.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 207.

Midhat Pasha's Observations.

Précis of Conditions.

Monténégro.

Attaches no great importance to this, and thinks that though giving more than could be expected on the basis of the status quo, the discussion of this proposal should be reserved to the last.

Made no observation.

Ditto.

RECTIFICATION des frontières du Monténégro, avec annexion des Banyani, Piva, avec Niksich, Drobniak, une partie de Charanzi, le district de Kolachine, les Kutchi Drekalovitchi, les Kutchi Kraïni, les Vassoïévitchi, de la Zievna au Lim, les Maly et Vely Brdo, Spouze, et Jabliak.

Commission Internationale de Délimita-

tion ad hoc.

Liberté de navigation sur la Boyana.

Serbie.

Made much difficulty, insisting upon importance of Little Zvornik, but finished by admitting that the point might be referred to a Commission, as had at one time been contemplated by Aali Pasha.

Status quo ante bellum pour la Serbie avec règlement des difficultés de limites du côté de la Bosnie par une Commission Arbitrale, conformément au Hatti-Chérif de 1833.

Pour les Deux Principautés.

No difficulty made. Is ready at once to send back all Servian prisoners.

Evacuation par les troupes Ottomanes et par les troupes Princières du territoire en dehors des limites fixées, échange de prisonniers de guerre, et amnistie aux sujets employés au service ennemi.

Précis of Conditions.

Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie.

Objected strongly to the five years' term as impairing the stability proposed to be given to Governors-General, but finally considered that it might be managed. No Protocol or written engagement would be signed allowing the Powers to control the the choice of Governors-General, but he would engage that they should be consulted.

No objections of any importance.

No objections mentioned.

Only exception made refers to fishing dues, which he says could scarcely be otherwise collected.

Yes, in districts which have suffered. Will be taken into consideration.

Yes.

This was abolished by the law of the Tanzimat at the invitation of the Powers to restrain the irresponsible authority of the ecclesiastics, which gave rise to much abuse and oppression.

Les Gouverneurs-Généraux des provinces doivent être nommés pour cinq ans par la Porte, avec l'assentiment des Puissances.

Subdivision des provinces en sandjaks avec des Mutessarifs nommés par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis pour un terme fixe, et en cantons (nahiés, mudirliks), de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants, avec des autorités cantonales librement élus par la population dans chaque commune, et compétents pour toutes les questions touchant les intérêts du canton, et particulièrement la répartition et la perception des impôts.

Assemblées Provinciales élues pour un terme de quatre ans par les Conseils Cantonaux. Ils établiront le Budget de la Province, répartiront les impôts, et nommeront les Conseils Administratifs Provinciaux, dont les Valis devront prendre l'avis dans les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires, et sur lesquelles ils pourront entrer en communication avec la Sublime Porte.

Amélioration de l'assiette des impôts; les Assemblées Provinciales et les Conseils Cantonaux auront la répartition et la perception des contributions, sauf les Douanes, postes et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et spiritueux et la régie.

Abolition complète du fermage.

Remise des arriérés des impôts.

Fixation du budget des provinces chaque cinq ans sur la moyenne des revenus. Une partie sera affectée au paiement de la Dette Publique, et aux besoins du Gouvernement centrale, et le reste à ceux des provinces.

Réorganisation de la justice dans le sens d'une plus grande indépendance du Magistrat. Nomination des juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels par les Valis avec l'assentiment du Conseil Administratif, et des membres de la Cour d'Appel par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis. Publicité des séances et enquête judiciaire obligatoires. Juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions.

Midhat Pasha's Observations.

Yes.

Requires to be put into a practicable form.

Yes. Gendarmerie, yes. Militia, doubtful, rather no.

Yes, as regards introduction of Colonies, but not as preventing relations of those now here from joining them.

Will not sign engagement to that

effect. Yes.

No.

Precis of Conditions.

Entière liberté de culte. Entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique par les communautés elles-mêmes. Garantie contre les conversions forcées.

Usage de la langue du pays dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration également avec le Turc.

Défense absolue des troupes irrégulières. Formation d'une milice et d'une gendarmerie de Chrétiens et de Musulmans, proportionnellement à la population, avec des officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs Généraux.

Interdiction de la colonisation des Circassiens. Amnistie générale.

Amélioration du sort des laboureurs et des fermiers en Bosnie et en Herzégovine. Distribution des terrains de l'Etat. Facilités pour le repatriement des emigrés.

Le système électif pour la Bosnie sera remplacé provisoirement par le contrôle de la Commission.

Mise en vigueur de ces dispositions dans un terme fixe de trois mois.

Commissions de Contrôle.

Cannot officially accept such a Commission, but one may perhaps be indirectly The Porte might name a arrived at. Commission, and the Embassies might send Agents, as was done in the case of Mr. Baring.

Not admitted. All acts of clemency must come from the Porte and the Sultan.

Deux Commissions seront nommées par les Puissances Garantes pour contrôler l'exécution des réformes proposées par les Elles aideront les autorités Puissances. Ottomanes à découvrir les auteurs des massacres et excès, assureront la punition des coupables, et prendront part à la révision des sentences des personnes condamnées par les Commissions Extraordinaires et les autorités administratives. Elles veilleront à la restitution des armes distribuées par l'Etat, jugeront s'il est nécessaire de prohiber le port des armes, et prendront des mesures effectives pour venir en aide à la population éprouvée et assurer la complète sécurité des habitants au moyen d'une gendarmerie spéciale organisée avec le concours d'officiers et de sous-officiers Européens. Les Commissions surveilleront en général l'exécution des règlements, le fonctionnement de l'administration et de la justice, et les élections.

[For Translation, see Inclosure in No. 204.]

No. 208.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

(Extract.) Constantinople, January 11, 1877.

I TOOK advantage of the audience granted to me yesterday by the Sultan to deliver the Queen's letter, to impress earnestly on His Majesty the necessity of accepting without further delay the proposals unanimously submitted to the Porte by the European Powers.

I represented that, through the exertions of the Marquis of Salisbury, several of the points which His Majesty's Government had considered objectionable, had been so materially modified that there is no true friend of Turkey who would not now deplore it if she were to reject the proposals, and bring upon herself the consequences which must result from such an act.

The conversation turned almost entirely upon the proposed International Commission.

His Majesty asked me how it was proposed to constitute the Commission, wishing, I imagine, to be informed whether it was to be formed without any Turkish member being upon it, but I was not in a position to give him the information he wanted.

His Majesty, as well as the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, are still uninformed as to any change or modification having been made in the original proposals drawn up at the preliminary meetings of the foreign Representatives, and submitted to the acceptance of the Porte, and they have at present to be satisfied with being told that they are materially reduced.

They have learnt from their Representatives abroad, and from the public newspapers, that such is the case, but they have not yet been put in a position to discuss anything but the original project.

Although the Sultan shows much confidence in Her Majesty's Government, and a wish to be guided by their advice, it is to be remembered that the decision of the Porte will in reality rest with his Ministers; but we may, I think, calculate that any concessions consented to by them will at least meet with no opposition from the Sultan.

No. 209.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 11, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Adrianople, reporting the promulgation of the Constitution, and the elections for the representation of the Province in the new Chamber.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 209.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Adrianople, December 26, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Turkish Constitution was promulgated in this city late on Saturday last. The new era was celebrated by salvos of artillery and the illumination of the mosques.

Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence by telegraph from Constantinople (a translation of which I beg leave to inclose), the Governor-General sent for the different religious chiefs and informed them of the change from an absolute to a constitutional Government, and requested them to make it known to their communities.

The general public, however, unable as yet to realize the advantages of their new position, made no attempt at demonstrations of contentment.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. HUTTON DUPUIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 209.

Vizirial Letter addressed to the Governor-General of Adrianople.

(Traduction.) Le $\frac{1}{2}$ Décembre, 1876.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan aussitôt après son avènement au trône ayant manifesté son désir dans un Hatt pour que le Gouvernement de l'Etat soit fondé par des lois utiles:—

Pour la discussion de cette affaire importante il a été constitué une Commission à la Porte composée des Ministres, Oulemas, et autres hauts fonctionnaires de l'Etat, qui, ayant terminé leurs travaux aujourd'hui Samedi, en présence des Ministres, des Oulemas, et Mouchirs, et au milieu d'une foule nombreuse, a été donné lecture en grande solennité du Hatt Impérial qui sanctionne la susdite loi fondamentale.

Aujourd'hui par conséquent à été donné fin au Gouvernement absolu par la proclamation de la Constitution, qui a été toujours dictée par la Loi Sainte et la

philosophie.

Ce changement, qui ratifie aux Musulmans les droits civils de la patrie et de la nation conformément aux lois antérieures, assure en même temps la liberté individuelle, la fraternité et l'égalité parmi les peuples Ottomans. C'est avec la plus grande joie donc que nous communiquons dans tout l'Etat cette ère célèbre de la liberté, pour laquelle nous avons exprimé nos sincères remercîments à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Vous êtes prié, Excellence, de vouloir bien faire part de cet acte par 101 coups de canon, de permettre pour que des illuminations soient faites, et expédier par le courrier

les lettres de remerciment qui vous seront remises.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 15, 1877.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having on his accession to the throne, expressed his desire in a Hatt for the Government of the State to be founded upon useful laws:—

For the discussion of this important affair, a Commission has been appointed by the Porte composed of the Ministers, Oulemans, and other high functionaries of State, who, having finished their labours this day, Saturday, in the presence of the Ministers, Oulemans, and Mouchirs, and before a large crowd, caused the Imperial Hatt, which sanctions the above-mentioned fundamental law, to be read with great solemnity.

Accordingly to-day the absolute Government has been brought to an end by the proclamation of the Constitution, which has throughout been dictated by the Holy Law

and philosophy.

This change, which ratifies the civil rights of the Mussulmans, as belonging to the country and the nation, in conformity with former legislation, at the same time ensures individual liberty, fraternity, and equality to the Ottoman races. It is with the greatest joy, therefore, that we promulgate throughout the State the advent of this famous era of liberty, for which we have expressed our sincere thanks to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Your Excellency will be so good as to announce this measure with 101 guns, to allow illuminations to be made, and to forward by courrier any letters of thanks you may receive.

Inclosure 3 in No. 209.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that several important and influential deputations from the different communities, having at their heads their spiritual Chiefs, waited yesterday on the Governor-General to express their contentment and satisfaction at the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution. The deputations were attended by crowds of people of all nationalities, who testified their feelings of gratitude for the new order of things, and sympathy for the Government, under present difficulties, by shouting "Vive le Sultan," "La Constitution," and "Midhat Pasha."

Numerous memorials in acknowledgment of the benefits received are also being

prepared for presentation to the Central Government.

I may also inform your Excellency that the elections for the representation of this Province in the new Chamber were concluded yesterday, and that eight deputies have been chosen, whose names are:—

Turkish Deputies, Rasim Bey, Haggi Sherif Bey, Husni Bey, Rifaat Effendi. Greek Deputies, Dimitri Gheritoglu, Athenishotus.

Armenian Deputy, Ruspen Zasioglu. Bulgarian Deputy, Kara Michael Oglu.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. HUTTON DUPUIS.

No. 210.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 11, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two further despatches from Mr. Baring, one reporting the sentence passed upon Achmet Tchaoush, of Kara Boulak, and the other giving some information respecting the progress of the work of relief among the Bulgarians by the Turkish Commission at Philippopoli, which is working very cordially with Mr. Stoney, the Agent of the Central Relief Committee.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 210.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Commission has come to an important decision with respect to the case of Achmet Tchaoush, of Kara Boulak, and that judgment had been deferred till after the Bairam.

Owing to the illness of the President no further sitting was held till the 2nd

instant.

A long discussion arose upon the application of the law, and the sitting was adjourned until the next day, when at last the following decision was carried and

signed :—

"Considering that that portion of Article 57 which relates to actual ringleaders cannot be said properly to apply to Achmet Tchaoush, but considering that he was present among the Bashi-Bazouks who separated a number of men from the crowd (outside the village), who were subsequently massacred at the church, his acts must be judged in accordance with the latter part of Article 57, in virtue of which he should be condemned to hard labour for life."

Inclosure 2 in No. 210.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

MR. STONEY, who returned from a tour through some of the burnt villages a short time ago, reports that on the whole the work undertaken by the Commission is progressing fairly well.

At Krastovo, up to the 14th ultimo, only 14 houses were still unbuilt out of 70 which

had been burnt.

- At Leshnick, up to the 19th ultimo, 84 houses had been built out of 119 burnt.
- At Ouzoun Gheren, up to the 24th ultimo, 80 had been built out of 110.
- At Ayvadjik, up to the 13th ultimo, 60 had been built out of 66.
- At Sane Gueul 40 had been finished out of 52 burnt, the proprietors, however, providing most of the timber.

At Zinzirli, out of 177 houses, only 12 were rebuilt.

At Tcheumlek Yeni-keui (Novo Selo) Mr. Story also says that the work is progressing ourably.

On the other hand, at Eureli, a village of 130 houses, which was totally destroyed, only 50 huts had been commenced up to the 13th ultimo, and the condition of the people is spoken of as being very miserable.

At Popnitza, where 29 houses were burnt out of 133, no building had been done.

I find that this place was omitted from the list of burnt villages given in my

report.

At Streldja little had been done, and at Prassadum Dervent (Klissoura), up to the 16th ultimo, but small progress had been made, owing to the obstinacy of the Turkish "Meemour."

On my speaking to Sadoullah Bey about this latter place, he said that a Bulgarian

named Kirico, who had been employed at Zindzirli, should be sent there.

In the four quarters of the Turkish Yourouk-Mahallesi, real progress had only been made in one of them, viz., at Ouroutchlou, where 22 houses had been partly constructed out of 27 burnt.

In the other three quarters, out of 77 houses burnt, only 6 had been finished and 6 commenced

I hear from all those who are engaged in the work of relief, that none of the villagers are now without some sort of shelter.

The Commission is now distributing a number of "arabas" among the villagers, and

a certain quantity of cattle has also been given.

It has been found to be better and cheaper to let the villagers find the oxen themselves, and then give them the money to pay for them.

The Commission has also distributed a number of blankets and quilts.

Some time ago 100,000 piastres in Calmé were handed to the "Naïb" of Tatar-

Bazardjik for the relief of his district.

I regret to say that but little has been done in the way of restoring the property stolen during the disturbances, as great difficulties are encountered at every turn: e.g., a certain Ismail Effendi, who appears to be an honest and well-intentioned man, was sent to Isladi to recover cattle, &c.; the authorities of the place, however, issued a notice that any man who claimed cattle and who failed to establish his claim would be punished. This, of course, had the effect of preventing any Bulgarian from coming forward and demanding the restitution of what he had lost.

Ismail Effendi, seeing he was powerless, accordingly left, came to Philippopolis, and reported what had happened. He has now been sent back, but I have not heard the

result of his mission.

The Turks of Isladi have always been notorious for their lawlessness, and I fear they

will succed in thwarting his good intentions.

I regret to say that of late attempts have been made to throw discredit on the work of the different English relief Committees by spreading rumours that their real object was proselytism.

The most absurd stories have been afloat, but it is not easy to trace their origin.

Dr. Tchamakow and other leading Bulgarians have spoken to me on this subject, and have expressed their indignation that such calumnies should have been allowed to circulate.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WALTER BARING.

No. 211.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 9, 1877.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, stating that Her Majesty's Government think it desirable, in the event of the failure of the Conference, to avoid the signature of any identic Note, or of any Protocol, embodying the results of the preliminary meetings of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, I have the honour to state that the proposal for the signature of a document of the nature referred to has been abandoned by General Ignatiew, in consequence of the opposition offered to it by the other Representatives.

The withdrawal of the proposal does not, however, materially affect the practical result of the preliminary meetings, as the resolutions, agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, were deposited at the first meeting of the Conference, in their names,

by Count Chaudordy, and were annexed to the Protocol.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 212.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord. Pera, January 9, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copies of two telegrams communicated to me by order of the Grand Vizier, which have been received from the Governor-General of Adrianople and the Mutessarif of Slimnia, reporting the steps taken in accordance with his Highness' orders for the restitution to the Christians of the arms taken from them, and for the trial of Foundoukli Sultan and of the Circassians accused of acts of violence against the Christians in the Mutessariflik of Slimnia.

> I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 212.

Hyder Effendi, Mutessarif of Slimnia, to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.) Le 3 Janvier, 1877.

ON est en train de rendre les armes aux Bulgares auxquels on les avait prises pendant l'insurrection ou qui les avaient déposées dans les mains des autorités, sur la condition réglementaire qu'ils donnent un garant d'après lequel ils prendront un permis d'armes. Les habitants qui avaient gardé jusqu'à présent leurs armes sont invités à se munir de semblables permis. Il y a deux ou trois villages qui n'ont pas jusqu'à présent repris leurs armes, parceque le Mutessarif étant absent à Bozandjik ils n'ont pas pu obtenir leurs permis.

Les méfaits attribués aux Circassiens de Yamboli et au Sultan de Foundoukli (Schamet Keraï) ne sont que ceux qui ont été commis pendant les derniers événements. Malgré cela, le dit Schamet ainsi qu'un assez grand nombre de Circassiens sont en train de subir un interrogatoire, et j'attend pour commencer le procès l'arrivée d'un Président que j'ai précédemment demandé et qui doit se mettre à la tête d'un Tribunal

ad hoc, dont la formation a été approuvée par la Commission.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) January 3, 1877. THEIR arms are being restored to those Bulgarians who were deprived of them during the insurrection, or who placed them in the hands of the authorities, on the condition of their giving a guarantee and obtaining a license to carry arms. The inhabitants who had kept their arms up to now were asked to provide themselves with similar licenses. There are two or three villages that have not up to the present time taken back their arms, because, the Mutessarif being absent at Boyadjik, they were unable to obtain licenses.

The crimes attributed to the Circassians of Yamboli and to the Sultan of Foundoukli (Schamet Keraï) are merely those that were committed during the recent events. Nevertheless, Schamet, as well as a considerable number of Circassians, are to undergo an examination, and I am waiting, before commencing the trial, for the arrival of a President, for whom I have asked, and who is to be at the head of a Tribunal ad hoc, the formation of which has been approved by the Commission.

Inclosure 2 in No. 212.

Assim Pasha, Governor of Adrianople, to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.) Le 4 Janvier, 1877. EN réponse au télégramme du Grand Vézir relatif à la restitution des armes des Bulgares précédemment réunies entre les mains des autorités, et me conformant à cet ordre, j'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Altesse que j'ai communiqué ces ordres aux autorités du Vilayet, et d'après les communications que j'ai reçues aujourd'hui, on a déjà commencé à rendre à leurs propriétaires les armes dont il s'agit.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) January 4, 1877.

IN answer to the telegram of the Grand Vizier relative to the restoration to the Bulgarians of their arms which had been deposited in the hands of the authorities, and instructing me in that sense, I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of your Highness that I have communicated these orders to the authorities of the Vilayet, and, according to the communications that I have received to-day, they have already begun to restore the arms in question to their owners.

No. 213.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a report by Mr. Currie as to the steps which have been taken for reducing the weight of the chains worn by the Bulgarian insurgents imprisoned at Stamboul.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 213.

Mr. Currie to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Pera, January 9, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have this day visited the prison of Mitrihani, and have ascertained that, in consequence of orders issued by the Grand Vizier, the length of the chains worn by the Bulgarian prisoners has been reduced by more than one-half.

I was informed by the Governor that orders had been given for the manufacture of lighter chains, which would be ready in a few days, and would replace those now worn by the Bulgarians.

I have, &c. (Signed) P. CURRIE.

No. 214.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 9, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the meeting of the Conference, which was to have taken place to-morrow, has been postponed until the following day at the request of the Turkish Government, who state that time is required to translate into Turkish the paper read yesterday at the Conference by Count Corti, on behalf of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 215.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the draft of a Protocol which it is proposed should be signed by the Conference in the event of the terms embodied in the summary inclosed in my despatch of the 5th instant being accepted by the Porte.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 215.

Draft of Protocol.

UN Protocole sera signé par la Conférence.

Il contiendra:-

1. Les conditions de paix entre l'Empire Ottoman et les Principautés de Serbie et de Monténégro, ainsi qu'elles ont été fixées dans la pièce N° 1, remise aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans dans la première séance de la Conférence.

2. Le résumé arrêté des règlements pour les provinces de Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie renfermant explicitement, ou comme déduction, toutes les principales stipula-

tions des pièces No. 2 et 3, remises aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans.

3. L'engagement de la Sublime Porte de délivrer des Firmans aux Commissions de Contrôle, qui agiront conformément aux instructions qui composent les pièces N° 4

et 5, communiquées aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans.

4. L'engagement de la Sublime Porte de promulguer dans un terme d'un mois à six semaines, de concert avec les Représentants des Puissances, et conformément aux principes contenus dans le Protocole, ainsi qu'aux dispositions des projets proposés par les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances Garantes, des lois spéciales pour les provinces en question.

(Translation.)

A PROTOCOL will be signed by the Conference. It will contain—

1. The conditions of peace between the Ottoman Empire and the Principalities of Servia and Montenegro as they have been fixed in the document No. 1, which was given to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries at the first sitting of the Conference.

2. The correct summary of the regulations for the provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, including explicitly, or as a deduction, all the chief stipulations of the

documents Nos. 2 and 3 given to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries.

3. The engagement of the Sublime Porte to issue Firmans to the Commissions of Control, who will act in accordance with the instructions in the documents Nos. 4 and 5, communicated to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries.

4. The engagement of the Sublime Porte to promulgate within a term of from a month to six weeks—in understanding with the Representatives of the Powers, and in accordance with the principles contained in the Protocol, as well as with the dispositions of the projects proposed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Guaranteeing Powers—special laws for the provinces in question.

No. 216.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 11, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th instant, I have the honour to state to your Lordship that the adoption of the summary of terms, inclosed in my despatch of the 5th instant, was agreed to by the Russian Ambassador, on the understanding that it was to be offered to the Porte, as a last chance of arriving at a settlement, when the Conference was on the point of failing.

The German Ambassador has been authorized to accept it, and I have the honour to recommend that the same authority should be given to me, as it will increase the chance of a successful result, and will place Her Majesty's Government in a better

position, if the Conference should fail.

I shall be glad to learn, as soon as possible, whether Her Majesty's Government concur in this view, or whether they would prefer that I should adhere to the original propositions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 217.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,
THE Conference met for the seventh time to day.

Pera, January 11, 1877.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries read a paper on the subject of the Andrassy Note, and stated that the Turkish Government were prepared to put its provisions into execution.

They continued, however, to refuse their assent to any of the propositions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, and the Conference was consequently adjourned till the 15th instant.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries were informed that a last appeal would be addressed

to them.

I have, &c. (Signed) SA

SALISBURY.

No. 218.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby .— (Received January 20.)

My Lord, Pera, January 12, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of the Protocols of the third and fourth meetings of the Conference.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 218.

IIIème Protocole.—Séance du 13 Zilhidjé, 1293 (18 Décembre, 1876.)

Présents:

Pour la Turquie—

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France—

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie—

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance est ouverte à une heure et demie après-midi.

Le Protocole de la séance précédente, No. II, est lu et approuvé.

Son Excellence le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman annonce que dans l'intervalle le travail qui avait été remis aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans a fait l'objet d'une étude plus approfondie. Il en est résulté une espèce de contre-projet dont il désirerait saisir la Conférence. Elle se rendrait compte ainsi plus aisément des vues de son Gouverne-

ment et des modifications, des changements et des amendements qu'il a cru nécessaire et utile d'apporter aux projets qui lui avaient été communiqués. Malheureusement, au moment où il parle, la traduction de ce document n'est pas encore terminée. espère pourtant qu'elle pourra être remise à la Conférence avant la fin de la séance.

I e Comte de Chaudordy pense qu'en attendant il y aurait lieu de reprendre la lecture du projet concernant la Bulgarie au point où l'on en était resté à la séance

précédente.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans font remarquer qu'une pareille lecture n'aurait plus d'utilité, du moment qu'ils s'engagent à présenter sans retard les observations d'ensemble et de détail formulées par leur Gouvernement sur tous les articles. Il en serait de même de la lecture du projet de Bosnie.

Le Marquis de Salisbury fait remarquer que la Sublime Porte est en possession des propositions qui résument la pensée de la Conférence depuis huit jours, et qu'il avait lieu d'espérer que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans seraient à même de faire connaître à

la Conférence la réponse positive de leur Gouvernement.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha rappelle que la première pensée des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans a dû être de se demander si les projets qui leur ont été communiqués rentraient ou non dans les limites du programme dont le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique avait pris l'initiative. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont déjà fait connaître à la Conférence les raisons qui leur faisaient croire qu'en ce qui concerne les deux Principautés, on s'en était écarté par cela même qu'on mettait en avant des cessions de territoire. Ils ont dû en référer à leur Gouvernement qui, à son tour, ne pourrait très probablement prendre une décision définitive sur un point de cette gravité, qu'après en avoir délibéré en Divan, comme il est d'usage en pareil cas.

L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre pense que la forme de délibération à laquelle le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman fait allusion ne serait nécessaire que s'il se fût agi de cessions véritables, tandis que les propositions des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes ne

présentent pas ce caractère.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ne saurait s'empêcher de relever que si la Porte qualifie de cession la rectification de frontière proposée pour la Serbie, elle admet implicitement

l'indépendance de cette Principauté.

Edhem Pacha répond qu'en employant le terme de cession, sa pensée n'a pu être de donner prise à l'interprétation signalée par le Marquis de Salisbury. Le mot de cession dont il s'est servi ne signifiant autre chose que l'abandon à la Principauté vassale d'une portion de territoire qui s'est trouvée placée sous l'administration directe de la Sublime Porte, cet abandon, qu'on le qualifie de cession ou autrement, n'en est pas moins de nature à mériter toute l'attention de son Gouvernement.

Une conversation s'engage entre les Plénipotentiaires sur la question de savoir si

le programme Anglais n'a pas été dépassé.

Le Comte Zichy s'étonne qu'il puisse même y avoir un doute à cet égard. C'est l'Angleterre qui a proposé le programme, et du moment que ses Représentants déclarent qu'on est demeuré dans les limites, son Excellence ne saurait comprendre que la Conférence hésite à être du même avis.

Le Baron de Werther ajoute que, d'ailleurs, l'intégrité du territoire n'est nullement

lésée par les arrangements proposés.

Edhem Pacha maintient néanmoins son opinion et affirme que le programme lui paraît dépassé par les articles qui ont fait l'objet des discussions précédentes aussi bien que par beaucoup d'autres.

Le Comte de Chaudordy prend la parole et s'exprime dans les termes suivants:

"Je m'étonne des appréciations auxquelles nos propositions paraissent avoir donné lieu à la Porte. Il semblerait que les documents que j'ai été chargé de remettre au nom des Représentants des Puissances Garantes n'aient pas été attentivement examinés. Il n'y a rien dans ces propositions qui soit contraire non seulement aux vrais intérêts de la Porte, mais encore à la souveraineté du Sultan. En présence des erreurs qui se répandent et qui ont cours en déhors même de cette enceinte et dans des publications presque officielles, je me crois dans l'obligation de préciser clairement le caractère et la portée des propositions sur lesquelles nous sommes tombés d'accord dans nos entretiens préliminaires.

"Avant de nous réunir en Conférence, il nous a paru utile de nous assurer que le but à poursuivre était compris par tous de la même façon. C'est ce qui a été fait aussi rapidement que possible eu égard au nombre de questions à examiner. Je suis heureux de dire que ces entretiens ont eu pour première conséquence l'élimination de toute idée divergente et la rédaction en projet d'une série de propositions qui ont été

acceptées par nous tous.

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"On semble croire et on s'obstine à dire que de ces conversations préparatoires il est sorti un programme impliquant une atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Empire ou à la dignité de la nation Ottomane. Je proteste absolument contre ces bruits répandus et contre l'impression qui semble exister dans l'esprit des Plénipotentiaires de la Turquie. Sans entrer dans tous les détails, je parlerai rapidement des trois points les plus graves qui se résument dans la question de l'autonomie dont on parle comme si nous voulions rompre les liens de certaines provinces avec l'autorité centrale, de la Commission

Internationale et de l'introduction de troupes étrangères.

"En ce qui concerne le premier point, savoir : l'organisation administrative, judiciaire, et financière, le projet n'offre qu'un développement très-mesuré du principe de décentralisation sur lequel l'administration provinciale doit être établi. Rien n'empêcherait que cette organisation, après avoir été admise par la Porte en Conférence pour la Bosnie et la Bulgarie, ne fut étendue ensuite par elle à toutes les autres provinces de l'Empire. C'est qu'en effet ce régime, tout en étant basé sur le principe désormais constitutionnel de la décentralisation, ne rompt, d'ailleurs, aucun des liens qui unissent la province au reste de l'Empire. Elle continue à s'y rattacher par la communauté des lois civiles et économiques, par le même système de contributions directes et indirectes, par le fonctionnement régulier de tous les grands services publics, Douanes, chemins de fer, postes, et telégraphes, par la résidence des troupes, &c., &c. Comment serait-il donc possible de dire que le régime administratif du projet sépare la province de l'Etat, ou même qu'il tend à la séparer?

"Quant au second point relatif à l'institution proposée d'une Commission Internationale, je constate d'abord que cette institution a une durée limitée, et que pendant ce court espace de temps, elle sera chargée de veiller à l'exécution du règlement. Elle n'est donc pas, comme on pourrait le croire, un pouvoir étranger d'exécution substitué aux pouvoirs locaux. Comment pourrait-on voir dans son existence une confiscation par l'élément étranger des droits de l'autorité locale quand elle sera précisément chargée de veiller à ce que chacune de ces autorités exerce ses droits dans leur plénitude,

suivant l'esprit et suivant la lettre du règlement?

"Le rôle de la Commission étant ainsi défini, je suis surpris qu'on ait pu y trouver autre chose qu'une garantie d'exécution, et même qu'un concours utile d'hommes compétents qui s'efforceront d'assurer la marche régulière du nouveau règlement et des nouvelles institutions. Pour moi, je n'y vois qu'un appui pour la bonne administration

des provinces dont il s'agit.

"En ce qui concerne la prétendue occupation du pays par une troupe étrangère, il n'en est pas question dans le projet. Eu égard aux événements qui ont laissé dans les provinces dont il s'agit une impression de terreur, de haine, et de défiance entre les diverses éléments de la population, on est conduit à penser que la sécurité commune, le maintien de l'ordre, et l'exécution des commandements de l'autorité nouvelle seraient mieux assurés par une gendarmerie nouvelle aussi formée en quelque sorte d'éléments neutres et pris hors du pays. Ces hommes étrangers, il est vrai, comme individus, formeraient, cela est bien évident, par leur réunion en corps, une gendarmerie de province Ottomane. Elle n'aurait, d'ailleurs, d'après nos propositions, qu'une existence passagère. On introduirait peu à peu dans ses cadres les hommes de la province, Musulmans et Chrétiens, qui seraient jugés aptes au service si difficile de la gendarmerie, et non-seulement les hommes de la province, mais ceux qui, offrant les garanties nécessaires, pourraient être enrôlés dans les autres provinces de l'Empire. C'est ce que prévoit expressément le projet, tant, il est vrai, que nos propositions ne tendent sous aucun rapport à séparer ces provinces du reste de l'Empire. Cette prétendue troupe d'occupation étrangère n'est donc, en réalité, je tiens à le bien constater, qu'un cadre d'officiers, de sous-officiers, et de soldats instructeurs destinés à rendre possible la formation d'une gendarmerie solide et expérimentée.

"J'ajoute que si du haut comme au bas de l'échelle des services publics de la province, au siége du Gouverneur-Général comme dans la gendarmerie, le projet admet au moins pour quelque temps, l'introduction d'éléments empruntés à des nationalités étrangères, c'est que nous avons cru par là répondre à une nécessité impérieuse de la situation. On improvise des institutions, mais il y a une chose qu'on n'improvise pas, ce sont des hommes. C'est une loi invariable du progrès dans l'histoire des sociétés humaines que tout peuple qui veut sérieusement modifier son état et se donner de nouvelles institutions demande aux autres peuples, déjà formés à la pratique de ces institutions, des modèles et, en quelque sorte, des instructeurs. Il y en a pour l'administration, comme il y en a pour l'art militaire. Cet emprunt fait par tous ces peuples les uns aux autres ne leur a jamais paru humiliant. La France a longtemps emprunté à l'Italie des diplomates et des hommes d'état, à la Suisse d'excellents soldats.

La Russie a fait de même. Et pour ne citer à cet égard que deux exemples, n'a-t-on pas vu le Duc de Richelieu administrer une province et fonder une ville en Russie, avant de rendre à son propre pays les éminents services dont la France a conservé le souvenir reconnaissant? Et la France n'a-t-elle pas presque de nos jours donné au Comte Rossi, qui était Italien, des lettres de grande naturalisation afin de pouvoir l'employer comme Ambassadeur?

"Nos propositions ne contiennent rien que de pratique et de naturel. Les mesures qui y sont indiquées ne pourraient, en aucune façon, si elles étaient adoptées, porter

la moindre atteinte aux droits et à la dignité du Gouvernement Ottoman.

"J'espère donc que l'examen plus attentif de ces propositions modifiera l'impression première que je considère comme étant inexacte."

Le Général Ignatiew dit:

"La Porte est saisie depuis huit jours des propositions formulées par les Représentants des Grandes Puissances et que les Cabinets Garants ont trouvées justes et équitables. Il serait temps, paraît-il, que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, après avoir pu étudier à loisir les pièces qui leur ont été communiquées, fussent en mesure de nous déclarer si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Sultan accepte ou refuse l'ensemble de nos propositions, et quels en sont les points qui présentent à ses yeux le plus de difficultés.

"Il paraît démontré jusqu'à l'évidence que pour les conditions de paix entre la Sublime Porte et les Principautés de Serbie et du Monténégro les demandes des Cabinets ne sont pas écartées en principe des bases Anglaises acceptées par la Porte. On aurait, dès lors, de la peine à croire que le Gouvernement Ottoman voulût prolonger l'état des choses actuel, après s'en être remis, pour le règlement de ces questions, à la

décision des Puissances.

"Quant aux projets d'organisation pour les trois provinces qui, ayant le plus souffert des événements des dix-huit derniers mois, ont attiré l'intérêt particulier de l'opinion publique en Europe, laquelle réclame pour ces localités l'application immédiate d'un régime exceptionnel, afin de leur donner le moyen de se remettre des maux qu'elles ont subis, les Représentants s'y s'ont tenus strictement, en les développant, aux propositions de Lord Derby ainsi qu'aux principes énoncés dans la note du 30 Décembre du Comte Andrassy et dans les Iradés du Sultan du 2 Octobre et du 12 Décembre de l'année dernière, communiqués officiellement par la Sublime Porte aux Représentants des Grandes Puissances et constituant par conséquent un engagement à l'égard de ces dernières.

"Pour ce qui est du Gouvernement Impérial que j'ai l'honneur de représenter ici, il a fait en cette occasion abstraction complète de ses idées particulières. Les propositions unanimes des Cabinets constituent pour la Russie un minimum extrème et irréductible qu'elle a accepté par déférence pour les autres Grandes Puissances et pour

faciliter un accord général sur ces graves matières.

"Il paraîtrait que, dans ces conditions, l'acceptation du programme des Cabinets Garants serait singulièrement facilitée à la Sublime Porte. L'union des Grandes Puissances devrait lui servir de garantie du parfait désintéressement de leurs vues, et de la pensée de conservation qui a guidé leurs décisions. Mes collègues peuvent témoigner de la modération et de la conciliation qui ont caractérisé l'attitude de la Russie. MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans seraient bien inspirés s'ils embrassaient la même voie et acceptaient sans réserve les propositions de l'Europe. Je fais appel à cet effet à leur sagesse et à leur vrai patriotisme, qui doit rendre désirable pour eux de faire sortir au plus vite l'Empire du Sultan de la grave situation où il se trouve seul en face de l'Europe unie.

"Je fais appel au témoignage impartial de mes collègues pour constater l'accord intime et l'esprit de conciliation qu'ont présidé, dès le début, à nos délibérations et pour établir l'immense responsabilité qui retomberait sur la Sublime Porte si elle compromettait nos efforts sincères de pacification par une prolongation inutile de la tension mutuelle des esprits ou bien en rendant nos débats définitivement stériles par

le rejet de nos propositions unanimes."

Le Marquis de Salisbury ajoute :—

"Jusqu'ici je me suis trouvé dans la triste nécessité de rapporter à mon Gouvernement que les Plénipotentiaires de la Porte se sont opposés en principe à presque toutes les plus importantes propositions des Puissances Européennes. Ainsi, je dois m'associer à l'appel de l'Ambassadeur de Russie et de M. le Comte de Chaudordy. Dans les négociations récentes nous nous sommes efforcés, tout en sauvegardant les intérêts des Chrétiens qui nous sont de longtemps chers, d'éloigner toute proposition ayant à notre point de vue une tendance hostile à la prospérité de l'Empire Ottoman ou à la juste autorité du Sultan. Les concessions d'une part à l'autre ayant été faites après de longues discussions, nous sommes arrivés à un résultat que les Six Puissances ont cru digne d'être revêtu de leur sanction. Il est à espérer que la Porte, en vue de l'urgence de la situation, ne se refusera pas à l'ensemble des réformes qui sont recommandées par ceux qui ne peuvent avoir en commun aucun autre sentiment que des vœux pour sa stabilité et son progrès."

Le Comt Zichy désire s'associer sans retard aux déclarations qui viennent d'être faites par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de France, de Russie, et de la Grande Bretagne. Il donne à toutes ces déclarations son assentiment entier, car toutes les trois répondent

entièrement à ses propres idées aussi bien qu'à celles de son Gouvernement.

Leurs Excellences les Plenipotentiaires d'Allemagne et d'Italie déclarent successivement

qu'ils adhèrent complètement aux déclarations qui viennent d'être faites.

Son Excellence le Président s'excuse de ne pas se trouver à même de produire la pièce dont il avait annoncé la présentation au commencement de la séance. prenant connaissance des propositions des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Médiatrices, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont pensé tout d'abord que la partie relative à la Serbie et au Monténégro ne rentrait pas dans les limites assignées à leur compétence. Ils ont fait part de leurs doutes sur ce point à leurs collègues. Quant à l'autre partie, ils ont fait remarquer qu'à côté de dispositions de nature à être adaptées au mécanisme administratif de l'Empire, il y en avait d'autres qui paraissaient passibles d'une opposition très-sérieuse. Il n'y a là rien qui doive étonner, s'agissant d'un pays dont la situation intérieure présente des difficultés exceptionnelles à ceux qui veulent s'en rendre un compte exact. Le projet qu'il est chargé de présenter faciliterait de beaucoup la discussion. Il ne saurait dire combien il regrette qu'il ne lui soit pas encore parvenu. Mais il espère que lorsque la Conférence en aura pris connaissance, elle sera mieux éclairée sur les intentions de son Gouvernement aussi bien que sur la marche à suivre. En attendant, il désirerait s'abstenir d'entrer dans une discussion plus détaillée. Il se réserve d'y revenir lorsque les observations du Gouvernement Ottoman seront déjà connues de MM. les Plénipotentiaires.

Quelques membres proposent de passer à la lecture du projet des instructions à

donner à la Commission Internationale.

Son Excellence le Président fait observer que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'ayant pas encore admis, même en principe, l'institution de cette Commission, il n'y aurait pas lieu d'en discuter quant à présent l'organisation.

La séance est suspendue. On convient que le travail annoncé par son Excellence

le Président sera communiqué dans la soirée à MM. les Plénipotentiaires.

La séance est levée et renvoyée à Lundi, 1 Janvier.

(Signé)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

IIIrd Protocol.—Sitting of the 13th Zilhidjé, 1293 (December 18), 1876).

Present:

For Turkey—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany-

His Excellency Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austro-Hungary—

His Excellency Count Zichy, Ambassador for Austro-Hungary;

His Excellency Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

For Italy—

His Excellency Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia-

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Russian Ambassador.

THE sitting opened at half-past one.

The Protocol of the preceding sitting, No. 2, was read and approved.

His Excellency the First Ottoman Plenipotentiary announces that in the interval the document delivered to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries has been the subject of deep study.

The result has been a kind of counter-project, which he desired to lay before the Conference. It would thus make itself more easily master of the views of his Government, and the modifications, alterations, and amendments which it has deemed needful to apply to the projects which have been communicated to it. Unhappily, at the present moment, the translation of this document was not yet finished. He hopes, however, that it may be laid before the Conference before the end of the sitting.

The Count de Chaudordy thinks that in the meantime the reading of the project about

Bulgaria might be resumed at the point where they left off at the last sitting.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries remark that such a proceeding would be useless, after their having undertaken to present, without delay, the general and particular observations drawn up by their Government on all the articles. The same would hold good as regards the reading of the project about Bosnia.

The Marquis of Salisbury remarks that for the last week the Sublime Porte has been in possession of the proposals which represent the opinions of the Conference, and there was ground for hoping that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries might be in a position to acquaint

the Conference with the positive reply of their Government.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha recalls the fact that the first thought of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries must have been to ask themselves whether the projects communicated to them did or did not come within the limits of the programme in which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty had taken the initiative. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have already acquainted the Conference with the reasons which made them think that, as regards the two Principalities, that programme had been deviated from by the question of cessions of territory being brought forward. They were forced to refer the matter to their Government, which, in its turn, could probably take no definitive decision on a point of such gravity before having deliberated on it in the Divan, as is customary in such cases.

The English Ambassador thinks the form of deliberation alluded to by the Ottoman Plenipotentiary, would only be necessary if there was a question of real cessions, whilst the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers do not bear this

character.

The Marquis of Salisbury cannot help noticing that if the Porte considers the rectification of frontier proposed for Servia as a cession, it admits by implication the indepen-

dence of that Principality.

Edhem Pasha replies that in employing the term cession, he never had an idea of giving occasion for the interpretation put on it by the Marquis of Salisbury; the word cession which he made use of only signifying the abandonment to the vassal Principality of a portion of territory which was placed under the direct administration of the Sublime Porte; this abandonment, whether termed cession or otherwise, is none the less of a nature to merit all the attention of his Government.

A conversation arises between the Plenipotentiaries on the question whether the

English programme has not been exceeded.

Count Zichy is astonished that there can even be a doubt on this subject. England proposed the programme, and as long as her Representatives declare that they have kept within its limits, his Excellency could not understand the hesitation of the Conference in being of the same opinion.

Baron Werther adds that, moreover, the integrity of territory is in no degree injured

by the proposed arrangements.

Edhem Pasha nevertheless maintains his opinion, and affirms that the programme appears to him exceeded by the articles which formed the subject of the preceding discussions, as well as by many others.

The Count de Chaudordy then expresses himself in the following terms:—

"I am surprised at the reception our proposals seem to have met with at the Porte. It would seem that the documents which I have been charged to deliver in the name of the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers, have not been examined with attention. There is nothing in these proposals opposed either to the true interests of the Porte, or to the sovereignty of the Sultan. In the presence of the errors which are spread, and which have free course even outside this place and in publications that are almost official, I think it my duty to define clearly the character and bearing of the proposals on which we came to an agreement in our preliminary discussions.

"Before meeting in Conference it seemed to us worth while to make sure that the end in view was understood in the same way by all. This was done as rapidly as possible when one considers the number of questions to be examined. I am glad to state that these discussions had the effect, in the first place, of eliminating all divergent ideas, and of drawing

up, in a project, a series of proposals which were accepted by all of us.

"It seems to be believed, and is constantly asserted, that the result of these preliminary conversations was a programme implying an attempt on the integrity of the Empire or the dignity of the Ottoman nation. I protest absolutely against these rumours and against the impression there seems to be in the minds of the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey. Without entering into all the details, I will speak rapidly of the three most serious points which are found in the question of autonomy, of which they speak as if we wished to break off the ties of certain provinces with the Central authority; the question of the International Commission; and that of the introduction of foreign troops.

"As regards the first point, that is to say: the administrative, judicial, and financial organisation, the project offers only a very cautious development of the principle of

decentralisation on which the provincial administration should be established.

"There is nothing to prevent this organisation, after being admitted by the Sublime Porte in Conference for Bosnia and Bulgaria, being extended by it afterwards to all the other provinces of the Empire. In effect this régime, while being based on the principle, henceforth constitutional, of decentralisation, does not break, besides, any of the ties which unite the Province to the rest of the Empire. It remains attached to it by the community of civil and economical laws, by the same system of direct and indirect taxes, by the regular discharge of all the great public services, Customs, railways, posts, and telegraphs, by the distribution of troops, &c. How can it, then, possibly be said that the administrative régime of the project separates the province from the State, or has a tendency even to do so?

"As to the second point, regarding the proposed institution of an International Commission, I begin by stating that this institution is of limited duration, and that, during its short existence, it will be charged to see the execution of the regulations. It is not, then, as might be thought, a foreign power of execution substituted for the local power. How could there be seen in the fact of its existence a confiscation by the foreign element of the rights of the local authority, when its duty will be precisely to see that these authorities exercise their rights to their full extent, according to the spirit and letter of the regulations?

"The duties of the Commission being thus defined, I am surprised that anything is

found in it but a guarantee of execution, and even a useful assembly of competent men, who will endeavour to ensure the regular conduct of the new regulations and new institutions. For my own part, I only see in it a support to the good administration of the provinces in question.

"As regards the pretended occupation of the country by foreign troops, there is no question thereof in the project. Considering the events which have left in the provinces in question a feeling of terror, hate, and mistrust among the different elements of the population, one is led to think that the common safety, the preservation of order, the execution of the orders of the new authorities would be better insured by a new gendarmerie also formed in some degree of neutral elements and from outside the country. These foreigners, it is true, singly, would form, as is quite evident, by their collection into a body, an Ottoman provincial gendarmerie. It would besides only have, according to our proposals, a temporary existence. By degrees the inhabitants of the province would be introduced into its ranks, Mussulmans and Christians, who might be considered fit for the difficult service of the gendarmerie, and not only natives of the province, but those who, offering the necessary securities, could be enrolled in the other provinces of the Empire. The project has expressly this provision, showing how true it is that our proposals do not tend in any degree to separate those provinces from the rest of the Empire. This pretended foreign troop of occupation is, then, in reality, and I wish to state it clearly, only a cadre of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, instructors destined to render possible the formation of a substantial and experienced gendarmerie.

"I add that, if from the top to the bottom of the scale of the public services of the province, at the seat of the Governor-General as in the Gendarmerie, the project allows, if only for some time, the introduction of elements borrowed from foreign nationalities, it is because we thought we met by that means the imperious necessity of the situation. One can improvise institutions, but there is one thing one cannot improvise, and that is men. It is an invariable law in the progress of the history of human society that every nation which seriously wishes to modify its condition and make new institutions for itself asks other nations already conversant with the practice of these institutions for models, and, to a certain degree, for instructors. It is the case with an administration as it is with the art of warfare. This loan, made by all these nations to each other, has never appeared humiliating to them. France has for long borrowed from Italy the services of diplomatists and statesmen, from Switzerland excellent soldiers. Russia has done the And only to cite two examples respecting this, did not the Duc de Richelieu administer a province and found a town in Russia, before bestowing on his country the eminent services of which France has preserved a grateful recollection? And did not France, almost in our time, grant Count Rossi, an Italian, letters of naturalization so as to employ him as Ambassador?

"Our proposals contain nothing but what is practical and natural. The measures indicated therein could in no way, if adopted, convey the smallest injury to the rights and dignity of the Ottoman Government. I do hope, therefore, that a more attentive examination of these proposals will modify the first impression, which I consider to be inexact."

General Ignatiew says:—

"The Porte has for a week been in possession of the proposals drawn up by the Representatives of the Great Powers, which the Guaranteeing Cabinets have considered just and equitable. It appears to be time that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, after having been able to study at leisure the documents communicated to them, should be in a position to declare to us whether the Government of His Majesty the Sultan accepts or refuses the whole substance of our proposals, and which points offer to it the greatest difficulties.

"It would seem clearly proved that, as regards the conditions of peace between the Sublime Porte and the Principalities of Servia and Montenegro, the demands of the Cabinets have not deviated in principle from the English bases accepted by the Porte. It would be difficult, after that, to believe that the Ottoman Government wished to prolong the existing state of things, after having had recourse, for the settlement of these questions, to the decision of the Powers.

"As to the projects of organization for the three provinces, which, as they suffered most from the events of the last eighteen months, have attracted the particular interest of public opinion in Europe, which demands for these localities the immediate application of an exceptional régime, so as to afford them the means of recovering from the evils they have undergone, the Representatives have confined themselves strictly, in developing them, to the proposals of Lord Derby, and to the principles expressed in the note of Count Andrassy of the 30th December, and in the Iradés of the Sultan of the 2nd October and

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12th December of last year, communicated officially by the Sublime Porte to the Representatives of the Great Powers, and consequently constituting an engagement with respect to the latter.

"As regards the Imperial Government, which I have the honour to represent here, it has on this occasion completely put aside its private ideas. The unanimous proposals of the Cabinets constitute for Russia a final and irreducible minimum, which she has accepted out of deference to the other Great Powers, and to facilitate a general agreement

on these serious questions.

"It would seem that, as matters stand, the acceptance of the programme of the Guaranteeing Cabinets is rendered singularly easy for the Sublime Porte. The union of the Great Powers should serve as a guarantee of the perfect disinterestedness of their views, and the conservative feeling which has guided their decisions. My colleagues can bear witness to the moderate and conciliatory tone which has characterized the attitude of Russia. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries would follow a happy inspiration if they adopted the same views and accepted without reserve the proposals of Europe. To effect this I appeal to their wisdom and true patriotism which must make it desirable for them to extricate as soon as possible the Empire of the Sultan from the serious situation in which it finds itself placed alone in the face of united Europe.

"I appeal to the impartial testimony of my colleagues to bear evidence to the close agreement and conciliatory spirit which has prevailed, from the beginning, in our deliberations, and to assert the immense responsibility which the Sublime Porte would incur, if she compromised our earnest endeavours for peace by a futile prolongation of the strain on the minds of all, or by rendering our discussions definitively useless by the rejection of our

unanimous proposals."

The Marquis of Salisbury adds:—

"Hitherto I have been unhappily forced to report to my Government that the Plenipotentiaries of the Porte have opposed in principle nearly all the most important proposals
of the European Powers. Therefore I must join in the appeal of the Russian Ambassador
and the Count de Chaudordy. In the recent negotiations we strove, while guarding
the interests of the Christians, which have long been dear to us, to avoid any proposal
which we considered might have a tendency hostile to the prosperity of the Ottoman
Empire or to the rightful authority of the Sultan. The concessions on both sides
having been made after lengthy discussions, we have arrived at a result which the
Six Powers have deemed worthy of receiving their sanction. It is to be hoped that the
Porte, considering the urgency of the situation, will not refuse the reforms recommended
by those who can have no sentiment in common but wishes for its stability and progress."

Count Zichy wishes to join without delay in the declarations just made by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Russia, and Great Britain. He gives his full assent to all these declarations, for all three completely convey his own ideas, as well as those of his

Government.

Their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of Germany and Italy declare successively

their complete adhesion to the declarations just made.

His Excellency the President excuses himself for not being in a position to produce the document the presentation of which he had announced at the beginning of the sitting. In considering the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Mediating Powers, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries thought at first that the part referring to Servia and Montenegro did not come within the limits fixed for their consideration; they communicated their doubts on this point to their colleagues. As to the other part, they drew attention to the fact that side by side with arrangements suitable to the mechanism of the administration of the Empire, there were others which appeared liable to very serious opposition. There is nothing astonishing in that, as a country is in question the internal position of which offers exceptional difficulties to those wishing to acquire an accurate knowledge of it. The project he is charged to present would much facilitate the discussion. He cannot sufficiently express his regret at it not having yet reached him. But he hopes that when the Conference is acquainted with it, it will be better informed as to the intentions of his Government, as well as to the course to be pursued. In the meanwhile, he would wish to refrain from entering into a more detailed discussion; he waits for an opportunity of recurring to it till the observations of the Ottoman Government are made known to the Plenipotentiaries.

Some members propose to pass to the reading of the project of the instructions for the International Commission.

His Excellency the President observes that as the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have not yet admitted, even in principle, the institution of this Commission, there is no reason at present for discussing its organization.

The sitting is suspended. It is settled that the document referred to by his Excellency the President shall be communicated in the course of the evening to the Plenipotentiaries.

The sitting is closed, and adjourned till Monday, January 1.

(Signed)

SAFVET. EDHEM. WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT. L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 218.

IVème Protocole.—Séance du 17 Zilhidjé, 1293 (30 Décembre, 1876).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie ---

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance est ouverte à une heure après-midi.

Le Protocole de la troisième séance est lu et approuvé.

Le contre-projet de la Sublime Porte ci-annexé ayant été communiqué dans l'intervalle à MM. les Plénipotentiaires des six Puissances, son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury prend la parole et s'exprime dans les termes suivants:-

"J'ai pris connaissance des propositions que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte ont communiquées à ceux des Puissances Garantes au sujet de l'organisation de certaines provinces de l'Empire.

"Je regrette de devoir constater que ce contre-projet ne fait aucune mention :-

"1. De l'emploi de soldats étrangers qui doivent servir de cadres à une gendarmerie à créer;

"2. D'une Commission Internationale de surveillance.

"En outre le contre-projet remet à la décision future de la Porte et à l'assentiment d'une Assemblée Législative dont la création est encore lointaine :-

"1. La suppression des dîmes;

"2. Le système qui doit être institué à l'affermage des impôts;
"3. L'institution des tribunaux, la manière de nommer les juges, la durée de leur mandat; "4. Le mode d'élection et les attributions des divers Conseils.

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"D'autre part, le contre-projet repousse les propositions suivantes :--

"1. L'amnistie;

"2. La gendarmerie (sans rapport à la question de troupes Européennes);

"3. La milice à être enrôlée parmi Musulmans et Chrétiens;

"4. L'emploi de la langue du pays au même titre que la langue Turque;

"5. La nomination pour un terme de cinq ans du Vali, qui ne pourra être destitué que par arrêt d'un Tribunal indépendant;

"6. La nomination des Mutessarifs pour un terme fixe;

"7. Le choix du Vali avec l'assentiment des Ambassadeurs;

"8. Le choix des Mutessarifs par le Vali;

"9. Le cantonnement des troupes dans les chefs-lieux et forteresses;

"10. La fixation par une autorité indépendante de la quote-part des contributions directes à être versée au Gouvernement Central;

"11. La prohibition à l'avenir de la colonisation des Circassiens.

"Tous les Valis, Gouverneurs, Sous-Gouverneurs et Directeurs des Finances, et tous les fonctionnaires en général, pourront être destitués par la Porte à sa discrétion.

"Les arrêts des Conseils n'auront pas de force sans l'assentinent de la Porte.

"C'est donc avec un profond regret que j'ai pris connaissance d'un contre-projet qui ne répond ni au respect dû aux Puissances ou à la dignité bien entendue de la Sublime Porte.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'ont proposé aucune modification aux propositions faites par les Puissances. Ils ont simplement repoussé d'une manière absolue

les principes essentiels qui les avaient inspirées.
"Je prie MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte de prendre en considération la grave situation de l'Empire et de songer que son sort est entre leurs mains. La responsabilité de leurs actes sera grande devant l'histoire.

"Les Puissances ont proposé les bases de pacification qu'elles ont jugé les plus aptes à assurer la paix de l'Europe et l'amélioration du sort des populations de l'Empire. C'est sur ces bases qu'elles sont prêtes à entrer en discussion avec les Représentants de la Sublime Porte.'

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que les meilleures institutions sont celles qui conviennent aux mœurs, aux usages et aux traditions du pays. La Sublime Porte a examiné les projets présentés par les Puissances. Son Altesse le Grand-Vézir notamment, dont la capacité administrative est reconnue par tout le monde et qui a été Vali dans diverses provinces de l'Empire, les a attentivement étudiées. Le Gouvernement a modifié certaines dispositions, adopté celles qui convenaient à l'organisation générale du pays, et décliné celles qui semblaient donner lieu à des difficultés inextricables. Les populations elles-mêmes dont on veut améliorer le sort s'opposeraient à l'application de plusieurs des points proposés. Son Excellence ajoute qu'elle ne croyait pas que ces contre-propositions rencontreraient des difficultés de la part des Puissances. Elle fait remarquer que la Sublime Porte consentirait volontiers à employer des officiers étrangers dans sa gendarmerie pour l'organiser d'après le système Européen, mais employer à la demande des Gouvernements étrangers des troupes étrangères qui ne connaissent ni les habitudes, ni la langue du pays, serait à ses yeux un grand danger. S'il arrivait malheur à quelques uns de ces étrangers, l'Europe se soulèverait contre la Turquie et en rendraît responsable le Gouvernement. En ce qui concerne les Tribunaux, le principe d'inamovibilité est consacré par la Constitution et ils offrent toutes les garanties voulues pour la justice.

Le Comte de Chaudordy ayant fait observer que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'expliquent pas comment seront organisés les Tribunaux, leurs Excellences Safvet Pacha et Edhem Pacha répondent qu'ils sont déjà organisés, mais que les modifications et améliorations à introduire ne peuvent être décidées que conformément à la Constitution et par les corps compétents, c'est-à-dire le Conseil d'Etat et la Chambre des Députés, qui se réunira au mois de Mars. Au surplus cinq Commissions ont été déjà nommées pour hâter l'élaboration des lois prévues par la Constitution, et ces lois pourraient être prêtes en peu de temps.

Le Comte Zichy demande si les paroles que vient de prononcer son Excellence Safvet Pacha sont une réponse au discours de son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha ayant exprimé le désir d'avoir sous les yeux une copie de ce discours pour être à même d'y répondre, le Comte de Chaudordy répond que les points qui y sont contenus sont développés dans les propositions des Puissances.

Le Comte Zichy insiste dans le sens de sa précédente observation. Il prie les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans de prendre en considération que les paroles du Marquis de Salisbury sont l'expression de la pensée des six Puissances qui adhèrent toutes à ces déclarations.

Leurs Excellences le Comte de Chaudordy et le Baron de Werther disent qu'en

effet ils partagent les appréciations de sa Seigneurie.

Le Général Ignatiem dit que les contre-propositions de la Sublime Porte sont contraires à la pensée des Plénipotentiaires. Quant à lui, d'après ses instructions, il regarde comme inadmissible tout projet qui s'écarte des bases posées par les Représentants des Puissances.

Le Baron de Werther ajoute que Lord Salisbury a exposé ces bases et que le projet

de la Porte les passe sous silence.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha ayant rappelé que les points que la Sublime Porte considère comme contraires à ses droits ont été indiqués clairement dans une précédente séance, il est donné lecture d'un passage du II^{me} Protocole, d'où il résulte que ces points sont les suivants:-

1. L'institution d'une Commission Internationale.

- 2. L'introduction d'un corps de gendarmerie étrangère.
- 3. Le cantonnement des troupes dans les forteresses.
- 4. Le mode de nomination concernant les Gouverneurs.
- 5. La division Administrative.
- 6. Les dispositions concernant les finances et la justice.
- 7. Le déplacement en Asie des colonnes Circassiennes.
 8. La mise de différentes localités sous l'administration de la Serbie et du Monténégro, etc., etc.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, continuant ses observations, déclare que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'ont pas même le pouvoir de discuter ces points, mais qu'ils sont prêts à discuter les autres.

Son Excellence le Général Ignatiew pense que si l'on écarte ces points, il n'y a en réalité plus rien à discuter. Quant à lui, faisant abstraction de ses propres sentiments, il a accepté le programme Européen, et il ne se regarde pas comme autorisé à discuter

un projet qui s'en écarterait.

Son Excellence le Comte de Chaudordy, rappelant les points dont les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans refusent de s'occuper, et notamment les questions d'administration, de finances, de justice, de mode électoral, et la nomination des Gouverneurs, est d'avis que dans ces conditions il n'y a point matière suffisante pour préparer un règlement pour les provinces.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha fait remarquer qu'en ce qui concerne les Gouverneurs, la Sublime Porte doit s'en référer à la Constitution, qui prévoit les cas de destitution.

Son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury, après avoir donné lecture de l'Article de la Constitution auquel son Excellence Safvet Pacha a fait allusion, fait observer que cet Article établit l'arbitraire.

Le Comte de Chaudordy partage cette opinion, et le Baron de Werther ajoute que,

de plus, l'arbitraire se trouverait ainsi sanctionné par la Constitution.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha ayant constaté la difficulté de continuer la discussion dans ces termes, et se réservant de donner ultérieurement une réponse plus explicite, le Comte de Bourgoing et le Comte Corti demandent si cette observation constitue un refus positif ou un ajournement?

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que les points proposés seront soumis aux délibérations de la Sublime Porte.

Son Excellence le Général Ignatiew, rappelant la grave responsabilité qui pèse sur tous les Plénipotentiaires, insiste sur la question posée par la Comte de Bourgoing et le

Comte Corti. Son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury suggère que la Conférence s'ajourne à Jeudi prochain.

Les Plénipotentiaires paraissent considérer l'ajournement comme opportun.

Son Excellence Edhem Pucha y donne son assentiment.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha demande si ce sont quelques points du contre-projet ou son ensemble que les Plénipotentiaires repoussent.

Le Comte de Chaudordy répond qu'il lui semble que ce contre-projet n'offre pas une base suffisante à la discussion.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha croit devoir rappeler que cependant sur plusieurs points et notamment au point de vue des affaires religieuses, les changements indiqués dans le contre-projet constituent un véritable progrès. Son Excellence cite divers cas où l'arbitraire des chefs des communautés qui invoquaient souvent le concours de l'autorité de la Sublime Porte pour la grave punition de faits très-minimes en euxmêmes, se trouve tempéré par les nouvelles dispositions que le Gouvernement Ottoman a adoptées.

Son Excellence le Comte de Bourgoing ayant posé de nouveau la question de savoir si les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans intendent rejeter définitivement les propositions des Puissances ou les soumettre à un autre examen, son Excellence Safvet Pacha répète que ces propositions seront soumises au Conseil des Ministres.

Le Général Ignatiew déclare de nouveau que les Plénipotentiaires ont tous des instructions décisives et que pour lui il a ordre de ne pas entrer dans l'examen d'un

projet qui s'écarterait des bases proposées.

La séance est levée et la prochaine réunion est fixée à Jeudi, 4 Janvier.

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annexe au IVe Protocole.

Article 1. Les Provinces (vilayets) seront divisées en arrondissements (sandjaks), les arrondissements en districts (cazas), les districts en cantons (nahiés), et les cantons en communes (keuys).

Art. 2. Chaque arrondissement sera divisé en autant de cantons qu'il contiendra des villages avant une population de 5,000 à 10,000 âmes. Tous ces cantons relèveront du chef-lieu du district où ils sont situés.

Il y aura dans chaque commune un Conseil des Anciens élus par la population, de même que dans chaque canton il y aura un Conseil dont les membres seront également élus par les habitants. Les membres de ces Conseils seront changés chaque quatre ans et leur nombre ne sera pas moins de six et plus de douze.

Art. 3. Ce point se rapporte aux dispositions précédentes.

Art. 4. Le Conseil Cantonnal désignera par voie d'élection et pour la durée de quatre ans un de ses membres comme Président de ce Conseil. Ce Président sera chargé des fonctions de Mudir.

Art. 5. Le Conseil Cantonnal et le Mudir seront placés sous la surveillance et la direction du Gouverneur de l'arrondissement. Tout en ayant les attributions afférentes au Conseil des Anciens, ce Conseil et ce Mudir auront à pourvoir à l'exécution des décisions rendues par le Conseil des Anciens, à procéder aux élections, à la répartition des travaux concernant la construction des routes et des ponts, et à remplir les fonctions de juge de paix dans les affaires civiles. Ils sont également chargés des affaires de police, de sécurité publique, et de la répartition et de la perception des redevances dues à l'Etat.

Le Conseil Cantonal se réunira une fois par mois. Deux de ses membres seront désignés comme adjoints du Mudir.

Art. 6. Ce point se rattachant aux élections générales sera réglé en conséquence.

Art. 7. L'administration municipale des villes et bourgs ayant une population audessus de 5,000 âmes sera calquée sur l'organisation des Conseils Cantonaux.

Art. 8. Le Gouvernement Impérial nomme dans chaque district (caza) un Sous-Gouverneur; le Gouverneur-Général de la Province le choisira indistinctement parmi les sujets Ottomans en tenant compte des convenances locales et des aptitudes de la population.

Art. 9. Les Sous-Gouverneurs relèveront des Gouverneurs, et ces derniers des Gouverneurs-Généraux. Les uns et les autres seront chargés de l'exécution des lois et règlements de l'Empire, et de l'expédition des affaires d'Etat.

En outre et pour assister les Sous-Gouverneurs, Gouverneurs, et Gouverneurs-Généraux, il sera formé des Conseils d'Administration composés: ceux des Sous-Gouverneurs, de trois membres; et ceux pour les Gouverneurs et les Gouverneurs-Généraux, de quatre membres.

La composition et la formation de ces Conseils seront conformes aux dispositions

de la loi sur les vilayets. Quant au mode de l'élection des membres de ces Conseils, il sera conforme aux dispositions des Articles 66 et 109 de la Constitution.

Art. 10. Les fonctionnaires supérieurs, tels que les Gouverneurs-Généraux des provinces (vilayets), les Gouverneurs des districts, les adjoints, les Secrétaires-Généraux et les Directeurs des Finances (defterdars) seront nommés par le Gouvernement

Impérial. Ils seront rétribués en proportion de leurs besoins.

Art. 11. Les adjoints des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs Musulmans seront Chrétiens, et les adjoints des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs Chrétiens seront Musulmans. Ces adjoints auront la présidence des Conseils d'Administration des Provinces, et seront chargés de la gérance des affaires en l'absence des Gouverneurs-Généraux ou Gouverneurs.

Art. 12. La destitution ou le changement du Gouverneur-Général, du Gouverneur, de l'adjoint, du Sous-Gouverneur, et de tous les autres fonctionnaires en général, aura lieu suivant les dispositions de l'Article 39 de la Constitution. Le jugement du Gouverneur-Général et des autres fonctionnaires de la première catégorie, est du ressort de la section judiciaire du Conseil d'Etat. Quant aux autres fonctionnaires, tels que Gouverneurs, adjoints, et Secrétaires-Généraux, s'ils se rendent coupables d'actes qui motivent d'après la Constitution leur destitution, le Gouverneur-Général doit les suspendre de leurs fonctions pour un terme de trois mois, et il en référera à la Sublime Porte pour leur changement. Le Conseil Général qui, indépendamment du Conseil d'Administration, se trouvant sous la dépendance du Gouverneur-Général, doit se réunir chaque année au chef-lieu de chaque vilayet, et dont la session durera quarante jours, doit se former d'après l'Article 26 de la Loi sur les Vilayets. L'élection des membres de ce Conseil-Général sera conforme à l'Article 109 de la Constitution. Les attributions de ce Conseil Général sont déterminées dans l'Article 110 de la Constitution.

Arts. 13 et 14. Les élections qui font l'objet de ces Articles auront lieu conformément aux termes de la Constitution. Le Mufti, les chefs religieux des communautés Chrétiennes et Israélite, siégeront de droit avec les membres élus dans les Conseils

d'Administration des districts, arrondissements, et vilayets.

Art. 15. Les membres du Conseil d'Administration ne jouissent pas d'émoluments. Art. 16. Dans les affaires qui ne tombent pas sous l'application des lois et des règlements, le Gouverneur en référera au Gouverneur-Général, après délibération du Conseil d'Administration. Pour les cas analogues au chef-lieu du vilayet, le Gouverneur-Général, après délibération du Conseil d'Administration de sa résidence, en référera à la Sublime Porte.

Dans les cas extraordinaires les Gouverneurs et les Gouverneurs-Généraux sont autorisés à s'adresser directement, les premiers aux Gouverneurs-Généraux, et les

derniers à la Sublime Porte.

Art. 17. L'examen et le contrôle du Budget du vilayet, l'assiette, et la répartition de l'impôt incombent au Conseil Général du Vilayet. Les mesures arrêtés sous ce double rapport ne seront exécutoires que sur un vote de la Chambre des Députés, revêtu de la

sanction souveraine.

Art 18. L'impôt militaire consiste dans la contribution, à laquelle les sujets Ottomans appartenant aux cultes Chrétiens et Israélite doivent se soumettre, en attendant leur participation effective à la conscription militaire. Il convient d'opter entre la décision précédemment adoptée d'après laquelle les hommes, âgés de quinze à soixante ans, seront passibles de cet impôt, et le principe énonce dans ce document, principe qui n'assujettit à cet impôt que les hommes âgés de vingt à quarante-cinq ans réunissant les conditions physiques requises pour le service militaire.

Pour ce qui est de la remise des arriérés qui vont jusqu'au moi de Janvier de l'exercice 1277, cet mesure est admissible suivant les conditions des localités éprouvées,

mais il n'y a aucune nécessité d'en généraliser l'application.

Art. 19. Les revenus des contributions indirectes, de postes et de télégraphes, ainsi que les droits de tabac, de boissons, et de régie dans les provinces reviennent aux administrations respectives établies dans la capitale.

Art. 20. Le système d'affermage sera supprimé. La taxe sera perçue conformément à la décision à prendre par le Gouvernement Impérial et sur les bases à arrêter par le

Conseil-Général et les Conseils Cantonaux.

La suppression des dîmes et leur conversion en un impôt foncier sont également arrêtées en principe. Toutefois l'exécution de ce projet est réservée au vote que la Chambre des Députés aura à émettre après consultation de l'opinion publique dans chaque vilayet.

Art. 21. Le Gouverneur-Général et le Conseil-Général du vilayet fixeront d'un

commun accord la partie des revenus publics qui sera affectée aux besoins locaux, calculée sur la moyenne de ces revenus pour une période décennale, et établie selon le degré de prospérité du pays. Le Budget sera élaboré en conséquence et soumis à la Chambre des Députés.

Art. 22. Les taxes, réparties par les soins des agents cantonaux, sont perçues aux échéances mensuelles fixées d'après la loi des vilayets, par l'entremise des collecteurs et

des mukhtars des communes, et versées dans la caisse des districts.

Art. 23. Les agents cantonaux, les collecteurs, et les zaptiés ne pourront pas disposer des impôts perçus. Leurs émoluments seront payés par les caisses des districts.

Art. 24. Les revenus des districts et les revenus cantonaux qui y sont réunis seront expédiés à la caisse du chef-lieu après déduction des frais fixes. Il en sera de même du chef-lieu qui, déduction faite des frais fixes et ordinaires, remettra le reste à la destination indiquée par le Ministre des Finances.

Arts. 25, 26, 27. Comme, aux termes des Articles 81-92 de la Constitution, des règlements spéciaux seront élaborés pour les Tribunaux sur des bases plus larges que les présentes dispositions, la mise à exécution de ces règlements assurera le but qu'on

se propose.

Art. 28. L'examen des affaires litigeuses relatives aux questions de culte de différentes communautés sera exclusivement du ressort de leurs autorités religieuses, qui en décideront d'après leurs règlements spéciaux. Ces décisions ne seront exécutoires que tout autant qu'elles ne seront pas contraires aux principes de la Constitution.

Art. 29. La liberté de conscience vient de recevoir une nouvelle consécration par l'Article 11 de la Constitution. Les fondations religieuses et les écoles publiques appartenant aux différentes communautés seront régies par ces communautés conformément

aux dispositions de l'Article 111 de la Constitution.

Art. 30. Le principe d'après lequel on n'est admis de changer de religion qu'à l'âge de 18 ans pour le sexe masculin et de 16 pour le sexe féminin est rationnel et

répond d'ailleurs à ce que se pratique actuellement.

Toutefois il serait contraire à l'Article 9 de la Constitution, qui garantit la liberté individuelle, de laisser les convertis pendant une semaine auprès des chefs religieux des communautés dont ils font partie.

Art. 31. Plusieurs Hatts Impériaux ont garanti soit la construction sans entraves des édifices religieux, soit le libre exercice du culte. Ces dispositions, actuellement en

vigueur, sont également confirmées par la Constitution.

Art. 32. Les Conseils de Vilayet et de Canton sont spécialement chargés de la création et de l'administration des écoles, ainsi que du développement de l'instruction publique.

Les Articles 15 et 16 de la Constitution contienne nt d'ailleurs les dispositions nécessaires en ce qui concerne l'instruction publique, à laquelle le Gouvernement

Impérial attache la plus grande importance.

Arts. 33 et 34. Si par l'usage de la langue du pays devant les tribunaux, les départements administratifs, et les autorités on voulait entendre considérer ces langues comme officielles, ce serait là une violation des dispositions de la Constitution.

Arts. 35, 36, 37, et 39. Il serait absolument impossible d'accepter ces quatre

points, fussent-ils mêmes modifiés ou amendés.

Art. 38. Les individus arrêtés sous l'inculpation d'avoir participé à l'insurrection à Roustchouk, à Tirnovo, à Sofia, à Philippopoli, et à Andrinople, ont été jugés

publiquement devant les Cours extraordinaires formées par le Gouvernement.

Ils ont subi leur peine conformément à la loi, après une procédure en règle qui a réuni à leur charge toutes les preuves morales et matérielles résultant de leurs aveux, des enquêtes, et des pièces de conviction. Les Présidents de ces Cours et les Juges Instructeurs étaient choisis parmi les personnes possédant les connaissances juridiques nécessaires et une longue expérience des affaires criminelles. Les audiences ont été publiques; tous ceux qui y ont assisté peuvent confirmer qu'aucun individu n'a été condamné à la déportation sans un jugement préalable ni puni sans avoir été convaince de crime ou de délit.

(Translation.)

IVth Protocol.—Sitting of the 17th Zilhidjé, 1293 (Perember 20, 1876).

Present:

For Turkey-

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany-

His Excellency the Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency the Count Zichy, Austria-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency the Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency the Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain—

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Minister, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassador for England.

For Italy-

His Excellency the Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia-

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Ambassador for Russia.

THE sitting opened at 1 P.M.

The Protocol of the third sitting was read and approved.

The counter-project of the Sublime Porte, annexed hereto, having been communicated in the meanwhile to the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, his Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury speaks in the following terms:—

"I have considered the propositions which the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte have communicated to those of the Guaranteeing Powers on the subject of the organiza-

tion of certain provinces of the Empire.

"I regret to state that this counter-project makes no mention-

"I. Of the employment of foreign soldiers to serve as the staff for the formation of a gentarmerie.

"II. Of an International Commission of Supervision.

"Besides this, the counter-project remits to the future decision of the Porte, and to the assent of a Legislative Assembly, the formation of which is still in the far distance, the following:—

"I. The suppression of tithes;

"II. The system which ought to be adopted for the farming of the taxes;

"III. The institution of Tribunals, the manner of nominating the Judges, the duration of their Commission;

"IV. The manner of election, and the duties of the different Councils.

"On the other hand, the counter-project rejects the following proposals:-

"1. The amnesty.

"2. The gendarmerie (without reference to European troops).

"3. The militia, to be enlisted from amongst Mussulmans and Christians.

- "4. The employment of the language of the country on the same footing as Turkish.
- "5. The nomination of the Vali for a term of five years, who cannot be deprived of his office except by a decision of an independent Tribunal.

"6. The nomination of the Mutessarifs for a fixed period.

"7. The choice of the Vali with the assent of the Ambassadors.

"8. The choice of Mutessarifs by the Vali.

"9. The quartering of troops in the chief towns and fortresses. [195]

2 Q

"10. The assessment by an independent authority of the quota of direct contribu tions to be sent to the central Government.

"11. The prohibition for the future of the colonization of Circassians.
"All the Valis, Governors, Deputy Governors, and Directors of Finance, and all functionaries generally may be dismissed by the Porte at its discretion.

"The Resolutions of the Councils will have no force without the consent of the

"It is therefore with profound regret that I have been informed of this counterproject, which responds in no way either to the respect due to the Powers or to the dignity of the Sublime Porte.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have proposed no modification whatever of the propositions made by the Powers. They have simply rejected in the most absolute manner the

essential principles which prompted them.

"I beg that the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte will take into consideration the grave position of the Empire, and remember that its destiny lies in their hands. The

responsibility of their acts will be great before history.

"The Powers have proposed these bases for proposals of peace which they think are most fitting to secure the peace of Europe, and to improve the condition of the populations of the Empire. It is on this basis that they are ready to enter into discussion with

the Representatives of the Sublime Porte."

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that the best institutions are those which are suited to the manners, the usages, and the traditions of the country. The Sublime Porte has considered the projects presented by the Powers; his Highness the Grand Vizier more especially, whose administrative capacity is recognised by every one, and who has been Vali in different provinces of the Empire, has studied them attentively. The Government has modified certain provisions, and adopted those which suited the general organization of the country, and declined those which seemed to give rise to insurmountable difficulties. The populations themselves, whose lot it is wished to improve, would oppose the carrying out of several of the points proposed. His Excellency adds that he did not think that these counter-propositions would meet with any objection from the Powers. He draws attention to the fact that the Sublime Porte would willingly consent to employ foreign officers in its gendarmerie in order to organize it on the European system, but to employ, at the request of foreign Governments, foreign troops, who neither knew the customs nor understood the language of the people, would be, in his opinion, a source of great danger. If some misfortune should happen to any of these strangers, Europe would rise in indignation against Turkey, and would hold the Government responsible to the Tribunals, the principle of irremovability is held sacred by the Constitution, and they offer all the guarantees required for justice.

Count Chaudordy having called attention to the fact that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries do not explain how the tribunals will be organized; their Excellencies Safvet and Edhem Pasha reply that they are already organized, but that the modifications and improvements to be introduced can only be decided in conformity with the Constitution, and by competent bodies, that is to say, the Council of State and the Chamber of Deputies, which should meet in the month of March. Besides this, five Commissions have already been appointed to hasten on the elaboration of the laws drawn up by the Constitution,

and these laws would be ready in a short space of time.

Count Zichy asks whether the words which his Excellency Safvet Pasha has just spoken are an answer to the speech of his Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha having expressed a wish to have at hand a copy of that

speech in order to be in a position to answer it,

Count Chaudordy answers that the points which are contained in it are brought out

fully in the proposition of the Powers.

Count Zichy persists in the same terms as in his preceding observations. He entreats the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries to take into consideration that the Marquis of Salisbury's words are the expression of the thoughts of the six Powers who adhere one and all to these declarations.

Their Excellencies Count Chaudordy and the Baron de Werther state that they partici-

pate in the views which his Lordship takes.

General Ignatiew says that the counter-propositions of the Sublime Porte are contrary to the ideas of the Plenipotentiaries. As to himself, according to his instructions, he considers as inadmissible any project which diverges from the bases laid down by the Representatives of the Powers.

Baron de Werther adds that Lord Salisbury has explained these bases, and that the

project of the Porte passes them over in silence.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha having called attention to the fact that the points which the Sublime Porte consider as contrary to its rights have been clearly pointed out at a former sitting, a passage from the 2nd Protocol was read, from which it appeared that these points were the following:—

1. The institution of an International Commission.

- 2. The introduction of a force of foreign gendarmerie.
- 3. The quartering of the troops in the fortresses.
- 4. The manner of nomination of the Governors.
- 5. The Administrative Division.
- 6. Provisions concerning finance and the administration of justice.
- 7. The removal of the Circassian colonies to Asia.
- 8. The placing of different localities under the administration of Servia and Montenegro, &c.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha continuing his observations declares that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have not even the power of discussing these points, but that they are ready to discuss the others.

His Excellency General Ignatiew thinks that these points being laid aside, in point of fact there is nothing further to discuss. As to himself, putting his own feelings out of the question, he has accepted the European programme, and he does not consider himself as authorized to discuss a project which diverges from it.

His Excellency Count Chaudordy returning to the points which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries refused to consider, and more especially to those of administrative finance and justice, the forms of election, and the nomination of Governors, is of opinion that in these conditions there is no sufficient material from which to draw up a code of rules for the provinces.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha calls attention to the fact that as far as the Governors are concerned, the Sublime Porte must refer to the Constitution, which provides in cases of removal or dismissal.

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury after having read the Article of the Constitution to which his Excellency Safvet Pasha made allusion, observes that this Article establishes arbitrary power.

The Count Chaudordy shares this opinion, and Baron de Werther remarks also that this arbitrary power would thus be found to be sanctioned by the Constitution.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, having stated the difficulty of continuing the discussion in these terms, and reserving the right of giving a more explicit answer later,

Count de Bourgoing and Count Corti ask whether this observation constitutes a positive refusal, or an adjournment only.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that the points in question will be submitted to the deliberation of the Porte.

His Excellency General Ignatiew, noticing the heavy responsibility which rests on all the Plenipotentiaries, insists on an answer being given to the question asked by Count Bourgoing and Count Corti.

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury suggests that the Conference be adjourned till the Thursday following.

The Plenipotentiaries appear to consider the adjournment as being opportune.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha gives his consent.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha asks whether it is some point in the counter-project only which the Plenipotentiaries reject, or whether they reject it in toto.

Count Chaudordy answers that the counter-project does not appear to afford sufficient basis for discussion.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha thinks it his duty to notice that, notwithstanding all that has been said on many points, and more especially on those respecting religious matters, the changes indicated in the counter-project constitute a real progress. His Excellency quotes divers cases in which the arbitrary power of the heads of communities, who often called for the co-operation of the authority of the Sublime Porte for the severe punishment of offences very trifling in themselves, has found itself checked by the new provisions which the Ottoman Government has adopted.

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing having asked the questions afresh, namely, whether the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries intend to reject definitively the proposition of the Powers, or to submit them to a further examination.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha repeats that their propositions shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers.

General Ignatiew declared again that the Plenipotentiaries have all definite instruc-[195] 2 Q 2 tions, and that he himself had orders not to examine further into a project which diverged from the bases proposed.

(Signed)

The sitting rose, and the next meeting is fixed for Thursday, 4th January.

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F DE BOU

F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT.

L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annex to Protocol IV.

Article 1. The provinces (vilayets) shall be divided into arrondissements (sandjaks). The arrondissements into districts (cazas). The districts into Cantons (Nahiés), and the Cantons into Communes (Keuys).

Art. 2. Each arrondissement shall be divided into as many Cantons as it contains villages, having populations of from 5,000 to 10,000 souls. All the Cantons shall depend

on the chief town of the district where they are situated.

There will be in each Commune a Council of Elders elected by the population in the same way as there shall be in each Canton a Council, the members of which shall be likewise elected by the inhabitants. The members of these Councils shall be changed every four years, and their number shall not be less than six or more than twelve.

Art. 3. This point refers to the preceding provisions.

Art. 4. The Cantonal Council will appoint, by election, for four years, one of its members as President of this Council. This President will be charged with the functions of the Mudir.

Art. 5. The Cantonal Council and the Mudir shall be placed under the superintendence and the direction of the Governor of the arrondissement. Whilst possessing all the attributes which belong to the Council of Elders, this Council and this Mudir will have to provide for the carrying out of the resolutions made by the Council of Elders to act at elections, and in the distribution of works for the construction of roads and bridges, and in discharging the functions of Justice of the Peace in civil matters. They are equally bound to supervise police affairs, public security, and the division and collection of dues belonging to the State.

The Cantonal Council shall meet once a month. Two of its members shall be

chosen as deputies for the Mudir.

Art. 6. This point being connected with the general elections, shall be regulated accordingly.

Art. 7. The municipal administration of towns and boroughs having a population exceeding 5,000 souls shall be copied from the organization of the Cantonal Councils.

Art. 8. The Imperial Government appoints in each district (Caza) a Deputy-Governor. The Governor-General of the Province to choose him without distinction from among the Ottoman subjects, taking into account, however, the local requirements and the special fitness of the people.

fitness of the people.

Art. 9. The Deputy-Governor shall be dependent on the Governors, and these last shall be dependent likewise on the Governors-General. Both shall be entrusted with the execution of the laws and regulations of the Empire, and with the dispatch of the affairs

of State.

Besides this, and with a view of helping the Deputy-Governors, Governors, and Governors-General, Mixed Councils of Administration shall be formed; those of the Deputy-Governors of three members, and those for the Governors and Governors-General of four members.

The composition and formation of these Councils shall be in conformity with the provisions of the law of the vilayets. As to the manner of the election of members of these Councils it shall be in conformity with the provisions of Articles 66 and 109 of the Constitution.

Art. 10. The superior functionaries, such as the Governors-General of the provinces

("vilayets") the Governors of the districts, the Deputies, the Secretaries-General, and the Directors of Finance ("defterdars"), shall be chosen by the Imperial Government. They will be remunerated according to their services.

Art. 11. The Deputies of the Mussulman Governors-General or Governors shall be Christians, and the Deputies of the Christian Governors-General or Governors shall be These deputies shall preside over the Councils of Administration of the provinces, and shall be charged with the administration of affairs in the absence of the Governors-General or Governors.

Art. 12. The dismissal or change of the Governor-Generals, of the Governor, of the deputy, or of the Deputy-Governor, and of all the other functionaries generally, will take place according to the provisions of Article 39 of the Constitution. The judgment of the Governor-General and of the other functionaries of the first category comes within the jurisdiction of the judicial section of the Council of State.

As to the other functionaries, such as Governors, Deputies, and Secretaries-General, if they render themselves liable to dismissal by acts contrary to the Constitution, the Governor-General shall suspend them from their duties for a term of three months, and he shall refer to the Sublime Porte for their removal.

The General Council, which, independently of the Council of Administration, is under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General, shall meet every year at the chief town of each vilayet; its Session shall last forty days, and is to be formed after Article 26 of the law of the vilayets.

The election of the members of this Council General will act in conformity with. Article 109 of the Constitution.

No. 219.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, Paris, January 19, 1877. THE Duc Decazes spoke to me this morning of the rejection of the proposals of the Conference by the Grand Council at Constantinople, the intelligence of which reached Paris yesterday afternoon.

The Duke said that he still confidently hoped that there would be no disturbance of the peace of Europe. The newspapers had, he told me, been premature in announcing that the Russian Government had already issued a Circular declaring that it would not separate itself from the rest of Europe, nor make war upon Turkey by

He had, however, reason to hope that the Russian Government was in fact animated by a strong desire to maintain the union of the Great Powers, and to preserve peace.

The Duke went on to say that no doubt the Conference would at first be represented as a great failure. He thought, however, that hereafter it would appear that it

had in fact accomplished a most useful work.

It would, he sincerely trusted, prove to have placed the good relations between the several Great Powers on comparatively solid ground, and to have enabled Europe to tide over a very critical period without war.

> I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 220.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 12, 1877. I CALLED upon the Grand Vizier to-day, and had a long conversation with him

upon the modified scheme now submitted by the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers for

the acceptance of the Porte.

I regret to state that his Highness showed no disposition to yield to the arguments which I pressed upon him. He absolutely declined to agree to the appointment of any Commission which should be composed wholly or in part of foreigners. He was equally positive in his refusal of the provisions for the nomination of the Valis with the assent of the Powers, and the establishment of a militia composed of Mussulmans and Christians.

He offered to extend the Andrassy Note to Bulgaria, to forbid the carrying of arms and the colonization of Circassians en masse, to grant an amnesty to Mussulmans and Christians, and to communicate formally the Constitution to the Conference. It may be well to observe that, in regard to the fourth offer, such an amnesty as his Highness proposes would include Shefket Pasha and Achmet Aga.

With reference to Servia, the Grand Vizier proposed to revive the six points which were proposed by the Porte in September last as the basis of pacification with Servia, but

were considered inadmissible by the Powers.

He refuses the territorial concessions to Montenegro, but suggests that access to the sea should be given to it by way of the Port of Cattaro, through the Sutorina, an idea which I have no reason to believe would be acceptable to Austria.

I stated to his Highness that the Representatives of England had been charged with the duty of mediation, and had made their utmost efforts to bring about a satisfactory arrangement, but that the nature of his communication left me very little hope of success.

At a later period of the day, I communicated the substance of the above conversation to the Representatives of the other Five Powers; but the propositions of his

Highness were not looked upon as likely to afford a satisfactory solution.

I should mention that his Highness more than once repeated to me that his proposals were not to be looked upon as official; but were merely ideas which had occurred to him, and had not yet been submitted to the sanction of his colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 221.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 12, 1877.

AT a meeting of the Representatives of the Six Powers held to-day, it was unanimously resolved that a modified summary ("résumé mitigé") of the schemes previously proposed should be handed to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries with a declaration that it is the last communication which they will receive from the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers, and that, if the principles of the propositions are not accepted at the Conference to be held on Thursday, the Representatives will consider the Conference at an end, and will leave Constantinople in accordance with their several instructions.

A telegram to the above effect has been sent to your Lordship, and to the other five Cabinets.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 222.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord,

IN the course of the pending negotiations much stress has been laid by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, as well as by the Grand Vizier, upon the Constitution that has been granted by the Sultan. Its provisions are frequently appealed to as though their existence furnished a conclusive answer to the suggestion of any arrangements inconsistent with

them, and its proclamation is looked upon as a sufficient guarantee that former abuses will cease, and that promises of reforms, which have hitherto been neglected, will henceforth be faithfully fulfilled. As your Lordship is aware, the suggestion has been officiously made by the Turkish Government, that in lieu of guarantees the Conference should take act of the issue of the Constitution. It may, therefore, not be out of place if I were to submit to your Lordship some observations with respect to the real effect and operation of its provisions.

If it is to have any real influence in preventing the oppression to which both Turks and Christians in so many parts of the Empire have been exposed, it must not only provide machinery for securing the enactment of wise laws, but also a pure and efficient administration for carrying those laws into execution.

For the first of these objects at least some apparent provision is made. A legislature, consisting of two Chambers, is established, not differing widely in its Constitution from that which existed in France during the second Empire.

If it were possible to entertain the hypothesis of a free election under the existing circumstances of the Turkish Empire, some importance would attach to the clauses by which the qualification of deputies is defined. Among other matters, it is provided that they must be inhabitants of the province that they represent, that they must know Turkish, that after the lapse of four years they must be able to read it and "autant que possible" to write it, and that they are disqualified for election if they are "notoirement déconsidérés par leur conduite." It is difficult to see how the provisions relating to the Turkish language are to be carried into effect. But they will certainly give an overwhelming advantage to the Mahommedan population; and as the writing of Turkish is a rare accomplishment among the Christian population, the requirement of it will enable the Government to exclude, in a great majority of cases, the persons who are distasteful to them. The last disqualification is capable of being so interpreted as to place the exclusion of any individual entirely at the discretion of the Administration.

The Powers conferred upon this Legislature are not extensive. It votes upon measures submitted to it by the Sultan; but the Chamber of Deputies has, apparently, only the power of amending provisions objected to by the Senate. The two Chambers conjointly may petition the Sultan to introduce a new law "sur des matières comprises dans leurs attributions," a limitation of which no explanation is anywhere furnished; but unless the Sultan consents, the law cannot be introduced. The law of the Budget stands upon a special footing. It must be introduced at the beginning of every Session, and is voted, chapter by chapter, by the Chamber of Deputies. In this case the power of amendment is conceded to the Chamber; but, as no decision can be taken without the assent of the Ministers, this power has little practical value. If the Government desires to spend any money or to raise any revenue without the authority of the Assembly, and in its absence, they can do so, but a law justifying the proceeding must be presented in the ensuing Session. The Constitution does not say what consequences would follow in case the law of justification should not pass. Subject to the same undefined responsibility, the Government may, in the absence of the Assembly, issue a decree or any matter which they think it necessary to deal with, and (if it be not contrary to the Constitution) the decree has the force of law.

The Chamber of Deputies may also pass a resolution to ask a question of a minister; but this privilege, like others, is restrained from excess by a reservation. The Minister may postpone his answer if he thinks fit.

The Ministers are declared to be responsible. Their responsibility consists in the provision that they may, if the Sultan thinks fit, but not otherwise, be tried by a procedure not yet determined on.

Any doubt arising as to the meaning of any part of the Constitution is solved by the Senate, which is nominated by the Sultan.

It is obvious that even if this Constitution were in operation among a people attached to liberty, and were practically worked by independent Representatives, it would have but a slender effect in checking maladministration and restraining the abuse of power. But there is no probability of the appearance of popular leaders who would work the liberties granted, such as they are, for the purpose of restraining the Government, for an unlimited power of exile is by a special enactment reserved to the Sultan, and any person exiled loses his seat as Senator or Deputy,

The portion of the Constitution which concerns the Chamber is elaborated with considerable care. The rest of its provisions only exist in skeleton. Many broad principles are laid down, but their execution is referred to laws which are not yet in existence or to "règlements" which are to be issued by the Sultan. The appointment, qualifications, and jurisdiction of all functionaries, the constitution of Tribunals and the administration of the provinces, are dealt with in this manner. It is, of course, impossible to forecast the character of the legislation which will be adopted upon these important matters. The dismissal of functionaries at their discretion is especially reserved to the Government.

These observations will enable your Lordship to judge how far the Constitution can be looked upon as a Guarantee against maladministration or a restraint upon the excesses of arbitary power. The Representatives of the Powers have not been as yet officially placed in possession of the proposals which the Grand Vizier, I believe, intends to make, that an official communication of the Constitution to the Conference should be accepted as a guarantee on the part of the Porte in lieu of all others that have been proposed. But they have been consulted upon the subject, and their opinion appears to be that no serious importance could be attached to such a guarantee.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 223.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 13, 1877.

I HAVE received the inclosed communication from the Grand Vizier this morning. It represents the concessions which I understand he is willing to propose to his colleagues if they are thought sufficient by the Six Powers.

His Highness was careful to explain to me when promising to send me the paper yesterday that the communication was not to be looked upon as official or as binding upon

his Government.

The concessions differ in some respects from those which he conveyed verbally to me yesterday. The proposal to authorize an elected Commission for Bulgaria, and to execute the promises made in that respect for Bosnia according to the terms of the Andrassy Note, has been withdrawn. On the other hand, the questions of Servia and Montenegro are not dealt with.

His Highness does not, therefore, renew the announcement which he made to me yesterday of an intention to bring forward again the six points formerly required by the Porte as the condition of a peace with Servia; nor does he repeat the proposition then made by him that, instead of any territorial extensions, Montenegro should be given an access to the sea in the Sutorina through the Port of Cattaro.

Nor is the proposal renewed to communicate the new Constitution to the Conference. Some of the concessions which the note contains are satisfactory; but, unhappily, they are of a minor importance, and will have little, if any, influence upon the future administration of the provinces concerned. The restoration of the emigrants, the remission of arrears to distressed persons, the distribution of waste lands would come under this description.

Entire liberty of worship, the abolition of tax-farming, and the improvement of the condition of the rural population are undoubtedly matters of the greatest importance. But these reforms have already been promised in the Note of the 13th of February, 1875, in compliance with the proposals of Count Andrassy; and the two first had previously been promised in the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856. A renewal of these promises, if it is accompanied by adaquate guarantees of performance, would be a valuable concession, but without any such guarantees little practical advantage is likely to be obtained by reiterating the proclamation of these reforms.

The proposal to confine questions of worship ("du culte") to the ecclesiastical authorities of the community in which they arise does not, I believe, involve any change

in the existing practice.

Some of the concessions, again, concern important subjects, and, if differently worded, would be of considerable value. But they are couched in language which deprives them of all effective meaning, and would permit any unwilling authority to evade them without difficulty. It is proposed, for instance, to form a "gendarmerie" consisting of Mussulmans and Christians—an object second to none in the importance of its influence upon the future security of the Christians. But the essential words, "in proportion to the population," are left out. In the absence of any guarantee and of any indication of the number of Christians to be employed, such a declaration could easily be evaded, and therefore must be looked upon as nugatory. The conditions attached to other concessions are of a similar character. The colonization of Circassians is only to cease where it is "en masse; the employment of Bashi-Bazouks is forbidden, "sauf dans des cas de force majeure." The project for the amnesty is so drawn that it will include Achmet Aga and Shefket Pasha.

The most important, however, of the questions at issue between the Representatives of the Six Powers and the Porte, such as the appointment and tenure of office of the Governor-General, the local control over the finance of the provinces, the employment of the local language, the organization of the Courts of Justice, are disposed of by a reference to the new Constitution. I have made some observations upon this document in a despatch to your Lordship bearing this day's date, and therefore it is only necessary for me to note that the security for the proper nomination of the Vali, his freedom from capricious dismissal, and the control of the population over their own finance, are alike negatived by a reference to the provisions of the Constitution as they at present stand.

The last proposal contained in the paper of the Grand Vizier is in the nature of a substitute for a Commission appointed by the Powers, which has been proposed by the Representatives of the Six Powers to the Porte. In the place of this proposal his Highness suggests that the Commission, which is to watch and supervise the execution of the reforms promised by the Porte, should be nominated and, I presume, selected by the Porte itself.

It is obvious that this suggestion is not likely to recommend itself as a substitute for the proposal to provide an independent guarantee for the performance of its promises by the Porte. A Commission nominated by the Turkish Government, and constituted in the manner proposed by his Highness, has been in existence for some months, charged with the comparatively simple duty of bringing to justice the most heinous criminals connected with the Bulgarian massacres. Its success has not up to this time been sufficient to justify the experiment of confiding to a similar body functions requiring, in a much higher degree, the qualities of impartiality and independence.

These proposals offered by his Highness do not encourage the hope of effecting an arrangement, but rather indicate that the Turkish Government do not fully appreciate the nature of the guarantees suggested by the Powers, or the object with which they are

recommended.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Proposals of the Grand Vizier.

Bosnie, Herzégovine, et la Bulgarie.

- 1. LA nomination des Gouverneurs-Généraux des provinces aura lieu suivant les dispositions de la Constitution.
- 2. Sub-division des provinces en sandjaks avec des Mutessarifs nommés par le Gouvernement Impérial sur la proposition des Valis, suivant les dispositions de la Constitution.
- 3. Sub-division en cantons de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants avec des autorités cantonales librement élues par la population dans chaque commune et ayant des attributions conformes à la Constitution.
- 4. Les Assemblées Provinciales seront formées pour un terme de quatre ans par les habitants, conformément à l'Article 109 de la Constitution. Les attributions de ces Assemblées Provinciales sont déterminées dans l'Article 112 de la Constitution.
- 5. Le système d'affermage sera aboli, sauf le droit de pêche et les autres taxes de la même catégorie.

6. La remise des arriérés des impôts est admise pour les localités éprouvées.

7. La fixation du budget des provinces est confiée d'après la Constitution à l'Assemblée Générale. Conformément aux termes de la Constitution, une partie des revenus de chaque province sera versée à la caisse de l'autorité locale pour être affectée aux besoins de la province, et le reste sera envoyé au Ministère des Finances.

8. La réorganisation de la justice sera faite suivant les Articles 81-92 de la

9. L'examen des affaires litigieuses relatives aux questions de culte des différentes communautés sera exclusivement du ressort de leurs autorités religieuses.

10. L'entière liberté de culte est garantie par l'Article 11 de la Constitution.

- 11. L'entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux d'instruction publiques par les communautés elles-mêmes et la garantie contre les conversions forcées sont assurés par les Articles 11 et 111 de la Constitution.
- 12. L'usage de la langue du pays dans les Tribunaux et dans l'Administration n'est pas défendu. Mais d'après la Constitution la langue Turque doit être toujours considérée comme officielle.
- 13. La Sublime Porte se décide à ne pas employer de troupes irrégulières en Roumélie, sauf dans des cas de force majeure.
- 14. Le Gouvernement Impérial formera une gendarmerie de Musulmans et de Chrétiens avec des officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs-Généraux.
 - 15. La colonisation en masse des Circassiens en Roumélie est défendu à l'avenir.
- 16. Amnistie générale sera accordée à tous ceux indistinctment qui sont compromis dans l'insurrection des Bulgares.
 - 17. Le sort du laboureur et des fermicrs en Bosnie et en Herzégovine sera améliuré.
- 18. Le Gouvernement distribuera des terrains de l'Etat suivant les besoins réels et stricts des populations.

19. Des facilités seront accordées pour le repatriement des émigrés.

20. Deux Commissions composées en nombre égal de Musulmans et de Chrétiens
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seront nommées pour au an par le Couvernement Impérial, l'une pour le Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et l'autre pour les Vilayets du Danube et d'Andrinople. Elles seront chargées provisoirement:

(1.) De veiller à l'enécation des réformes constitutionnelles; (2.) D'exécuter les décisions qui concernent ces Provinces;

(3.) De veiller à la prohibition du part des armes sans une autorisation spéciale du

(4.) De prendre des mesures pour venir en side aux populations éprouvées; et (5.) D'assurer la complète sécurité des habitants au moyen de la gendarmerie formée par le Gouvernement Impérial.

(Translation.)

Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

1. THE nomination of the Governors-General of provinces shall take place in

accordance with the regulations of the Constitution.

- 2. The sub-division of the provinces into sandjaks with Mutessarifs named by the Imperial Government on the recommendation of the Valis, in accordance with the regulations of the Constitution.
- 3. Sub-division into cantons of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants with cantonal authorities freely elected by the population in each commune, possessed of powers in conformity with the Constitution.
- 4. The Provincial Assembles shall be constituted for a term of four years by the inhabitants, in conformity with Article 109 of the Constitution. The powers of these Assemblies are defined in Article 112 of the Constitution.
- 5. The system of farming the taxes shall be abolished, except the right of fishing and other taxes of the same category.

6. The remission of arrears of taxation is admitted for the distressed districts.

- 7. The settlement of the budget of the provinces is entrusted, according to the Constitution, to the General Assembly. In conformity with the terms of the Constitution, a portion of the revenues of each province shall be paid into the Treasury of the local authorities, to be applied to the requirements of the province, and the remainder shall be sent to the Ministry of Finance.
- 8. The re-organization of the administration of justice shall be carried out in accordance with Articles 81-92 of the Constitution.
- 9. The trial of law-suits relating to questions of the worship of the different communities shall be exclusively under the control of their religious authorities.

- 10. Entire liberty of worship is guaranteed by article 11 of the Constitution.
 11. The maintenance of the clergy and of religious establishments for public instruction by the communities themselves, and guarantees against forcible conversions are insured by Articles 11 and 111 of the Constitution.
- 12. The use of the language of the country in Law Courts and in the Government is not forbidden, but according to the Constitution the Turkish language must always be considered as the official one.
- 13. The Sublime Porte has decided not to employ irregular troops in Roumelia, save in extreme cases.
- 14. The Imperial Government shall form a gendarmerie of Mussulmans and Christians with subordinate officers nominated by the Governors-General.
- 15. The colonization of Roumelia by Circassians in large numbers is for the future
- 16. A general amnesty shall be granted without distinction to all those who were compromised in the insurrection of the Bulgarians.
- 17. The condition of the labourer and of the farmer in Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be amelioriated.
- 18. The Government will distribute the State lands in accordance with the real and strict needs of the populations.

19. Facilities will be granted for the repatriation of emigrants.

- 20. Two Commissions, composed in equal numbers of Mussulmans and Christians, shall be nominated for one year by the Imperial Government: one for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the other for the Vilayets of the Danube and Adrianople. be provisionally charged with the duty-
 - (1.) Of watching over the execution of the Constitutional reforms.

(2.) Of executing the decisions which concern these provinces.

- (3.) Of watching over the prohibition of the carrying of arms without a special authorization from the Government.
 - (4.) Of taking measures to aid the distressed populations; and,—
- (5.) Of insuring the complete security of the inhabitants by means of the gendarmerie formed by the Imperial Government.

No. 224.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 14, 1877.

I HAD the honour of an audience of the Sultan to-day, at which I explained to h

I HAD the honour of an audience of the Sultan to-day, at which I explained to his Majesty the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries in the modified form in which they are embodied in the "résumé mitigé." I went through them point by point, and stated the reasons for which they were made.

His Majesty took exception to many of them, chiefly on the ground that they were

rendered unnecessary by the promulgation of the new Constitution.

I pointed out that, according to European experience, the Constitution could not be in full work for several years, and that immediate measures were necessary to prevent further outbreaks, which would afford fresh opportunities for the hostile intrigues of the enemies of Turkey.

The Sultan's chief objections were to the guarantees, which he said were thought

dishonourable by his people, who would not consent to them.

I urged upon his Majesty that they would be only temporary, and that they were

necessary to enable his Government to surmount the present crisis.

His Majesty reserved his final decision until he should have consulted his Ministers. I pressed him to exert his own authority in favour of the proposals.

His Majesty spoke throughout with moderation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 225.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 15, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the eighth meeting of the Con-

ference was held to-day.

The modified summary of proposals, of which a copy is inclosed herewith, was read, according to the agreement previously come to between the Representatives of the Powers, and the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries were informed that, if the principles were not accepted at the Conference to be held on the 18th instant, the Representatives would consider the Conference closed, and would leave Constantinople, according to the orders of their respective Governments.

In making this communication I made some observations in which I dwelt on the injury that Turkey would sustain by losing the moral support of Europe, and I read the passage from your Lordship's instructions of the 20th of November, stating that "Great Britain is resolved not to sanction misgovernment and oppression, and that, if the Porte by obstinacy or apathy opposes the efforts now making to place the Ottoman Empire on a more secure basis, the responsibility of the consequences which may ensue will rest solely with the Sultan and his advisers."

The French and Russian Ambassadors followed in the same sense, the latter saying, among other things, that the summary was to be looked upon as a proposal resulting from the common accord of Europe, and that Russia by herself would have made much

more considerable claims.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries begged that the next meeting of the Conference might be delayed till Saturday, so as to give them more time to consider the proposals, and this suggestion was adopted.

Nothing was said, either by General Ignatiew or by any other member of the Conference, in any way undertaking to enforce the proposals by coercive action upon the

Porte.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure in No. 225.

Summary of Proposals.*

Monténégro.

RECTIFICATION des frontières du Monténégro avec annexion des Banyani, Piva avec Nicsich, Drobniak, une partie de Charanzi, le district de Kolachine, les Kutchi-Drekalovitchi, les Kutchi-Kraïni, les Vassoïevitchi de la Zievna au Lim, les Maly et Vely Brdo, Spouze et Jabliak.

Commission Internationale de délimitation ad hoc.

Liberté de navigation et neutralisation des fortins sur la Boyana.

Serbie.

Status quo ante bellum pour la Serbie, avec règlement des difficultés de limites du côté de la Bosnie par une Commission Arbitrale conformément au Hatti-Chérif de 1833.

Pour les deux Principautés: évacuation par les troupes Ottomanes et par les troupes Princières des territoires en dehors des limites fixées, échange de prisonniers de guerre, et amnistie aux sujets employés au service ennemi.

Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie.

Les Gouverneurs-Généraux des Provinces seront nommés pour les premiers cinq

ans par la Porte avec l'agrément préalable des Puissances.

Subdivision des provinces en sandjaks, avec des Mutessarifs nommés par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis, pour un terme fixe, et en cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants, avec les autorités cantonales librement élues par la population dans chaque commune, et compétentes pour toutes les questions touchant les intérêts du canton.

Assemblées Provinciales, élues pour un terme de quatre ans par les Conseils Cantonaux, d'après le système indiqué. Elles établiront le Budget, et nommeront les Conseils Administratifs Provinciaux, dont les Valis devront prendre l'avis dans les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires, et sur

lesquelles ils pourront en référer à la Sublime Porte.

Amélioration de l'assiette des impôts: les Assemblées Provinciales, et les Conseils Cantonaux auront la répartition et perception des contributions sauf les douanes, postes, et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et spiritueux, et la régie. Abolition complète de l'affermage. Remise des arriérés des impôts. Fixation du Budget des Provinces chaque cinq ans sur la moyenne des revenus. Une partie sera affectée au paiement de la Dette Publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement Central, et le reste à ceux des Provinces.

Réorganisation de la justice dans le sens d'une plus grande indépendance du Magistrat. Nomination des Juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels par les Valis, avec l'assentiment du Conseil Administratif, et des membres de la Cour d'Appel par la Porte sur la proposition des Valis. Publicité des séances et enquête judiciaire obligatoires. Juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions.

Entière liberté de culte. Entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux et d'instruction publiques, par les communautés. Garanties contre les conversions forcées.

Usage de la langue du pays dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration également avec le Turc.

Défense absolue de l'emploi des troupes irrégulières. Formation d'une milice et d'une gendarmerie de Chrétiens et de Musulmans proportionnellement à la population, avec des officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs-Généraux.

Interdiction de la colonisation des Circassiens.

Amnistie générale pour les Chrétiens condamnés pour causes politiques.

Amélioration du sort des laboureurs et des fermiers en Bosnie et en Herzégovine. Facilités pour l'acquisition de terrains de l'Etat ainsi que pour le repatriement des émigrés.

Mise en vigueur de ces dispositions dans un terme fixe de trois mois.

^{*} This Summary is modified from that inclosed in No. 204.

Commissions de Contrôle.

Deux Commissions de Contrôle seront nommées par les Puissances pour veiller à l'exécution des règlements, et aider les autorités locales dans différentes mesures touchant l'ordre et la sécurité publique, et recevront des instructions spéciales.

(Translation.)

Montenegro.

THE rectification of the frontiers of Montenegro, together with the annexation of the Baniani, Piva with Nichsich, Drobniak, a part of Charanzi, the district of Kolachine, the Kutchi-Drekalovitchi, the Kutchi-Kraïni, the Vassoïevitchi from the Zievna to the Lim, the Maly and Vely-Brdo, Spouze, and Jabliak.

An International Commission of Delimitation ad hoc.

Freedom of navigation and the neutralization of the forts on the Boyana.

Servia.

Status quo ante bellum for Servia, tegether with the settlement of the difficulties concerning the boundaries on the Bosnian side by a Commission of Arbitration in conformity with the Hatti-Chérif of 1833.

For the two Principalities: Evacuation by the Ottoman troops and the troops of the Principalities of the territorities beyond certain fixed boundaries, exchange of prisoners of war, and amnesty to subjects in the service of the enemy.

Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

The Governors-General of the Provinces to be appointed for the first five years by the Porte, with the previous agreement ("agrément préalable") of the Powers.

The sub-division of the provinces into sandjaks, with Mutessarifs appointed by the Porte, on the nomination of the Valis, for a fixed period, and into cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) of 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, with the cantonal authorities freely elected by the population in each commune, and competent to deal with all questions affecting the interests of the canton.

Provincial Assemblies, elected for a period of four years by the Cantonal Councils, in accordance with the system notified. They are to fix the Budget and appoint the Provincial Administrative Councils, which the Valis should consult in cases exceeding the pure and simple execution of the legal and administrative arrangements, and on which they may report to the Sublime Porte.

Improvement in assessment of taxes: The Provincial Assemblies and the Cantonal Councils to have the apportionment and collection of the taxes, with the exception of the customs, the posts and telegraphs, the taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the "régie." The complete abolition of the system of tax-farming. Remission of arrears in taxes. The drawing up every five years of the Budget of the Provinces according to the average revenue. A part to be applied to paying off the Public Debt and to the requirements of the Central Government, and the remainder to those of the Provinces.

Readjustment of justice with a view to the greater independence of the magistracy: the appointment of Judges of the Civil and Criminal Courts by the Valis, with the consent of the Administrative Council, and of the members of the Court of Appeal by the Porte, upon the recommendation of the Valis. Sittings and judicial inquiries to be Exclusive jurisdiction for ecclesiastical authorities over special cases of different public. creeds.

Entire religious liberty. Maintenance by the communities of the clergy and of public religious and educational establishments. Guarantees against forced conversions.

The language of the country to be used on an equal footing with Turkish in the Courts and Administration.

Complete prohibition of the employment of irregular troops. Formation of a Christian and Mussulman militia and police in proportion to the population, the subaltern officers to be appointed by the Governors-General.

Interdiction of colonization by Circassians. A general amnesty to Christians sentenced for political offences.

Improvement of the condition of the husbandmen and farmers in Bosnia and Facilities for the acquisition of State land, and for the repatriation of Herzegovina. emigrants.

These regulations to come into force withing fixed period of three months.

Commissions of Control.

Two Commissions of Control shall be named by the Powers to watch over the execution of the regulations, and to aid the local authorities in different measures affecting order and public security, and they shall receive special instructions.

No. 226.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord,

A GRAND Council of 237 persons, composed chiefly of State dignitaries and of persons employed in the service of the Porte, was summoned yesterday to decide upon the proposals submitted by the Representatives of the Powers at the last meeting of

The Patriarchs of the Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian Communities were summoned, but absented themselves on the plea of health. They were represented by their Vicars Apostolic, who gave their votes for resistance.

I am informed that the only dissentient who spoke in favour of peace was the head

of the Protestant community.

There is no doubt that the Sultan was anxious to accept the terms of the Powers, but the Grand Vizier was resolved upon resistance, and brought the proposals before the Council in such a form that their rejection was a foregone conclusion.

I propose to leave Constantinople on the 21st instant.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 227.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 26.)

My Lord, Pera, January 19, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of the Protocols of the fifth and sixth meetings of the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 227.

Vens Protocole.—Seance du 19 Zilhidje, 1293 (23 Décembre, 1876).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie-

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie;

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France-

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France;

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial;

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance est ouverte à une heure et demie; le Protocole de la quatrième séance

est lu et adopté.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit qu'il est prêt à exposer les motifs pour lesquels le Gouvernement Ottoman croit devoir décliner les propositions qui avaient été spécialement signalées dans les séances précédentes. Ces explications ne pourront que faciliter la discussion. Son Excellence s'exprime ensuite dans les termes suivants :-

- "Après avoir communiqué à MM. les Membres de la Conférence le contre-projet de la Sublime Porte, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se sont fait un devoir d'établir que, en dehors des propositions des Puissances qui, convenablement amendées et mises en harmonie avec les institutions fondamentales de l'Empire, leur semblaient de nature à être acceptées, il y en avait d'autres sur lesquelles ils ne pouvaient même entrer en discussion.
- "Afin, cependant, que la Conférence ne pense pas qu'en s'exprimant ainsi les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont eu l'idée de réfuser de faire connaître les raisons de leur opposition, ils s'empressent aujourd'hui de donner des explications sur chacun de ces points.

"La Commission Internationale ou de Surveillance aurait dans ses attributions:-

"1°. De fixer les questions relatives aux intérêts du canton qui seront de la compétence des Conseils de Canton;

"2°. De trouver une combinaison pouvant assurer dans les cantons la représentation des minorités;

"3°. De déterminer une somme n'excédant pas 30 pour cent des revenus de la Province, qui sera versée dans les succursales de la Banque Ottomane;

"4°. D'élaborer un règlement de justice spécial;

"5°. De veiller à l'exécution du règlement;

"6°. De prendre part à l'enquête sur les fauteurs des massacres et autres excès, rechercher les coupables, &c.; réviser les sentences prononcées contre les Chrétiens;

"7°. De règlementer le port des armes et de prendre les mesures de police nécessaires pour assurer la sécurité des habitants au moyen de la gendarmerie étrangère;

"8°. D'estimer les pertes subies par les Chrétiens et de déterminer la façon dont ils pourraient être indemnisés, de reconstruire les églises détruites, &c.;

"9°. De mettre les paysans à même de se rendre propriétaires; "10°. De surveiller et exécuter tout ce qui se rapporte à la rentrée des émigrés dans leurs foyers;

"11°. D'examiner les plaintes portées contre les autorités, et proposer leur révo-

cation, &c.

"12°. De tracer sur place les limites de la Province et les divisions des cantons et des départements.

"13°. D'élaborer un programme détaillé de l'œuvre dont elle est chargée.

"La simple énumération des attributions de la Commission Internationale suffit pour montrer que son institution équivaut à la suspension de toute action du Gouvernement Impérial sur la Bosnie aussi bien que sur les deux Vilayets, Oriental et Occidental. Evidemment cette substitution d'une autorité internationale à l'autorité légitime, et cette annulation de l'autorité et de l'indépendance souveraines, contraire aux stipulations du Traité de Paris, ne sauraient rentrer dans le programme Anglais, et le Gouvernement Ottoman, de son côté, n'y saurait donner son assentiment à aucun titre et de quelque manière qu'elle soit modifiée.

"Gendarmerie Etrangère.

"Le Gouvernement Ottoman ne se refuse pas à tirer profit des connaissances

spéciales que pourraient apporter des officiers instructeurs étrangers.

"Le recours aux lumières et à l'expérience de pays plus avancés entre même dans ses intentions. Mais l'introduction d'un corps militaire étranger, à la suite d'engagements qu'il serait obligé de prendre envers des Gouvernements étrangers, serait une mesure aussi préjudiciable qu'attentatoire aux droits souverains ainsi qu'à la dignité du

Gouvernement Impérial.

"Nous ne pouvons pas nous expliquer les motifs qui ont déterminé MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Grandes Puissances à proposer l'introduction et l'emploi d'un corps de gendarmerie étrangère dans le pays. Si l'adoption de cette mesure a pour but le rétablissement de l'ordre et de la tranquillité, la Sublime Porte y voit un devoir qu'elle remplirait avec d'autant plus d'empressement qu'elle est plus intéressée que tout autre à assurer l'ordre et la paix dans les Provinces dont on se propose d'améliorer le sort. Cette mesure aurait trouvé sa justification s'il s'agissait de mesures dont l'application répugnerait aux troupes indigènes ou choquerait leurs sentiments religieux; tandis que nous ne voudrions admettre dans les mesures qui seront appliquées dans les dites provinces rien qui puisse donner lieu à une résistance quelconque de la part des habitants Musulmans ou Chrétiens du pays, qui accueilleraient avec reconnaissance toutes dispositions adoptées par le Gouvernement dans le but d'améliorer leur sort. Si les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances ont en vue l'organisation de la gendarmerie Ottomane à l'instar de celles des Gouvernements Européens, la Sublime Porte, qui reconnaît elle-même la défectuosité de l'organisation de sa police, ne demanderait pas mieux que de la voir organisée sur le même pied, et elle est toute disposée à engager des officiers instructeurs de la gendarmerie étrangère pour faire organiser la sienne, ce L'introduction d'un corps de 4,000 à 5,000 que pourrait se faire en peu de temps. hommes de troupes étrangères dans les trois provinces, afin d'y rétablir l'ordre et la tranquillité, ne manquerait pas d'y produire le résultat contraire.

"Ces troupes, ne sachant pas un mot des différentes langues usitées dans le pays, et ne connaissant ni les localités, ni les lois, ni les mœurs, ni les habitudes des populations au milieu desquelles elles se trouveraient, irriteraient les esprits et, au lieu de servir d'élément d'apaisement, multiplieraient les embarras existants, provoqueraient des rixes, &c. On ne peut réellement prévoir les conséquences gaves que cette confusion pourrait amener. S'il arrivait, par malheur, car il faudrait songer à tout s'agissant d'une mesure aussi extraordinaire, que ces gendarmes étrangers fussent l'objet d'actes d'inimitié ou de vengeance de la part des populations indigènes, on ne manquerait pas de rejeter sur le Gouvernement Impérial la responsabilité de ces actes odieux, et c'est là une responsabilité que le Gouvernement doit décliner d'assumer dès maintenant.

"D'ailleurs, dans le programme Anglais, il n'était nullement question des gendarmes

étrangers.

" Division Administrative.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont vainement demandé à la Conférence les raisons qui motivaient la dislocation de la circonscription administrative existante pour aboutir à la formation des deux Vilayets Oriental et Occidental proposés. Ils ont établi qu'il n'y avait aucune connexité entre la division administrative actuellement en vigueur et les troubles survenus, et ils ont signalé que, dès lors, cette partie du travail dépassait les limites assignées au programme Anglais. Comme la Conférence s'est abstenue de donner les raisons qui avaient dicté cette nouvelle répartition, on se bornera ici à signaler le grave inconvénient qui résulterait du groupement indiqué dans le projet qui porte en tête: 'Règlement pour la Bulgarie.' MM. les

Plénipotentiaires des six Puissances ont déclaré que le titre placé en tête de cette

partie du travail ne tirait pas à conséquence.

"Cependant, il ressort évidemment de la lecture du premier article de ce règlement que le résultat de la répartition proposée n'est autre que de réunir en deux vilayets tous les Bulgares répandus dans la Turquie d'Europe, afin de constituer deux grandes divisions administratives où l'élément Bulgare dominera exclusivement. Une telle proposition ne saurait être acceptée par le Gouvernement Impérial au moment même où la proclamation d'une nouvelle Constitution vise directement à faire disparaître, au moins dans la sphère gouvernementale, les divisions ethnologiques qui ont déjà causé tant de malheurs à ce pays.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont déjà fait observer que les populations ne se prêteraient nullement à ce remaniement de la division administrative, et que de ce côté-là on devrait s'attendre à une opposition insurmontable. Indépendamment de ce qui concerne la population Musulmanc, établie dans les sandjaks et cazes dont on voudrait composer les deux vilayets, indépendamment encore des inconvénients trèsgraves que présenterait pour la population Bulgare Chrétienne la formation d'un vilayet qui s'étendrait de Viddin aux portes de Salonique, on appellera l'attention de la Conférence sur cette autre circonstance que la division proposée par elle englobe dans les vilayets où l'élément Bulgare dominera exclusivement des parties de

territoires habitées par une population Grecque.

"Il est vrai que le règlement pense avoir suffisamment obvié à cet inconvénient en stipulant que dans les districts où domine l'élément Grec, la langue de l'administration cantonale sera le Grec. Cependant, cette circonstance montre assez que sous le rapport ethnologique de la population Chrétienne, le travail de la Conférence n'est pas conséquent avec l'idée même qui aurait semblé pouvoir être invoquée en sa faveur. Pour quiconque connaît le pays, il n'y a pas de doute que la formation de ces vilayets provoquerait sur plusieurs points entre l'élément Chrétien Grec et l'élément Chrétien Bulgare une lutte acharnée. Dès lors, le Gouvernement Impérial est justifié à repousser la division proposée:—1, comme étant en dehors des limites du programme; 2, comme tendant à consacrer administrativement et officiellement le principe des divisions par races, principe inconciliable avec la Constitution; 3, comme devant provoquer infailliblement une lutte ardente entre l'élément Musulman et Chrétien, d'une part, et entre l'élément Bulgare et Grec, d'autre part.

"Cantonnement des Troupes Régulières.

"En Turquie comme partout ailleurs, les forces militaires régulières sont logées en

temps ordinaire dans les villes principales et les forteresses.

"Mais le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait accepter d'arrêter que ses troupes ne pourront quitter leurs cantonnements qu'en cas de guerre extérieur ou sur l'invitation du Gouverneur-Général. Une pareille stipulation ne saurait évidemment rentrer dans le programme Anglais. Le Gouvernement pense que le Gouverneur-Général doit être placé sous les ordres de l'Administration Centrale.

"Il ne saurait donc admettre que ce soit à ce Gouverneur-Général à prescrire à son Souverain, qui, d'après la Constitution, a le commandement suprême des forces militaires de l'Empire, les cas dans lesquels il pourrait faire quitter aux troupes leurs cantonnements ordinaires. Il ne saurait se réduire au rôle de Puissance simplement

auxiliaire ou alliée, ou de protectrice obligée du Gouverneur-Général.

" Dispositions relatives aux Finances.

"Le programme Anglais, entendu dans son sens le plus étendu, et la note du Comte Andrassy, telle qu'elle a été acceptée par la Sublime Porte, ne sauraient autoriser cette limitation de 30 pour cent qui se trouve consignée dans les propositions de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des six Puissances. Indépendamment du chiffre même de 30 pour cent, l'adoption en principe d'un pareil système de contribution encouragerait infailliblement des velléités autonomiques dont il est aisé de prévoir les conséquences. Le Budget général de l'Empire est entre les mains du Gouvernement et de la Chambre des Députés. Pratiquement donc la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires équivaudrait, ainsi que cela résulte de la combinaison des divers paragraphes des différents articles de ces projets, à l'annulation de la prérogative la plus essentielle de la Chambre et du pouvoir souverain. Elle constituerait en outre un privilége exclusif et par conséquent injuste pour certaines provinces de l'Empire. Elle détruit ce principe fondamental que chacun doit contribuer également aux charges de l'Etat dans la mesure exacte de ses facultés.

"Dispositions concernant la Justice.

"Le projet veut qu'un règlement pour la justice soit élaboré par la Commission Internationale spécialement pour ces provinces; que le pouvoir judiciaire supérieur soit concentré dans les mains d'une Cour d'Appel siégeant dans le chef-lieu du vilayet, dont tous les members, ainsi que le Président, seront nommés par la Sublime Porte avec l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes; que pendant trois ans tous les Juges des Tribunaux de Première Instance puissent être changés ou remplacés, et que au bout de trois ans les Juges puissent être confirmés et rendus inamovibles sur la décision de

la Cour d'Appel.

"Les Puissances amies connaissent les efforts que le Gouvernement Impérial s'est imposé dans le but d'améliorer la codification de ses lois. Les réformes si importantes Un chapitre spécial qui ont été réalisées dans ces derniers temps sont indiscutables. de la Constitution a proclamé le principe de l'inamovibilité; il a prescrit de combler les lacunes existantes dans les codes de procédure et applicables dans toutes les parties de l'Empire; le Gouvernement considère comme son premier devoir d'assurer un système de justice pouvant offrir toutes les garanties désirables. Mais il ne saurait admettre de règlements de justice spéciaux à telle ou telle province; il ne saurait admettre que ces règlements soient élaborés par d'autres que par les autorités compétentes indiquées dans la Constitution; pas plus que l'indépendance absolue des Cours d'Appel de certaines provinces; ni la nomination des magistrats avec l'assentiment des Puissances; ni la constitution de ces Cours d'Appel en arbitres suprêmes de l'application du principe de l'inamovibilité. Le programme Anglais avait en vue les moyens d'empêcher des actes d'autorité arbitraire. Le moyen de réprimer l'arbitraire, c'est évidemment l'institution de bons tribunaux. Le Gouvernement Ottoman accepte pleinement l'engagement de satisfaire à cette partie du programme déjà adopté. Mais les parties du travail de MM. les Plénipotentiaires consacrées à la justice ont bien moins en vue de signaler les lacunes du système judiciaire actuellement existant et de faciliter la discussion des moyens dont ces lacunes pourraient être remplies, que d'organiser une justice extraordinaire spéciale à quelques provinces et complètement indépendante du Ministère de la Justice à Constantinople. Par là, les propositions de MM. les Plénipotentiaires dépassent les limites du programme Anglais, et les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne saurait accepter une discussion dont le principe même tend à détruire par la base les espérances que le Gouvernement Ottoman fonde à si juste titre sur l'influence que ne peut manquer d'exercer l'unité de législation et de justice en ce qui concerne le sentiment de solidarité qui doit unir les différentes populations de l'Empire."

" Nomination et attributions des Gouverneurs-Généraux et des Gouverneurs.

"D'après le travail de MM. les Plénipotentiaires, le Gouverneur-Général pour les Vilayets Occidental et Oriental doit être Chrétien, sujet Ottoman ou étranger. En cas de mort ou de suspension, il ne peut être remplacé que par un des Gouverneurs Chrétiens.

"Le Vali de Bosnie, aussi bien que les Valis des deux Vilayets Occidental et Oriental, sera nommé pour un terme de cinq ans avec l'assentiment des Puissances

Garantes.

"Il ne pourra être destitué que par arrêt de la Cour d'Appel après avoir été mis n jugement.

"Dans tous les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et

règlementaires, il prendra l'avis du Conseil Administratif, &c.

"Il fixe avec l'Assemblée Provinciale, tous les cinq ans, le budget des recettes de la Province, en vue de déterminer les sommes à remettre à la Sublime Porte.

"Il présente à la Sublime Porte les Mutessarifs ou Caïmacams à nommer pour

un terme de quatre ans.

"Il suspend ces mêmes Mutessarifs ou Caïmacams ainsi nommés et propose à la

Sublime Porte leur révocation, &c.

"Il est évident que l'idée que dans cette partie du travail on a éte amené à se faire du Vali et de ses attributions diffère essentiellement de celle qui résulte des dispositions contenues à cet effet dans les lois de l'Empire relatives à l'organisation des vilayets. Le Vali n'est plus le premier fonctionnaire et le représentant du Gouvernement central en province, mais bien une puissance indépendante qui donne l'impulsion au mécanisme administratif au lieu de suivre celle que le Ministère de l'Intérieur uge nécessaire de lui imprimer.

"Il est inutile de s'arrêter à la clause qui ferait même d'un étranger, d'un inconnu,

d'une personne qui, dans tous les cas, échappe au contrôle direct du Gouvernement

qu'il représente, le Vali de provinces entières.

"Le Gouvernement considère également comme inacceptable la clause qui rend obligatoire pour lui de s'assurer de l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes pour la nomination du Vali. De fait elle équivaudrait à l'annulation du pouvoir de Sa Majesté sur ces provinces. Chaque nomination de Vali deviendrait ainsi une question diplomatique et, en cas de désaccord, la Porte risquerait de laisser ses provinces sans

"La fixation de la durée de ses fonctions aurait de moindres inconvénients. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne reconnaît que trop les graves inconvénients que la fréquence des changements de Valis a eus pendant le régime déchu. L'expérience sur ce point a été on ne peut plus convaincante. Il y a évidemment des avantages incontestables à laisser en place aussi longtemps que possible un haut fonctionnaire qui connaît et remplit ses devoirs.

"Des dispositions spéciales de la Constitution entourent désormais le Vali de toutes les garanties qu'on peut désirer pour empêcher des destitutions qui ne s'imposeraient pas au Gouvernement Impérial comme inévitables.

"L'Article 39 de la Constitution porte que tout fonctionnaire nommé dans les conditions fixées par les règlements ne pourra être révoqué ou changé s'il n'est pas prouvé que sa conduite justifie légalement sa révocation, s'il n'a pas donné sa démission, ou bien encore si sa révocation ne devient pas une nécessité inévitable pour le Gouvernement Impérial ("vé yahod devletdjé bir sébébi zarouri gueurulmedikdjé"). La pensée du Gouvernement se rencontre sur ce point avec celle de MM. les Plénipo-Elle la dépasse même puisqu'aucune limite n'est assignée à la durée des

"L'Article qui veut que le Vali ne puisse être destitué que par un arrêt de la Cour après avoir été mis en jugement ne saurait garantir ni la dignité, ni les intérêts de la Sublime Porte. L'incapacité, les mauvaises intentions, l'incurie, &c., ne sauraient tomber sous l'appréciation du pouvoir judiciaire et pourtant elles suffiraient pour paralyser l'action administrative et pour amener les conséquences les plus fâcheuses. Que des actes de concussion ou de fraude de la part du Vali soient déférés à l'autorité judiciaire, cela se comprend; encore faudrait-il que cette autorité ne fût pas un pouvoir provincial où les passions et les influences locales jouent un grand rôle, mais une autorité supérieure comme, par exemple, la section du Conseil d'Etat qui actuellement connaît des plaintes de ce genre portées contre les Gouverneurs-Généraux, mais le Gouvernement ne saurait accepter une clause qui le mettrait pendant des années ou bien dans l'impossibilité de se défaire d'un Gouverneur-Général qui serait devenu un obstacle à la bonne marche de l'administration ou bien dans la nécessité de comparaître devant une Cour de province comme plaignant pour demander contre le Gouverneur-Général destitution par arrêt.

" Quant à ce qui concerne la religion du Gouverneur-Général, la Sublime Porte ne voit aucun inconvénient à ce qu'il puisse être Chrétien. Mais elle ne saurait s'engager à ce qu'il ne soit pas Musulman. Si, par le mot de Chrétien, on a voulu désigner un non-Musulman, la Sublime Porte ne voit pas pourquoi un Catholique, ou un Arménien aurait plus de titres à être placé à la tête d'une province qui ne contient ni Catholiques, ni Arméniens, qu'un Musulman qui compte dans la province un grand nombre de co-réligionnaires. Que si, au contraire, par le terme de Chrétien, on a entendu parler d'un Chrétien Orthodoxe, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans répètent que leur Gouvernement ne peut avoir aucune objection à ce qu'un sujet Orthodoxe de Sa Majesté parvienne au poste de Vali; ce qu'ils repoussent c'est l'incapacité dont seraient frappés à cet égard les Musulmans; ce sont les réclamations que la consécration d'un pareil principe pour une partie notable de l'Empire ferait naître dans toutes les autres ; c'est enfin la violation de ce principe, de cette idée fondamentale de la nouvelle Constitution, que la religion ne constitue par elle-même ni une condition de supériorité ni une condition d'infériorité ou d'incapacité.

"Le mode de nomination ou de destitution des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams fait de ces fonctionnaires des employés du Gouverneur-Général plutôt que des fonction-

naires du Gouvernement.

"Et lorsqu'on prend en considération l'ensemble des dispositions contenues dans le travail de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances, on ne peut s'empêcher de faire remarquer, ainsi qu'on l'a dit plus haut, que dans la pratique le Vali, tel qu'il y est défini, serait non-seulement presque complètement délié de toute subordination envers le Gouvernement central, mais qu'il serait aussi investi d'un pouvoir quasi dictatorial vis-à-vis de ces mêmes populations qu'il s'agissait, d'après le programme Anglais, de garantir contre des actes d'autorité arbitraire.

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"Colonisation Circassienne.

"On connaît les circonstances qui ont accompagné cette émigration et comment le Gouvernement Ottoman s'est vu dans la nécessité d'offrir un asile à ces émigrants dont la moitié a péri avant d'arriver à s'établir. Grâce aux sacrifices pécuniaires que le sentiment de l'humanité a imposés au Gouvernement, ces émigrés ont pu être colonisés, ont pu entreprendre des travaux d'agriculture et voir leur sort amélioré. Le Gouvernement Ottoman se trouve aujourd'hui dans l'impossibilité d'entreprendre, en ce qui concerne ces étrangers devenus sujets Ottomans, un déplacement qui violerait les principes de propriété et de liberté individuelle garantis par la Constitution et blesserait tout sentiment d'humanité.

"Pour ce qui est de l'adjonction de nouveaux territoires à la Serbie et au Monténégro, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans s'en rapportent aux déclarations qu'ils ont faites

dans les séances précédentes."

Le Général Ignatiew ayant demandé comment il fallait comprendre la dernière phrase du discours de son Excellence Safvet Pacha relative au Monténégro et à la Serbie, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans répondent que la Porte s'en tient au principe du statu quo.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie dit qu'en ce qui le concerne, il s'en réfère à ses déclarations précédentes, mais il désirerait savoir quelles sont, au juste, parmi les

propositions des six Puissances, celles que la Porte accepte.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans pensent qu'en comparant le contre-projet de la Sublime Porte avec le travail présenté par les Représentants des six Puissances, on trouvera facilement les points sur lesquels on est d'accord. Leurs Excellences citent, par exemple, la division par nahié, l'élection du mudir pour quatre ans, parmi les membres des Conseils Cantonaux, l'organisation de l'administration des villes, l'acceptation en principe de la formation par le Gouvernement Ottoman d'un corps de gendarmerie, &c.

Le Marquis de Salisbury, rappelant que dans le programme Anglais des garanties ont été stipulées contre la mauvaise administration en Bulgarie, regrette de ne rien trouver dans le discours de son Excellence Safvet Pacha qui réponde suffisamment à cette pensée. Aux yeux de sa Seigneurie cette pensée ne pourrait être réalisée qu'en détachant de l'autorité centrale diverses attributions qui doivent revenir aux autorités provinciales. Lord Salisbury désirerait notamment que dans le but d'assurer l'indé-

pendance du Vali, celui-ci ne pût être facilement destitué.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans conviennent des avantages que présente la stabilité du pouvoir du Vali. Ils citent divers exemples de Valis qui sont restés longtemps en fonctions. Ils disent, en outre, que les conditions fixées actuellement par la Constitution et par les règlements qui en seront le corollaire, fait que la révocation d'un Vali, nommé surtout pour les provinces dont il s'agit, sera toujours une affaire grave. Toutefois, le Gouvernement Ottoman ne saurait se lier les mains à l'avance pour toutes les circonstances qui pourraient se présenter.

Le Comte de Bourgoing, en reconnaissant que le principe de la stabilité est, en effet, indiqué dans la Constitution, dit que ce que la Conférence désire obtenir, c'est la

garantie de l'application de ce principe.

Le Comte de Chaudordy fait remarquer que la nomination des Valis avec l'assentiment des Puissances constituerait une précieuse garantie, puisque les Représentants des pays les plus civilisés du monde ne pourraient que contribuer à faire faire à la Porte d'excellents choix.

Les Plénipotentiaires des six Puissances insistent sur la nécessité de donner des garanties pour la stabilité des Valis et sur les graves inconvénients de changements

trop fréquents de Gouverneurs-Généraux.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans maintiennent les observations qu'ils ont précédemment émises. Ils ajoutent que la Constitution et l'opinion publique fournissent la meilleure des garanties et que le Gouvernement peut apprécier mieux que personne les qualités des fonctionnaires qu'il emploie.

Le Comte de Bourgoing rappelle que le Gouvernement Constitutionnel qui vient d'être inauguré en Turquie repose précisément sur le principe de la nécessité de garanties

contre les abus de l'autorité.

Le Marquis de Salisbury, à la suite de cet échange d'idées, ayant fait observer que la note Andrassy acceptée par la Porte contenait en principe la nomination d'une Commission pour l'exécution des réformes, son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que cette Commission devait être nommée par le Gouvernement; qu'elle devait être composée

d'indigènes, et que, par conséquent, il ne voit point d'assimilation à établir entre ces deux institutions.

Le Marquis de Salisbury maintient que le principe de l'élection était la base de cette Commission, qui devait se trouver ainsi indépendante de la Sublime Porte.

Son Ercellence Safvet Pacha répond que les Conseils d'Administration des provinces, composés aujourd'hui de manière à renfermer dans leur sein les éléments d'une représentation permanente de la population, doivent remplir désormais les fonctions qui avaient été dévolues extraordinairement aux Commissions dites d'exécution, ainsi que cela avait été expliqué dans la circulaire de la Sublime Porte en date du 12 Octobre, 1876, dont il désire donner lecture.

Le Comte Zichy fait remarquer que cette circulaire est bien connue, et exprime le regret que la Porte semble vouloir aujourd'hui accorder moins qu'au moment de la

note du 30 Décembre.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie relève incidemment que la Sublime Porte ne serait pas conséquente avec elle-même en refusant aujourd'hui les rectifications de frontières que l'Europe réclame en faveur de Monténégro. Constant Effendi a été chargé, à deux reprises différentes et nommément en Décembre 1875 et vers la fin de Novembre 1876, d'ébaucher une entente directe avec le Prince Nicolas en lui offrant des cessions territoriales et même le port de Spizza.

L'Ambassader d'Autriche s'associe à ces réflexions.

Différentes observations sont également faites sur les avantages que présenterait dans les circonstances actuelles l'organisation d'un système judiciaire spécial dans les trois provinces.

(Signé)

La séance est levée et la prochaine réunion est fixée à Lundi, 8 Janvier.

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

Vth Protocol.—Sitting of the 19th Zilhidje, 1293 (December 28, 1876).

Present:

For Turkev—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany—

His Excellency Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain—

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Minister, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

For Italy-

His Excellency Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia—

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Russian Ambassador.

THE sitting was opened at half-past 1 o'clock; the Protocol of the 4th sitting was read and adopted.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that he is ready to explain the motives which cause the Ottoman Government to decline the proposals which had been specially noticed in the preceding sittings. These explanations could not fail to facilitate the discussion. His

Excellency then expresses himself in the following terms:-

"After having communicated to the members of the Conference the counter-project of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman Pienipotentiaries made it their duty to state that, besides the proposals of the Powers, which, suitably amended and put in agreement with the fundamental institutions of the Empire, seemed to them capable of being accepted, there were others about which they could not even enter into discussion.

"Still, in order that the Conference should not think that, in thus expressing themselves, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have had the idea of refusing to make known the reasons for their opposition, they hasten to-day to give explanations on each of these

"The International Commission of supervision would have amongst its functions-

"1. To settle the questions relating to the interests of the Canton, which will come within the province of the Cantonal Council;

"2. To find some combination to ensure in the Cantons the representation of the

minorities;

"3. To fix a sum not exceeding more than 30 per cent. of the revenues of the province, which shall be paid into the branches of the Ottoman Bank;

"4. To elaborate a special code of rules for the administration of justice;

"5. To see to the execution of the above code of rules;

- "6. To take part in the inquiry respecting the authors of the massacres and other excesses, to search for the guilty criminals, &c.; to revise the sentences pronounced on the Christians;
- "7. To make regulations as to the carrying of arms, and make the police arrangements necessary to ensure the safety of the inhabitants by means of the foreign gendarmerie;

"8. To estimate the losses of the Christians, and to settle the way they could best

be indemnified; to reconstruct the churches which were destroyed, &c.;

"9. To put the peasantry in a position to become owners of land;

"10. To supervise and carry into execution all that relates to the return of the exiles to their homes;

"11. To examine into the complaints against the authorities, and to propose their

recall, &c,;
"12. To trace on the spot the boundaries of the province and the division of the cantons and the departments.

"13. To elaborate a detailed programme of the labours it is charged with.

"The simple enumeration of the duties of the International Commission is sufficient to show that its institution is equivalent to the suspension of all action on the part of the Imperial Government as regards Bosnia, as well as the Vilayets, eastern and western. Evidently this substitution of international for legitimate authority, and this annulment of the sovereign authority and independence, which is contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, could not form part of the English programme; and the Ottoman Government, for its part, could not give its consent thereto on any account, however it might be modified.

"Foreign Gendarmerie.

"The Ottoman Government does not refuse to profit by the special acquirements

which the foreign instructing officers might bring to bear.

"Recourse to the information and experience of more advanced countries even enters into their intentions. But the introduction of a foreign military corps, following on engagements it would be necessary to enter into with foreign Governments, would be a measure as prejudicial as hurtful to the sovereign rights, as well as to the dignity of the

Imperial Government.

"We cannot comprehend the motives which have determined the Plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers to propose the introduction and employment of a corps of foreign gendarmerie in the country. If the object of the adoption of this measure is the the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, the Sublime Porte recognizes in that object a duty which it would execute with the more zeal, as it is more interested than any other in ensuring order and peace in the provinces, whose lot it is proposed to ameliorate. This measure might have been justified if there had been a question of measures, the execution of which might be repugnant to the native troops, or shock their religious feelings; whilst we would admit nothing into the measures to be applied to the said

provinces which could give ground for any resistance on the part of the Mussulman or Christian inhabitants of the country, who would gratefully welcome all arrangements adopted by the Government with a view of bettering their condition. If the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers have in view the organization of the Ottoman gendarmerie similar to those of the European Governments, the Sublime Porte, which recognizes itself the defects in the organisation, could desire nothing better than to see it organized on the same footing, and is quite disposed to engage instructors of foreign gendarmerie, to organize its own, which could be done in a short time. The introduction of a body of from 4,000 to 5,000 foreign troops in the three Provinces, to re-establish order and tranquillity, would not fail to produce the contrary result.

"These troops, not knowing a word of the different languages in use in the country, and being acquainted with neither the localities, laws, customs, nor habits of the populations in the midst of which they would find themselves, would be a source of irritation, and, instead of having a tranquillizing effect, would multiply the existing embarrassments, provoke disputes, &c. One cannot really foresee the serious consequences that this confusion might conduce to. If it came to pass, unhappily, for everything that bears on such an extraordinary measure must be thought of, that these foreign gendarmes became the object of hostile or revengeful acts on the part of the native populations, the responsibility of these odious acts would be sure to be thrown on the Imperial Government, and that is a responsibility which the Government must decline to assume from the present moment.

"Besides, in the English programme, there was no question of foreign gendarmes.

" Division of Administration.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have asked the Conference in vain, the reasons which prompted the dismemberment of the limits of the present Administration for the formation of two Vilayets, Eastern and Western, as proposed. They have established the fact that there was no connection between the division of administration, now actually in force and the troubles that have arisen; and they have pointed out that, from that moment, this part of the work exceeded the limits assigned to the English programme. Since the Conference has refrained from giving the reasons which dictated this fresh division, we shall only notice here the serious inconvenience which would result from the grouping indicated in the proposed project, entitled 'Code of Regulations for Bulgaria.' The Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers have declared that the title placed at the head of this part of the work was of no consequence.

"Still, it is evident from the reading of the first Article of these rules, that the result of the proposed division would only be to unite in two vilayets all the Bulgarians in European-Turkey, so as to constitute two great administrative divisions, where the Bulgarian element will dominate exclusively. Such a proposal could not be accepted by the Imperial Government at the very moment when the proclamation of a new Constitution has the direct object of removing, at least in the administrative circles, the ethnological divisions which have already been the cause of such calamities to this country.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have already observed that the populations would in no way lend themselves to this alteration of the division of the Administration, and that on that side an insurmountable opposition must be expected. Independently of what concerns the Mussulman population, established in the Sandjaks and Cazas from which they wish to make the two Vilayets, independently also of the very serious inconveniences which the formation of a Vilayet extending from Widdin to the gates of Salonica, would present for the Christian Bulgarian population, they would call the attention of the Conference to this other circumstance, that the division proposed by it unites in the vilayets where the Bulgarian element will dominate exclusively the portions of territory inhabited by a Greek population.

"It is true that the code of rules is considered to have sufficiently obviated this inconvenience, by stipulating that in the districts where the Greek element predominates, the language of the Cantonal Administration shall be Greek. Still, this circumstance is a sufficient proof that as regards the ethnological relations of the Christian population, the work of the Conference is not in accordance with the idea even which it would seem might possibly have been invoked in its favour; for anyone who knows the country there is not a doubt that the formation of these Vilayets would call forth in several points between the Christian Greek element and the Christian Bulgarian element a deadly struggle. Hence the Imperial Government is justified in rejecting the proposed division—

"1. As exceeding the limits of the programme;

"2. As tending to establish administratively and officially the principle of the divisions of races, which principle is irreconcilable with the Constitution;

"3. As being bound infallibly to provoke a fierce struggle between the Mussulman and Christian elements on one side, and the Bulgarian and Greek elements on the other side.

" Cantonment of Regular Troops.

"In Turkey as everywhere else, the Military regular forces are in ordinary times

lodged in the principal towns and fortresses.

"But the Imperial Government cannot consent to give the order that its troops shall only quit their Cantonments in case of foreign war, or at the request of the Governor-General, such a stipulation could not evidently form part of the English programme. The Government considers that the Governor-General should be placed under the orders of the Central Administration.

"It cannot allow, therefore, that it should be the duty of this Governor-General to advise his Sovereign, who, after the Constitution, has the supreme command of the military forces, of the Empire, of the cases in which he could summon the troops from their ordinary Cantonment, it could not see itself reduced to the part of a power simply auxiliary or allied, or forced to be the protector of the Governor-General.

" Arrangements about the Finances.

"The English programme, in its most extended sense, and the Andrassy note, as accepted by the Sublime Porte, do not authorize this limitation of 30 per cent. which

is recorded in the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers.

"Independently of the amount even of 30 per cent., the adoption in principle of a like system of taxation would undoubtedly encourage the longings for autonomy of which the consequences can be easily foreseen. The general budget of the Empire is in the hands of the Government and the Chamber of Deputies. Practically, therefore, the proposal of the Plenipotentiaries would be equivalent, as is seen by combining certain paragraphs of the different articles of these projects, to the annulment of the most essential prerogative of the Chamber and of the sovereign power. It would constitute, besides, an exclusive privilege, and consequently an unjust one, for certain provinces of the Empire. It destroys the fundamental principle, that all should contribute equally to the charges of the State in exact proportion to their means.

"Provisions respecting the Administration of Justice.

"The project provides that a judicial regulation be drawn up by the International Commission, specially for these provinces; that the higher judicial power be concentrated in the hands of a Court of Appeal sitting in the chief town of the Vilayet, all the members of which, as well as the President, shall be nominated by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the Guaranteeing Powers; that for three years all the judges of the Courts of First Instance may be changed or replaced, and that at the end of three years the judges may be confirmed and made irremovable by decision of the Court of Appeal.

"The friendly Powers know the efforts which the Imperial Government has put forth with the object of amending the codification of its laws. The reforms of such importance which have been effected lately are indisputable. A special chapter of the Constitution has proclaimed the principle of irremovability; it has prescribed the filling up of the gaps existing in the regulations of procedure and applicable in all parts of the Empire; the Government considers it its first duty to secure a judicial system which will offer all the desired guarantees. But it cannot admit of judicial regulations special to this or that province; it cannot admit of these regulations being drawn up by others than the competent authorities indicated in the Constitution, any more than the absolute independence of the Courts of Appeal in certain provinces, or the nomination of magistrates with the consent of the Powers, or the constitution of these Courts of Appeal into supreme arbiters of the application of the principle of irremovability.

"The English programme had in view the means of preventing acts of arbitrary authority. The way to repress arbitrary acts is evidently the institution of good law courts. The Ottoman Government accepts fully the engagement of satisfying this part

of the programme which has already been adopted.

"But the portions of the report of the Plenipotentiaries appropriated to the administration of justice have for object far less the statement of the gaps in the judicial system actually existing, and the facilitation of the discussion of the means by which these gaps might be filled up, than the organization of a special and extraordinary system of justice, tor a few provinces, and completely independent of the Ministry of Justice at Constantinople. In this, the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries pass the limits of the English programme,

and the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries could not admit a discussion the very principle of which tends to destroy by the roots the hopes so justly based by the Ottoman Government on the influence which the unity of law and justice cannot fail to exercise in respect of the feeling of common action which ought to unite the different races of the Empire.

" Nomination and Powers of the Governors-General and Governors.

- "According to the report of the Plenipotentiaries the Governor-General for the Western and Eastern Vilayets must be Christian, either an Ottoman subject or a foreigner. In case of death or suspension, he can only be replaced by one of the Christian Governors.
- "The Vali of Bosnia, as well as the Valis of the two Vilayets, Western and Eastern, shall be nominated for a term of five years, with the assent of the Guaranteeing Powers.
- "He can only be deposed by a decree of the Court of Appeal, after having been tried.
- "In every case which passes the limits of the strict and simple execution of the provisions respecting law and procedure, he shall consult the Administrative Council, &c.
- "Every five years he settles, together with the Provincial Assembly, the Budget of the revenue of the Province, in order to fix the sums to be paid to the Sublime Porte.
- "He is to present the Mutessarifs or Kaïmakams to the Porte for nomination for a term of four years.
- "He has the power of suspending these very Mutessarifs or Kaïmakams so nominated, and can propose their recall to the Sublime Porte, &c.
- "It is clear that the conception of the Vali and his powers that has been set forth in this part of the Report differs essentially from that which results from the provisions to that effect contained in the laws of the Empire relating to the organization of the vilayets.
- "The Vali is no longer the chief functionary and representative of the Central Government in the province, but, in fact, an independent power, who gives the initiative to the administrative machine, instead of following that which the Minister of the Interior thinks fit to impart to him.
- "It is unnecessary to consider the clause which would make even a stranger, an unknown person, some one who, in any case, is not subject to the direct control of the Government whom he represents, the Vali of whole provinces.
- "The Government considers also as in acceptation the clause which makes it obligatory on them to obtain the consent of the Guaranteeing Powers to the nomination of the Vali. It would, in point of fact, amount to the annulment of the power of His Majesty over these Provinces.
- "Each nomination of a Vali would thus become a diplomatic question, and, in case of disagreement, the Porte would risk leaving its provinces without Governors.
- "The fixed duration of his functions would present no less difficulties. The Imperial Government is but too well acquainted with the serious difficulties which the frequent changes of Valis have occasioned under the system that has come to an end. Its experience on this point has been of the most convincing kind. Obviously there are incontestable advantages in leaving as long as possible in his office a high functionary who knows and fulfils his duties.
- "Henceforth special provisions of the Constitution surround the Vali with all the guarantees that can be desired to prevent dismissals which are not forced on the Imperial Government as inevitable.

Article 39 of the Constitution provides that every functionary nominated under the conditions fixed by the regulations cannot be recalled or changed unless it is proved that his conduct legally justifies his recall, or unless he has given in his resignation, or, indeed, unless his recal becomes a necessity for the Imperial Government ('vé yahod develtjé bir sélébi zarouri gueurulmedikdjé']. The views of the Government on this point agree with those of the Plenipotentiaries. It even goes beyond them, since no limit is assigned to the duration of the Vali's functions.

"The Article which says that the Vali can only be deprived by a decision of the Court after having been tried would guarantee neither the dignity nor the interests of the Porte. Incapacity, ill intentions, carelessness, &c., would not fall within the scope of the judicial power, and yet they would suffice to paralyze administrative action, and to bring about the most untoward consequences.

"That acts of peculation or fraud on the part of the Vali should be submitted to the judicial authority is intelligible; even so it would be necessary that this authority should not be a provincial power, where local passions and influences play a great part, but a

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higher authority, as, for instance, the division of the Council of State, which at present takes cognizance of complaints of this nature brought against the Governors-General; but the Government could not accept a clause which would make it for years either impossible for it to get rid of a Governor-General who had become an obstacle to the good conduct of the Administration or necessary for it to appear before a provincial Court as a complainant

to ask a judgment of dismissal against the Governor-General.

"With respect to the religion of the Governor-General, the Sublime Porte sees no difficulty in the possibility of his being a Christian, but it could not undertake that he shall not be a Mussulman. If, by the word Christian, a non-Mussulman is meant, the Sublime Porte does not see why a Catholic or an Armenian would have more claim to be placed at the head of a province which contains neither Catholics nor Armenians than a Mussulman, who has a large number of co-religionists in the province. If, on the contrary, by the term Christian, an Orthodox Christian is meant, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries repeat that their Government can have no objection to an Orthodox subject of His Majesty attaining to the post of Vali. What they reject is the incapacity with which the Mussulmans would be affected in this respect, the complaints to which the sanction of such a principle for an important part of the Empire would give rise in all the others; in short, the violation of this principle, of this fundamental idea of the new Constitution, that religion does not in itself constitute either a condition of superiority, nor one of inferiority

"The manner of nomination or of dismissal of the Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams makes these functionaries the employés of the Governor-General, rather than the functionaries of

"And on taking into consideration the whole of the provisions contained in the Report of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers, it is impossible not to remark, as has been said above, that in practice the Vali, as he is defined, would not only be almost entirely cut free from all subordination to the Central Government, but that he would also be invested with a quasi-dictatorial power over that very population which, according to the English programme, it was sought to guarantee against acts of arbitrary power.

"Circassian Colonization.

"It is well known what circumstances accompanied this emigration, and how the Ottoman Government has found itself under the necessity of offering a refuge to these emigrants, of whom half have perished before being able to settle down. Thanks to the pecuniary sacrifices which the feeling of humanity has imposed on the Government, it has been possible to establish these emigrants in settlements, to enable them to undertake agricultural labours, and to improve their lot. The Ottoman Government finds itself unable now to undertake, in respect to these foreigners, who have become Ottoman subjects, a deportation which would violate the principles of personal liberty and property guaranteed by the Constitution, and would wound every feeling of humanity.

"With regard to the addition of fresh territories to Servia and Montenegro, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries refer to the declarations which they have made in the previous

sittings."

General Ignatiew having asked how the last phrase of the speech of his Excellency Safvet Pasha relating to Montenegro and Servia is to be understood, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries reply that the Porte adheres to the principle of the status quo.

The Russian Plenipotentiary says that as far as he is concerned, he refers to his previous declarations, but he would wish to know what are, precisely, those among the

propositions of the Six Powers which the Porte accepts.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries think that by comparing the counter-project of the Sublime Porte with the report presented by the Representatives of the Six Powers, the points on which they agree will easily be ascertained. Their Excellencies cite, for instance, the division into nahiés, the election of the Mudir for four years from the members of the Cantonal Councils, the organisation of the administration of the towns, the acceptance in principle of the formation by the Ottoman Government of a body of gendarmerie, &c.

The Marquis of Salisbury, recalling the fact that in the English programme guarantees were insisted on against bad government in Bulgaria, regrets finding nothing in the speech of his Excellency Safvet Pasha which sufficiently corresponds to this idea. In the eyes of his Lordship this idea could only be realized by detaching from the central authority various powers which ought to belong to the provincial authorities. Lord Salisbury would wish, in particular, that, with the view of securing the independence of the Vali, he should not be easily removed.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries admit the advantages presented by the stability of the

They state various instances of Valis who have remained in office during a long period. They say further, that the conditions now fixed by the Constitution and by the regulations which will be its corollary, make the recal of a Vali, especially one nominated for the provinces in question, always in future a serious matter. However, the Ottoman Government could not tie its hands in advance, with regard to all the circumstances which might present themselves.

Count de Bourgoing, while recognizing that the principle of stability is, in fact, indicated in the Constitution, says that, what the Conference desires to obtain, is the

guarantee of the application of this principle.

Count de Chaudordy points out that the nomination of the Valis, with the consent of the Powers, would form a valuable guarantee, since the Representatives of the most civilized countries in the world could not but contribute to cause the Porte to make excellent selections.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers insist on the necessity of giving guarantees for the stability of the Valis, and on the serious disadvantages of too frequent changes of Governors-General.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries adhere to the observations which they have previously They add that the Constitution and public opinion furnish the best of guarantees, and that the Government can judge better than any one else of the qualities of the functionaries which it employs.

Count de Bourgoing reminds them that the Constitutional Government which has just been inaugurated in Turkey is based on this very principle of the necessity of guarantees

against the abuse of authority.

The Marquis of Salisbury, following this exchange of ideas, having pointed out that the Andrassy Note accepted by the Porte contains in principle the nomination of a Commission to execute these reforms,

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that this Commission was to be nominated by the Government; that it was to be composed of natives, and that, consequently, he sees no point of similarity to be established between these two institutions.

The Marquis of Salisbury maintained that the principle of election was the basis of this Commission, which was thus to be made independent of the Sublime Porte.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha replies that the Administrative Councils of the provinces, now composed so as to include within themselves the elements of a permanent representation of the population, are henceforth to perform the functions which had devolved exceptionally on the so-called Executive Commissions, as had been explained in the circular of the Sublime Porte dated October 12, 1876, which he wishes to read.

Count Zichy points out that this circular is well known, and expresses his regret that the Porte seems to wish to grant less now than at the time of the note of

December 30.

The Russian Ambassador remarks incidentally that the Sublime Porte would not be consistent with itself in now refusing the rectifications of frontier which Europe demands in favour of Montenegro. Constant Effendi was charged on two separate occasions, to wit, in December, 1875, and near the close of November, 1876, with opening direct negotiations with Prince Nicholas, offering him territorial concessions, and even the port of Spizza.

The Austrian Ambassador concurs in these remarks.

Various observations are likewise made on the advantages that would be presented under present circumstances by the organisation of a special judicial system in the three

The sitting is adjourned, and the next meeting is fixed for Monday, January 8.

SAFVET. (Signed) EDHEM. WERTHER.

> ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY.

SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT.

L. CORTI. N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 227.

VIème Protocole.—Séance du 23 Zilhidjé, 1293 (27 Décembre, 1876).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie—

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman;

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne—

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie;

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France—

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France; Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial;

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente, No. 5, est lu et approuvé.

Son Excellence le Ministre d'Italie, parlant en son nom et au nom des Plénipotentiaires des cinq autres Puissances, donne lecture du document suivant :—

"MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont présenté, dans la dernière séance, un exposé des raisons qu'ils jugent de nature à justifier les réserves formulées par eux précédemment au sujet de quelques unes des propositions dont ils sont saisis.

"Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes m'ont confié la tâche de répondre aux considérations développées par leurs Excellences Safvet Pacha et Edhem Pacha.

"Avant d'entrer dans le détail des objections qui nous sont opposées, nous tenons tout d'abord à nous expliquer sur les arguments d'un caractère général que le Gouvernement Ottoman croit pouvoir tirer de l'incompatibilité de nos demandes avec les principes de la nouvelle Constitution, et du désaccord qui existerait entre nos propositions et les bases indiquées par le Gouvernement Anglais comme formant le point de départ des délibérations de la Conférence.

"La Constitution témoigne sans doute des bonnes dispositions du Sultan et de ses Ministres. Nous devons cependant faire remarquer à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans que cette charte, dont nombre de lois importantes doit venir compléter l'ébauche et déterminer le véritable caractère, n'a reçu encore ni la sanction de l'exécution, ni celle de l'expérience. Elle ne peut donc être invoquée comme établissant dès aujourd'hui des garanties sérieuses en faveur des provinces de l'Empire où une amélio ration de la situation a été jugée urgente après les tristes événements qui s'y sont passés. On nous fait valoir de bonnes intentions là où nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire d'assurer des réalités.

"Les Plénipotentiaires des Cours Garantes ne peuvent non plus admettre que leurs projets de règlement pour les provinces dépassent la portée du programme accepté par les Puissances et par la Sublime Porte comme base de la Conférence. Aux termes mêmes de ce programme, la Porte et les Puissances Garantes se sont engagées à organiser en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, comme en Bulgarie, 'un régime d'autonomie locale ou administrative par lequel on doit entendre un système d'institutions de nature à assurer aux populations un contrôle sur leurs propres affaires et des garanties contre l'exercice d'une autorité arbitraire.'

"Les Représentants des Puissances n'hésitent pas à maintenir que le projet de règlement qu'ils ont élaboré n'est autre chose que l'organisation dans l'ordre administratif, judiciaire, et financier, du système d'institutions locales ainsi déterminé.

tratif, judiciaire, et financier, du système d'institutions locales ainsi déterminé.

"En ce qui touche le régime administratif, la Sublime Porte déclare ne pas se rendre compte des raisons qui ont motivé la proposition du remaniement des circon-

scriptions existantes, et de la formation de deux Vilayets, Oriental et Occidental. Elle estime que la répartition nouvelle a comme résultat, sinon comme but, de réunir tous les Bulgares répandus dans la Turquie d'Europe en deux grandes divisions administratives, où l'élément Bulgare dominerait exclusivement, et qu'il y a lieu, par suite, de redouter l'opposition violente que cette combinaison ne manquera pas de provoquer de la part des populations Musulmanes et Grecques mélangées aux populations Bulgares.

"Si les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes s'étaient en effet préoccupés uniquement d'assurer à l'élément Bulgare une situation privilégiée, il eût été plus simple de ne constituer qu'une seule province; mais en proposant ce remaniment des circonscriptions administratives, ils n'ont eu d'autre but que de réunir et de grouper les divers districts qui ont été le théâtre des événements douloureux, dont l'opinion publique s'est légitimement émue, et où l'impossibilité de la continuation de l'état présent a été démontrée. C'est à ce titre que les Sandjaks de Slivno et de Philippopoli et quelques cazas ont été détachés du Vilayet d'Andrinople, d'autres districts des Vilayets de Salonique et de Bitolia. Il était dès lors naturel de procéder à une organisation nouvelle de l'ensemble de ces contrées. En proposant celle indiquée dans leur projet, les Plénipotentiaires se sont en outre efforcés de grouper autant que possible les éléments Chrétien et Musulman. C'est là une mesure dont le caractère pratique ne saurait être contesté, et que justifient suffisamment les conditions particulières de l'Empire Ottoman.

"Quant aux prétendues difficultés auxquelles il faudrait s'attendre de la part de l'élément Grec dans les nouvelles provinces, nous devons signaler d'abord la contradiction qui existe entre cette observation et l'énonciation précédente que nous aurions voulu réunir seulement les Bulgares sous une même administration. Il suffit d'ailleurs de faire remarquer que les populations Grecques seront appelées à jouir des mêmes droits et des mêmes avantages accordés à toutes les populations sans distinction de culte ni de religion. Les Plénipotentiaires croient que l'opposition entre les différentes nationalités doit tendre à disparaître avec le système d'autonomie cantonale dont les Grecs seront certainement les premiers à profiter. 'La lutte acharnée,' que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans paraissent redouter, pourra être une lutte électorale; il est permis d'espérer qu'elle se renfermera peu à peu dans les limites d'une compétition légale devant le scrutin.

"Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances reconnaissent relativement à la nomination et aux attributions des Gouverneurs-Généraux et des Gouverneurs, que la disposition qu'ils proposent s'écarte de celles contenues dans les lois générales de l'Empire concernant l'organisation des vilayets. Mais le but assigné à leurs travaux est précisément d'apporter un remède sérieux aux vices manifestes de l'état de choses actuel, et de prévenir le retour des désordres qu'il a laissé se produire. Il était donc nécessaire qu'ils introduisissent, dans la désignation et les attributions des principaux fonctionnaires des nouvelles provinces, des garanties de nature à assurer aux populations ce contrôle sur leurs affaires locales, et cette sauvegarde contre l'arbitraire prévus dans le programme qui sert de bases à la Conférence.

"Les dispositions adoptées à cet effet ne semblent pas, d'ailleurs, de nature à justifier en elles-mêmes les critiques formulées contre elles par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans. En stipulant que le Vali pourra être sujet étranger, il est permis de constater, sans revenir sur ce qui a été dit à ce sujet dans une des précédentes séances, que les Puissances ne créent pas une innovation dans l'Empire Ottoman, la Sublime Porte n'hésitant pas à faire appel pour de hautes fonctions, notamment pour des commandements militaires importants, au concours d'étrangers. L'assentiment des Puissances Garantes à la nomination du Vali n'est pas non plus une clause nouvelle, elle est admise pour le Liban; la situation exceptionnelle, qui y a été créée au Gouverneur-Général, n'a pas amené de complications, et n'a pas été considérée par la Porte comme attentatoire à ses droits souverains.

"Quant aux attributions confiées aux Gouverneurs-Généraux et à l'organisation du système administratif des Provinces, les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances se sont inspirés de deux principes: d'une part, donner à l'autonomie cantonale un développement de nature à prévenir, ou tout au moins à diminuer, les conflits entre les divers éléments de la population désormais constitués en groupes aussi homogènes que possible, et vivant d'une vie propre; d'autre part, organiser assez solidement l'autorité du Gouverneur-Général et des Gouverneurs que pour leur action soit prompte et efficace au milieu des difficultés de toutes sortes que crée à l'Administration l'état du pays. Cette double pensée a paru aux Plénipotentiaires des Cours Garantes répondre de la manière la plus pratique aux besoins mêmes des provinces.

"Relativement à l'organisation judiciaire dont le plan général est indiqué dans le

projet des Puissances, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans soulèvent des objections semblables à celles qu'ils font valoir contre l'organisation administrative. Ils reprochent au programme des Puissances de créer une justice spéciale ne cadrant plus avec le système judiciaire de l'Empire. Les Représentants des Puissances Garantes se soient à leur tour obligés de rappeler qu'il s'agit de pourvoir immédiatement à une situation troublée qui a révélé manifestement l'insuffisance de l'organisation actuelle, et de rétablir l'ordre parmi des populations livrées depuis plusieurs mois aux plus violentes La constitution d'un régime judiciaire fortement organisé et présentant surexcitations. des garanties réelles d'impartialité et de compétence est d'une importance majeure. Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances ont pris, là encore, pour point de départ de leur travail, le principe posé dans les bases rédigées par le Gouvernement Anglais. sont préoccupés d'assurer aux populations un contrôle sur leurs affaires, et des garanties contre l'arbitraire,' en les faisant intervenir elles-mêmes, sous certaines formes, dans la nomination des Juges. Quelque objection qu'on puisse élever contre la réforme des Tribunaux proposée, elle a le mérite d'être rapidement applicable et de ne pas remettre le redressement des griefs actuels à l'époque indéfinie de la promulgation des lois nouvelles auxquelles MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se réfèrent.

"Les Représentants des Puissances ont d'ailleurs le droit d'invoquer à cet égard les engagements pris par le Gouvernement Ottoman lui-même dans l'Iradé du 4 Octobre, et particulièrement dans le Firman du 4 Décembre, 1875. Après avoir posé le principe de l'élection pour les membres de la Cour d'Appel attachée à la Haute Cour de Justice, et pour les membres de la Cour de Cassation, le Firman s'exprime ainsi: on réformera et on constituera de la même manière les Tribunaux Civils de Première Instance. Il sera délivré à chacun des membres de ces Cours et Tribunaux choisis avec la plus scrupuleuse attention un Bérat Impérial les garantissant contre toute destitution sans cause légitime et en élaborera également un règlement qui fixera leurs droits à la retraite. . . .

"'Tous nos sujets sont autorisés à élire eux-mêmes les Juges et les membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans, tant des dits Tribunaux que des Conseils Administratifs des Provinces. En conséquence, des instructions précises seront envoyées dans toutes les provinces de l'Empire pour instituer ces Tribunaux et Conseils et procéder à leur composition suivant le mode ci-dessus décrété. . . . Comme l'institution des Tribunaux doit avoir pour effet essentiel de centraliser les garanties de sécurité pour les droits des personnes, les procès de nos sujets Musulmans avec nos sujets Chrétiens et autres non-Musulmans, ainsi que les procès de nos sujets Chrétiens entre eux ou avec nos sujets appartenant à d'autres croyances non-Musulmanes, et les procès de ces derniers entre eux, seront référés aux Tribunaux nizamiés (civils, correctionnels, et criminels). On devra compléter et mettre en vigueur dans le plus bref délai les lois et règlements concernant la procédure à suivre devant les dits Tribunaux et d'après nos Décrets Impériaux.'

"Il est malheureusement certain qu'une grande partie des promesses édictées dans ce Firman n'ont pas été suivies d'exécution. La partie du Règlement qui a trait à la réforme judiciaire n'est en réalité que l'organisation pratique des mesures annoncées

par la Porte, mais qui sont restées à l'état de lettre morte.

"Les dispositions relatives aux finances ont été également dictées aux Représentants des Puissances par la pensée de mettre un terme aux réclamations des populations des provinces sur lesquelles leur sollicitude est appelée. En stipulant qu'un prélèvement de 30 pour cent s'opérerait sur les revenus particuliers des provinces pour assurer le paiement de la Dette Ottomane, les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes ont témoigné de la préoccupation de relever le crédit de l'Empire et de l'assurer contre les entraînements financiers du pouvoir central. D'autre part, ils proposent de conférer aux Assemblées Provinciales et aux Conseils Cantonaux le contrôle des revenus et des dépenses locales. Cette clause ne touche en rien aux droits de la Sublime Porte relativement aux dépenses générales de l'Empire. L'idée d'une attribution aux besoins particuliers des Provinces d'une partie des revenus publics figure déjà, au moins en principe, dans la note circulaire de Rachid Pacha de 13 Février, 1876, en réponse à la note du Comte Andrassy du 30 Décembre, 1875. Il convient d'ajouter que les revenus des douanes, des postes et télégraphes, des taxes sur le tabac et les spiritueux, et de la régie, continuent à relever de l'Administration Générale des Finances Ottomanes.

"L'examen successif des principes qui ont présidé à l'organisation proposée pour les provinces ne saurait donc, dans la conviction des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes, autoriser les réserves dans lesquelles MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans croient devoir se renfermer.

"Toutefois, après avoir arrêté l'ensemble des mesures qui leur a paru le plus propre à réaliser l'œuvre de pacification et d'amélioration en vue de laquelle ils se trouvent réunis, les Représentants des Grandes Puissances ont dû rechercher de quelles garanties d'exécution il convenait d'entourer la mise en vigueur du nouveau régime. C'était là une seconde partie de leur tâche et le complément nécessaire de la première. Les combinaisons qu'ils ont présentées dans ce but paraissent rencontrer une opposition

particulière de la part de la Sublime Porte.

"Les Plénipotentiaires tiennent d'abord à faire observer que si le détail de l'organisation administrative judiciaire et financière à introduire dans les provinces a été développé dans les deux documents Nos. 2 et 3 remis aux Représentants de la Porte et constituant un projet de Règlement, ce qui a trait aux garanties d'exécution, et notamment ce qui concerne la Commission Internationale et la gendarmerie étrangère, ne figure que dans les pièces Nos. 4 et 5, lesquelles sont rédigées dans la forme de simples instructions. Il y a là une distinction dont il importe de tenir compte et que, nous le regrettons, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'ont pas indiquée dans la présentation de leurs observations.

"Quant au fond même de la question les Plénipotentiaires persistent à croire que le

Gouvernement Ottoman se méprend sur cette partie de leurs propositions.

"Préoccupés de la pensée d'assurer le fonctionnement régulier de l'Administration nouvelle au milieu de populations soulevées les unes contre les autres, les Représentants des Puissances ont songé purement et simplement à faciliter au Gouvernement Ottoman lui-même la création d'une gendarmerie spéciale. Dans ce but, ils conseillent à la Turquie de faire appel au concours d'éléments militaires pris dans un Etat neutre et de composer avec ces premiers éléments une sorte de cadres dans lesquels entreront des volontaires de tout-l'Empire. Cet emprunt fait à l'Europe ne peut véritablement être considéré comme portant atteinte aux droits souverains et à la dignité du Gouvernement Impérial, que les Représentants des Puissances auront toujours à cœur de sauvegarder. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans reconnaissent eux-mêmes les cas où l'emploi de troupes indigènes ne serait guère possible. C'est dans cet ordre d'idées que se sont placés les Représentants des Puissances en cherchant à organiser une force spéciale, indépendante des influences locales. Ils rappellent d'ailleurs les exemples qui ont déjà été cités dans une séance précédente d'emprunts faits par d'autres nations au concours de militaires étrangers.

"La Commission Internationale prévue dans le programme des Puissances n'est, de même, que le concours de l'Europe prêté une fois de plus à la Turquie sous une autre

forme et sur le terrain administratif.

"Quelque prudentes que soient les réformes qui doivent être introduites dans les vilayets dont nous nous occupons, il faut prévoir que des difficultés se produiront, dans leur application première. Il sera sans doute nécessaire de redresser les inexpériences des autorités locales. Les Plénipotentiaires ont pensé qu'à ce point de vue, ce serait venir en aide au Gouvernement Ottoman que de lui proposer de confier à une Commission de Délégués des Puissances le soin de remplir dans les provinces le rôle de Conseillers et de veiller, au début, au fonctionnement régulier du nouveau régime. L'autorité souveraine ne serait ainsi que fortifiée par le soutien que les Grandes Puissances prêteraient localement au Gouvernement Ottoman dans l'œuvre de la pacification de ces provinces. L'institution de Commissions pour la Bosnie et la Bulgarie ne manque pas, d'ailleurs, de précédents. Il suffit de rappeler à cet égard les travaux de la Commission Internationale pour le Liban.

"C'est encore une pensée d'apaisement dont se sont inspirés les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances en proposant les clauses relatives au cantonnement des troupes régulières et à l'engagement de ne plus introduire de Circassiens en Europe. Il ne saurait y avoir sur ce point de divergence sérieuse entre les Représentants des Puissances et ceux de la Porte. La disposition du projet qui concerne le cantonnement aurait eu pour but, en limitant autant que possible le contact entre la population et l'armée, d'éviter des collisions dangereuses. D'autre part, l'inconvénient d'établir parmi les Chrétiens de la Turquie d'Europe les populations Circassiennes avait été signalé à la

Sublime Porte, il y a nombre d'années, par les Représentants étrangers. Sir H. Bulwer avait proposé de les coloniser dans les Provinces Musulmanes de l'Asie, offrant même d'arranger dans ce but un emprunt. L'Ambassadeur de France avait partagé cette opinion.

"On nons répondra probablement encore en nous présentant la Constitution comme servant de garantie. Nous avons remis nos propositions alors qu'elle n'avait pas encore été publiée. Aujourd'hui qu'elle existe, il s'écoulera cependant assez de temps avant qu'elle ait pu recevoir une application sérieuse, et c'est pendant ce

délai qu'une Commission de Garantie nous a paru utile. Ses pouvoirs cesseraient au bout d'un an et, alors, on pourra, nous l'espérons, s'en rapporter à la Constitution. Mais en attendant, nous demandons à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans où se trouve la garantie lorsque tant de déclarations et d'engagements souverains n'ont

jamais reçu d'exécution?

"Tels sont les principes qui ont guidé les Représentants des Six Puissances dans la préparation des actes présentés aux Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte. Ils n'ont eu pour but que d'établir un ordre de choses conforme aux bases convenues, aux intérêts bien entendus de l'Empire Ottoman. Nous regrettons qu'après avoir ramené nos débats sur le terrain précis des articles d'un règlement, nous en ayons été écartés pour aborder de nouveau les points qui nous divisent en laissant de côté ceux sur lesquels nous serions tombés facilement d'accord.

"Mais il est temps de clore la discussion générale. Les travaux de cette Conférence tiennent l'Europe en suspens. De leur issue dépendent les relations futures entre elle et la Sublime Porte. Les Plénipotentiaires sont désireux d'accomplir l'œuvre de paix qui leur a été confiée. Ce n'est que d'une discussion régulière sur les détails que peut sortir l'entente qui est si désirable pour tous. Ils sont donc prêts à entrer dès à présent dans l'examen des différentes parties du projet de pacification com-

muniqué aux Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte."

Le Marquis de Salisbury prend la parole et s'exprime dans les termes suivants:—

"Dans le discours qui a été prononcé par son Excellence Safvet Pacha à la dernière séance de la Conférence, en réponse à plusieurs des plus importantes propositions mises en avant par les Six Puissances, son Excellence a insisté à plusieurs reprises sur le fait qu'elles n'étaient pas compatibles avec les bases de la Conférence telles qu'elles avaient été posées par le Gouvernement Britannique.

"Si je ne partage pas cette opinion et crois au contraire que les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances ont adhéré loyalement à ces bases c'est parce que je ne les explique pas

de la même manière que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans.

"C'est pourquoi je crois devoir indiquer l'interprétation exacte des bases Anglaises

en ce qui concerne les sujets mentionés par les Plénipotentiaires de la Porte.

"Je me permets d'exposer en premier lieu les points sur lesquels il paraît à leurs Excellences que les propositions des Puissances ont dépassé les limites des bases établies par l'Angleterre.

"Ces points sont les suivants:

"1. La Commission;

"2. La gendarmerie;

"3. Les arrangements judiciaires;

- "4. Le cantonnement des troupes régulières dans les forteresses et les grandes villes;
 - "5. Les divisions administratives;

"6. La position du Vali.

"La clause qui se rapporte à ces sujets est conçue dans les termes suivants :

"' Que la Porte s'engagerait dans un Protocole à être signé à Constantinople avec les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Signataires, d'accorder à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine un système d'autonomie locale et administrative, c'est-à-dire un système d'institutions locales qui donneront à la population un certain contrôle sur leurs affaires locales et fourniront des garanties contre l'exercice d'une autorité arbitraire. Il n'y aura pas question d'un Etat tributaire. On donnera de pareilles garanties contre la maladministration en Bulgarie.'

"Les bases comprennent en outre les réformes proposées par le Comte Andrassy,

qui ont déjà reçu l'assentiment de la Porte.

"Il est surtout à remarquer dans ces mots qu'on ne demande pas seulement des réformes, mais aussi des garanties. On devra accorder à la population un contrôle sur ses propres affaires et ces réformes demandées par la note Andrassy doivent être comprises dans l'arrangement à intervenir.

"Mais on demande en outre des garanties efficaces contre l'exercice d'une autorité

arbitraire et la mauvaise administration.

"Il en résulte par conséquent que la promulgation de bonnes lois ne répond point entièrement aux demandes du programme Anglais. A côté de ces lois il faut des garanties.

"L'extrait suivant de la note du 30 Décembre, qui a reçu l'assentiment général de l'Europe, fait preuve d'une manière suffisante des motifs par lesquels une pareille

garantie a été jugée nécessaire:

"'Si l'on songe au peu de créance que rencontrent auprès des populations

Chrétiennes les promesses de la Sublime Porte, on ne peut se dissimuler que les réformes promulguées ne pourront inspirer la confiance nécessaire qu'à condition que l'on crée en même temps une institution propre à offrir une certaine garantie que ces réformes seront sérieusement appliquées. En se bornant à remettre leur exécution à la discrétion des Gouvernements de la province, on ne parviendrait pas à surmonter la méfiance dont je parle. Il y aurait donc lieu d'établir une Commission de Notables du pays, composée par moitié de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, et élue par les habitants de la province suivant un mode qui serait déterminé par la Sublime Porte.

"On fixe plus bas les attributions de cette commission, 'pour contrôler l'exécution des réformes proposées par les Puissances, ainsi que de celles qui ont été proclamées dans l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et dans le Firman du 12 Décembre.'

"L'institution et les attributions de cette commission ont été acceptées par la Porte le 13 Février, et se trouvent dans les bases de pacification proposées par l'Angleterre.

"Conformément à cette manière d'agir les Plénipotentiaires ont proposé à la Sublime Porte l'institution d'une Commission de Contrôle. Les attributions dont elle doit être munie ne dépasse pas celles que comporte le devoir de contrôler l'exécution des réformes proposées par la note du Comte Andrassy ou promises dans l'Iradé du 2 Octobre et le Firman du 12 Décembre. Ces deux actes ont promis beaucoup en fait de réformes, mais jusqu'ici aucune des promesses à cet égard n'a été remplie. Mais en confiant à la Commission le devoir de contrôler les réformes y mentionnées Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan l'a munie d'une juridiction très-étendue.

"L'élection des Conseils Administratifs, le régime des impôts, ainsi que leur assiette et perception, la réorganisation des tribunaux, les qualités requises pour les juges, la réforme entière de la police et les qualités requises pour y être admis, ainsi que ses attributions, la construction des routes, l'établissement de la liberté entière de religion, les conditions nécessaires pour être admis au service de l'Etat, tout fut mis par la Porte dans la note du 13 Février sous la surveillance d'une Commission, et la

Commission devait être indépendante de la Porte.

"Les attributions dont les Puissances proposent de munir la Commission sont beaucoup plus modérées que celles qu'auraient comportées l'adoption de la Note

Andrassy qui fait partie des bases Anglaises.

"Le seul changement de substance que les Puissances aient proposé résulte du système d'après lequel la Commission doit être nommée. Depuis que la Porte a donné son assentiment à la Note Andrassy, des événements terribles se sont passés. Telle est l'exaspération des esprits aujourd'hui qu'on ne serait plus en mesure d'admettre avec la même sûreté le système électif qu'on aurait pu adopter il y a un Il pourrait en résulter la formation d'une Commission qui serait poussée en avant par des idées révolutionnaires et qui serait toute disposée à se servir du pouvoir de contrôle dont elle était revêtue pour porter atteinte à l'Empire Ottoman. Les Puissances étaient convaincues que le seul moyen sûr de former une Commission indé-pendante serait de confier la nomination des Commissaires aux Alliés du Sultan. Il est très peu probable qu'une charge pareille soit employée au préjudice du Sultan par ceux qui font aujourd'hui tout leur possible dans le but de soutenir le pouvoir de Sa Majesté Impériale.

"La Commission entre ainsi de son propre chef sur le terrain du programme Comme une des garanties les plus efficaces contre la mauvaise administra-Anglais.

tion elle est également consacrée par ces bases.

"C'est conformément à cette manière de voir que plusieurs des matières que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans s'efforcent de repousser comme étrangères au programme Anglais, y sont évidemment comprises. Une gendarmerie suffisante pour maintenir l'ordre est la première condition d'une bonne administration. En assignant aux troupes régulières des demeures spécifiées, on les tient à l'écart de la vie ordinaire de la population civile et l'on empêche ainsi les conflits regrettables en usant d'une précaution qui est prescrite par l'expérience et mise en pratique par la plupart des nations civilisées.

"Cette précaution est surtout nécessaire dans les cas où les troupes régulières ne

sont ni de la même race ni du même culte que la population qui les entoure.

"L'établissement des Tribunaux dont les Juges doivent être indépendants et inamovibles, la possession par eux des qualités requises, leur siége au milieu du peuple du bien-être duquel ils sont chargés, l'administration de la justice dans la langue des plaideurs, ce sont des conditions qui sautent aux yeux comme nécessaires à la bonne administration, et en les garantissant on ne fait que se prémunir contre la mauvaise administration d'une manière fort élémentaire.

"L'expérience a démontré que la mauvaise administration dans les Provinces qui $\lceil 195 \rceil$

ont été tant éprouvées a résulté dans la plupart des cas de ce qu'on a nommé des Valis, sans s'occuper de leur aptitude, et qu'on entrave l'énergie et le zèle des plus capables en les exposant à être arbitrairement rappelés.

"En prenant des précautions contre ce danger il est évident que les Plénipotentiaires n'ont pas dépassé les limites du programme Anglais. Ils n'auraient guère pu

éviter ce reproche s'ils avaient manqué à ce devoir.

"Enfin, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se sont plaints qu'il n'y avait rien dans le programme Anglais pour autoriser les nouvelles délimitations administratives qu'on a tracées. Mais cette manière d'agir était une condition nécessaire de la tâche qu'ils ont été appelés à remplir. Ils étaient chargés de fournir des garanties contre la mauvaise administration en Bulgarie. Le mot "Bulgarie" n'indique pas une région dont les limites géographiques ont été tracées. En lui donnant une interprétation pratique, les Plénipotentiaires ont d'û tenir compte de l'origine du mot même et du sens dans lequel il est actuellement employé. Les limites des fonctions des Plénipotentiaires ont été ainsi indiquées.

"On n'aurait pu soumettre à la considération de la Conférence sous le nom de Bulgarie, les endroits où la population Bulgare ne prédomine pas, ni les endroits qui n'ont pas été exposés à la mauvaise administration qui a donné lieu aux excès commis

dans le courant de l'été dernier.

"Les Plénipotentiaires ont été ainsi empêchés de faire appliquer leurs recommendations à une grande partie des Vilayets d'Andrianople, de Salonique, et de Prizrend. La nécessité d'exclure ces régions de l'opération de ces règlements les ont obligés de tracer de nouvelles lignes de démarcation. S'ils ne l'avaient pas fait, ils se seraient exposés, et avec raison, aux reproches des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, qui auraient pu se plaindre que la Conférence s'était écartée du programme Anglais en fournissant des garanties contre la mauvaise administration en Bulgarie dans des endroits qui ne faisaient pas partie de la Bulgarie.

"Ayant passé en revue tous les points au sujet desquels leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont prétendu que la Conférence avait dépassé les limites légitimes, je crois avoir suffisamment démontré que les propositions faites par les Plénipotentiaires des six Puissances ont été du moins scrupuleusement restreintes dans

les limites du programme Anglais."

Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie voudrait considérer la discussion générale comme épuisée. Il pense qu'il est temps maintenant de passer à l'examen de chacun

des points en particulier.

Son Excellence Safret Pacha présente quelques considérations tendant à expliquer les raisons qui font penser aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans que le programme Anglais a été dépassé dans le travail de MM. les Plénipotentiaires. Il cite notamment la division administrative et récapitule sur ce point les arguments qui s'opposent à ce qu'elle puisse être admise. Il désirerait après cela passer à l'examen de la question concernant l'introduction de troupes étrangères.

Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie signale l'avantage qu'il y aurait à ne traiter les différents points que successivement. Les remarques de son Excellence le Comte Corti, qui se rapportent au discours prononcé dans la séance précédente par son Excellence Safvet Pacha, résument la pensée générale des Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances. Le Marquis de Salisbury, en s'exprimant comme il vient de le faire, a donné les raisons qui démontrent que l'on ne s'est pas écarté du programme Anglais. Il ne saurait par conséquent qu'adopter l'opinion émise par son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie en faveur d'un examen successif des diverses questions dont la Conférence est maintenant dument saisie.

Le Comte de Chaudordy, parlant dans le même sens, pense qu'il y aurait avantage à constater dès à présent que soit qu'on maintienne la division administrative telle qu'elle existe, soit qu'on en adopte une autre, le système d'administration et de garanties qui sortira des délibérations de la Conférence sera appliqué dans tous les districts où les désordres se sont produits.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit qu'il faudrait généraliser à tout l'Empire les idées conformes à la Constitution et sur lesquelles le Gouvernement Ottoman et la Conférence tomberaient d'accord. Il fait ressortir le caractère général des dispositions contenues dans le contre-projet de la Sublime Porte.

Le Comte de Chaudordy et le Marquis de Salisbury allèguent, en faveur de la spécialisation des mesures à adopter, les termes de la note Andrassy et du programme Anglais, aussi bien que la nature des événements qui heureusement ne se sont pas étendus sur tout l'Empire, mais se sont passés dans des localités déterminées.

Sur quelques aufres observations qui ont lieu dans le même sens, les Plénipo-

tentiaires Ottomans donnent à entendre qu'à leur avis les mesures indiquées dans les propositions Andrassy seraient applicables aux districts éprouvés et que pour ce qui est des réformes que le Gouvernement Ottoman est en voie d'exécuter, elles ont bien un caractère général en ce sens qu'elles doivent être appliquées à toutes les provinces de l'Empire, mais que rien n'empêche qu'elles ne soient appliquées tout d'abord et d'urgence aux vilayets dans lesquels se trouvent situées les localités qui ont fait l'objet de l'attention plus particulière de la Conférence. A l'appui de cette généralisation successive de l'application des nouvelles réformes, ils citent notamment la manière dont il a été procédé pour l'application du Tanzimat, ainsi que de la Loi des Vilayets.

Le Marquis de Salisbury dit que le terme de "Bulgarie" se trouve bien dans le programme Anglais et que notamment la Conférence doit s'occuper de la Bulgarie.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que par le terme de "Bulgarie" on entend généralement le Vilayet du Danube, qu'une importance spéciale n'avait pas été attachée tout d'abord à cette expression qui se trouve, en effet, dans le programme Anglais, parce que le programme Anglais n'avait pas été accepté tout d'abord par la Sublime Porte; qu'il s'est trouvé admis plus tard seulement et pour ainsi dire implicitement par cela même que la Conférence qui s'y rattachait avait été acceptée et que, dès lors, le Gouvernement Ottoman ne s'était pas trouvé dans le cas de demander qu'on voulût mieux fixer le sens que pouvait comporter le terme vague de Bulgarie.

MM. les Pléaipotentiaires de Russie, d'Allemagne, et de la Grande Bretagne, font remarquer que l'initiative du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a eu pour motif principal les faits qui se sont passés dans les localités situées hors du Vilayet du Danube, que, dès lors, on ne pourrait pas faire abstraction du versant méridional des Balkans, et que l'on est ainsi amené à étendre les mesures sur lesquels on sera tombé d'accord sur tout ou partie des Vilayets du Danube, de Sofia, de Prizrend, de Monastir,

d'Andrinople, et de Salonique.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans s'attachent à faire voir que, d'après les explications qui viennent d'être fournies, la pensée de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances serait mieux rendue si, au lieu de territoires, on voulait donner comme objectif des mesures de réparation les populations qui ont souffert, et si, de plus, on

étendait le cercle des réformes à appliquer sur toute la Turquie d'Europe.

Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie déclare que pour ce qui le concerne personnellement il n'a aucune objection à ce que les réformes dont on sera convenu reçoivent une plus large extension. Il pourrait en dire autant de ses collègues. C'est là pourtant une affaire qui concerne la Sublime Porte. Mais il ajoute que les faits qui se sont passés ont amené les Puissances à s'occuper spécialement des trois provinces et des garanties qui devaient être données.

Le Comte de Chaudordy croit qu'on peut admettre désormais que les localités qui devront faire l'objet des mesures à arrêter par la Conférence seront comprises dans les limites des provinces qu'il s'agit d'organiser. Il se demande maintenant quelles sont les generaties que le Couvernement Ottomen peutre feurier.

les garanties que le Gouvernement Ottoman pourra fournir.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha dit que les garanties que le Gouvernement Impérial peut fournir sont des garanties morales, tirées du sentiment même que le Gouvernement a de ses intérêts et de ses devoirs.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha lit à cette occasion la note communiquée par la Sublime Porte aux Représentants étrangers en date du 12 Octobre, 1876, qui exposait le nouveau programme du Gouvernement Ottoman et avait servi de réponse au pro-

gramme du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie remercie Son Excellence le premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman de la lecture de la note qu'il vient de faire. Si l'on voulait comparer cette note avec le travail des Plénipotentiaires, on verrait bien que les promesses du Gouvernement Ottoman dépassent sous certains rapports les désirs exprimés par les Puissances. La différence est que celles-ci s'attachent principalement à tout ce qui peut avoir un effet sérieux, pratique, et immédiat. C'est ainsi que personne ne met en doute les efforts que le Gouvernement Ottoman a déployés pour amener la pacification de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine. On sait pourtant que si ces efforts n'ont pas abouti, cela a tenu surtout à ce que les populations n'y ont pas trouvé la garantie des Puissances. La proclamation de la Constitution ne remplit pas à elle seule cette lacune. La pièce que Son Excellence Safvet Pacha vient de lire est en quelque sorte la condamnation de tout le système administratif actuellement en vigueur ou qui avait prévalu jusqu'alors. A l'appui de ces idées, Son Excellence désirerait donner lecture à la Conférence d'un passage de la pièce adressée par les patriotes Ottomans aux Cabinets Européens au printemps dernier et qui contient des aveux remarquables sur les abus et les vexations dont souffre la population des provinces.

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Son Excellence Edhem Pacha fait observer que cette pièce n'a pas un caractère officiel et il ne voit pas l'utilité qu'il y aurait à en donner lecture. Reprenant l'examen de la question des garanties, il rappelle que c'est la continuation de la guerre qui a empêché l'exécution des propositions du Comte Andrassy acceptées par le Gouvernement Impérial. Son Excellence finit par demander que la Conférence veuille bien accorder aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans un délai pour leur permettre de mieux étudier le contenu des communications qui ont été faites au commencement de la séance par leurs Excellences le Comte Corti et le Marquis de Salisbury.

Le Comte de Chaudordy ne voit pas l'utilité d'étudier, quant à présent, les communications sus-mentionnées; la question des garanties fait en ce moment l'objet des délibérations de la Conférence. Il prie de nouveau MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans d'indiquer les garanties que, de leur côté, ils seraient disposés à proposer à

la Conférence.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha répond que les garanties qu'il pourrait indiquer seraient, ainsi qu'il a eu déjà l'occasion de le dire, des garanties morales, la Constitution, les lois, le temps qui consolidera les nouvelles institutions et en établira la valeur pratique. Voilà les seules garanties sérieuses et les seules que son Gouvernement soit à même de fournir.

Le Comte de Chaudordy ne saurait considérer la réponse de son Excellence Edhem Pacha comme suffisante, de moment que la Sublime Porte est en possession d'un projet d'ensemble élaboré par la Conférence. Il exprime le désir que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans fassent, à leur tour, des propositions sur lesquelles on discutera.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha revient sur ses explications antérieures et regrette de se trouver dans la nécessité de rappeler que plusieurs des dispositions du projet en question ont été jugées incompatibles avec les droits souverains de Sa Majesté le Sultan

et de son Gouvernement.

Le Comte Zichy désirerait faire remarquer que le changement de la forme du Gouvernement n'amène naturellement aucune altération à des promesses et à des engagements qui ont été contractés sous la forme la plus solennelle. Afin de ne point se tromper sur l'appréciation qu'il serait porté à faire de la manière dont les Hatti-Chérifs de 1839 et de 1856 ont été exécutés, il se bornera à invoquer les paroles par lesquelles Sa Majesté elle-même constatait, tout récemment encore, que l'Empire avait de bonnes lois, mais que malheureusement ces lois n'étaient guère appliquées. En présence d'une pareille constatation venant de si haut, comment pourrait-on apaiser les inquiétudes, si ce n'est en stipulant des garanties?

Les Plénipotentiaires Gttomans répondent que c'est là précisément le motif qui a fait adopter la Constitution, c'est-à-dire une nouvelle forme de Gouvernement qui porte en elle-même les garanties d'exécution désirables. Désormais les Sultans ne seront pas dans le cas de se plaindre de l'inexécution des lois. Il serait d'ailleurs injuste de vouloir ainsi porter une condamnation absolue sur le passé. Bien des lois

ont été déjà exécutées.

Le Comte de Chaudordy se demande quelles sont les lois financières, judiciaires, administratives qui doivent servir à mettre en œuvre la Constitution. Comme ces lois n'existent pas actuellement, des arrangements plus précis seraient nécessaires.

Sur une observation du Baron de Werther relative au grand nombre de lois qu'exigera la mise en pratique de la Constitution, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans répondent que déjà cinq Commissions ont été formées et que même la plupart des lois auxquelles l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne a fait allusion existent.

Le Marquis de Salisbury voudrait prendre acte que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans écartent toutes autres garanties que les garanties morales et n'en donnent d'autres que

le temps et les lois existantes et à venir.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha pense qu'on ne saurait désirer de garantie plus solide que celle qui résulterait d'engagements pris dans un Protocole signé. Il y aurait là un engagement international et tout le monde sait avec qu'elle loyauté le Gouvernement Impérial tient ses engagements.

Le Comte de Chaudordy et l'Ambassadeur de Russie disent qu'on n'entend nullement mettre en doute la loyauté du Gouvernement Ottoman, ni sa bonne foi ; la

question est de savoir s'il sera en mesure d'exécuter ses engagements.

Le Baron de Calice, appuyant les précédentes observations, dit que le but des Représentants des Puissances Garantes a été précisément de trouver des mesures d'une application immédiate et certaine. Son Excellence cite l'insuccès des tentatives pour faire rentrer les réfugiés de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine. Il faudrait éviter de retomber dans les mêmes inconvénients, et c'est pourquoi les garanties pratiques sont tout-à-fait indispensables pour arriver au but que l'on se propose.

Le Comte Zichy lit différents passages de la Note Andrassy relatifs à l'institution d'une Commission pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et il fait remarquer que cette Commission a été acceptée par la Porte.

Sir Henry Elliot dit que la Porte, ayant accepté alors cette Commission pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, ne peut se refuser à l'accepter également pour la Bulgarie, puisque cette Commission fait partie du programme Anglais.

Le Marquis de Salisbury s'attache à démontrer que l'application des principes de la Note Andrassy pour la Bulgarie est contenue dans le programme Anglais, que la Commission dont il s'agit devait être élective, et, par conséquent, indépendante; mais dans les circonstances actuelles l'élection pourrait présenter des inconvénients pour la Porte, et qu'il est préférable pour elle que les membres de cette Commission soient désignés par les Puissances. Sa Seigneurie insiste encore sur la gravité de la situation.

Sir Henry Elliot appuie sur les avantages que présenterait pour la Porte une Commission nommée par des Puissances qui ne désirent que le bien de l'Empire, au lieu d'une Commission élue par des populations encore agitées par des passions

politiques.

Le Comte Zichy invoque de nouveau la Note Andrassy, et cite la circulaire adressée par la Sublime Porte à ses Représentants à l'étranger en date du 13 Février dernier, et qui constate l'acquiescement du Gouvernement Ottoman aux principes de la Note Andrassy.

Sans mettre en doute l'acceptation de la Note Andrassy par la Porte, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans font des réserves sur le mode de nomination qui s'y trouve

indiqué.

Le Baron de Werther rappelle que cette Note avait été laissée entre les mains de feu Rachid Pasha.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ayant insistés sur leur désire d'examiner de nouveau la question, le Comte de Chaudordy et le Comte Corti expriment le vœu que la Conférence se trouve à la prochaine séance en présence de propositions précises de la part du Gouvernement Ottoman.

La séance est levée, et la prochaine réunion est fixée à Mercredi.

' (Signé) SAFVET.

EDHEM. WERTHER.

ZICHY. CALICE.

F. DE BOURGOING.

CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY.

HENRY ELLIOT.

L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

VIth Protocol.—Sitting of the 23rd Zilhidje, 1293 (Secondary 6, 1877).

Present:

For Turkey -

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs for the Ottoman

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany-

His Excellency Baron Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency Count Zichy, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary;

His Excellency Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency Count Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency Count Chaudordy, Extraordinary Ambassador.

For Great Britain-

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

His Excellency Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia-

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Russian Ambassador.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting, No. 5, was read and approved.

His Excellency the Minister of Italy, speaking in his name and that of the Plenipotentiaries of the five other Powers, read the following document:—

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries presented at the last sitting a statement of the reasons which they consider of a nature to justify the reservations already made by them

with respect to some of the proposals of which they are in possession.
"The Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers have confided to me the task of replying to the considerations put forward by their Excellencies Safvet Pasha and Edhem

Pasha.

"Before entering into the details of the objections which are opposed to us, we are anxious first of all to explain ourselves on the general arguments, which the Ottoman Government thinks that it can found on the incompatibility of our demands with the principles of the new Constitution, and of the disagreement which is supposed to exist between our propositions and the bases proposed by the English Government as the starting point of the deliberations of the Conference.

"The Constitution bears witness, doubtless, to the good intentions of the Sultan and

of his Ministers. We must, at the same time, call the attention of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries to the fact that this Charter, the plan of which must be completed, and the true character settled by a number of important laws, has not yet received either the sanction of being carried into effect nor that of experience. It cannot therefore be invoked as establishing from this time forward serious guarantees in favour of the provinces of the Empire, amelioration of the situation of which has been considered urgent after the unhappy events which have taken place. They put us off with good intentions where we think it necessary to ensure realities.

"The Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers cannot either admit that their projects of regulations for the provinces exceed the programme accepted by the Powers and by the Sublime Porte as the base of the Conference. In the very terms of this programme the Porte and the Guaranteeing Powers undertook to organize in Bosnia and in Herzegovina, as well as in Bulgaria, a rule of local or administrative autonomy, by which must be understood a system of institutions of a kind to assure to the people a control over their own affairs and guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary

authority.

"The Representatives of the Powers do not hesitate to maintain that the project of law which they have drawn up is nothing else than the organization in administrative, judicial, and financial order of the system of local institutions thus decided upon.

"As regards administrative régime, the Sublime Porte declares that it cannot

understand the reasons which have suggested the proposal to remodel the existing boundaries, and to form two Vilayets, the eastern and western. It is of opinion that the result of the new division, if not the object, is to unite all the Bulgarians spread through European Turkey into two great administrative divisions, in which the Bulgarian element should absolutely preponderate, and that there is reason to doubt consequently the violent opposition which this arrangement will not fail to provoke on the part of the

Mussulman and Greek populations which are mixed up with the Bulgarians.

"If the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers had, in point of fact, only been occupied in assuring to the Bulgarian element a privileged position, it would have been more simple to have constituted one single province; but in proposing this remodelling of the administrative boundaries, they have had no other object than to unite and group the different districts which have been the scene of the sad events, which have with reason stirred public opinion, and from which the impossibility of the continuance of the present state has been demonstrated. This is the reason why the Sandjaks of Slivno and Philippopolis and some cazas have been detached from the vilayet of Adrianople, and other districts from the Vilayets of Salonica and Bitolia. It was thenceforward natural to proceed to a new organization of the construction of those districts. In proposing that pointed out in their project, the Plenipotentiaries strove, moreover, to group as much as possible the Christian and Mussulman elements. This is a measure the practical character of which cannot be contested, and which the peculiar conditions of the Ottoman Empire sufficiently justify.

"As regards the assumed difficulties which must be expected from the Greek element in the new provinces, we must first call attention to the contradiction which exists between this observation and the preceding statement that our intention was to unite the Bulgarians only under the same administration. It is, moreover, sufficient to point out that the Greek population will be entitled to enjoy the same rights and the same advantages granted to all the population, without distinction of race or religion. The Plenipotentiaries think that the rivalry between the different nationalities ought to disappear under the system of cantonal autonomy, which the Greeks will be certainly the first to profit by. 'The deadly strife' that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries seem to fear might be an electoral struggle; it may be hoped that it will gradually be confined within the limits of a legal competition by ballot.

"The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers recognize, with reference to the nomination and the powers of the Governors-General and the Governors, that the arrangement which they propose deviates from those contained in the general laws of the Empire respecting the organization of the vilayets. But the object of their labours is precisely to apply a serious remedy to the vices manifest in the present state of affairs, and to guard against the return of the disorders which it has allowed to arise. It was then necessary for them to introduce, in the appointment and functions of the principal officials of the new provinces, guarantees of a kind to assure to the populations that control over their local affairs, and that surety against the exercise of arbitrary power, provided for in the programme which forms the basis of the Conference.

"The dispositions adopted with this object do not, moreover, seem of a nature to justify in themselves the criticisms brought to bear on them by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries. In stipulating that the Vali can be a foreign subject, it is allowable to assert. without returning to what has been said on this subject in a preceding sitting, that the Powers are not creating an innovation in the Ottoman Empire, as the Sublime Porte does not hesitate to appeal to strangers for the performance of high duties, particularly for important military posts. The assent of the Guaranteeing Powers to the nomination of the Vali is not either a new clause; it is admitted for the Lebanon; the exceptional position which has been allotted to the Governor-General has not brought about any complications, and has not been considered by the Porte as infringing its sovereign rights.

"With respect to the functions confided to the Governor-General, and to the organization of the administrative system of the provinces, the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers have been inspired by two principles: on the one hand to give to the cantonal autonomy such a development as to prevent, or at least to diminish, the conflicts between the different elements, to be henceforward formed into groups as homogeneous as possible, and living a good life; on the other, to organize sufficiently solidly the authority of the Governor-General, and of the Governors, that their action may be prompt and efficacious in the midst of the difficulties of all kinds which the state of the country causes the Administration. This twofold idea has seemed to the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers to answer in the most practical manner to the actual wants of the provinces.

"With relation to the judicial organization, the general plan of which is shown in the

project of the Powers, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries raise objections similar to those they put forward against the administrative organization. They reproach the programme of the Powers with creating a special system of justice which does not assimilate itself to that of the Empire. The Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers are, in their turn, obliged to remember that the question is, to deal immediately with a disturbed state of affairs, which has plainly shown the insufficiency of the existing organization, and to re-establish order among a population given over for several months to the most violent excitement. The constitution of a judicial régime, strongly organized, and presenting real guarantees of impartiality and of competency, is of superior importance. The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers have again taken, as the starting-point of their labour the principle laid down in the bases proposed by the English Government. have been concerned in 'assuring to the people a control over their affairs, and guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary power,' by making them interpose themselves under certain forms in the nomination of the Judges. Whatever objection may be raised against the reform of the tribunals proposed, it has the merit of being rapidly applicable, and not to refer the redress of existing grievances to the indefinite epoch of the promulgation of the new laws to which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries refer.

"The Representatives of the Powers have, moreover, the right to invoke on this head the engagements undertaken by the Ottoman Government itself in the Iradé of the 4th of October, and particularly in the Firman of the 4th of December, 1875. After having settled the principle of election for the members of the Court of Appeal attached to the High Court of Justice, and for the members of the Court of Cassation, the Firman runs thus:—'The Civil Tribunals of First Instance shall be reformed, and constituted in the same manner. An Imperial Berak will be delivered to each member of these Courts and Tribunals, who will be chosen with the most scrupulous attention, guaranteeing them against all dismissal without legal cause, and which will at the same time establish

regulations settling their pensions.

"All our subjects are authorized to select their judges themselves, and the Mussulman and non-Mussulman members both of the said Tribunals and of the Administrative Councils of the provinces. Consequently, precise instructions will be sent to all the provinces of the Empire to constitute these Tribunals and Councils, and proceed to their composition in accordance with the manner above decreed. Since the constitution of the Tribunals ought to have the essential effect of centralizing the guarantees for the security of the rights of private persons, the law-suits of our Mussulman with our Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects, as well as the suits of our Christian subjects between themselves, or with our subjects belonging to other non-Mussulman faiths, and the suits of these last between themselves will be referred to the nizamié Tribunals (civil, correctional, and criminal). The laws and regulations concerning the method of procedure before the said Tribunals, and in accordance with our Imperial Decrees, should be completed and put in force with the least possible delay."

"It is, unhappily, certain that a great part of the promises issued in this Firman have not been followed by execution. The portion of the Regulations which refers to judicial reform is, in fact, only the practical organization of the measures announced by

the Porte, but which remained a dead-letter.

"The dispositions relating to finance have been in the same way dictated to the Representatives of the Powers by the hope of putting an end to the demands of the population of the provinces to which their attention is directed. In stipulating that a payment of 30 per cent. should be made out of the revenues of each province to guarantee the payment of the Ottoman Debt, the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers have borne witness to their anxiety to raise the credit of the Empire, and to insure it against the financial recklessness of the central power. On the other hand, they propose to confer on the Provincial Assemblies and on the Cantonal Councils the control over revenues and local expenditure. This clause in no way affects the rights of the Sublime Porte over the general expenditure of the Empire. The idea of the application to the particular wants of the provinces of a part of the public revenues figures already—at all events, in principle—in the circular note of Rachid Pasha of February 13th, 1876, in reply to Count Andrassy's note of the 30th December, 1875. It is right to add that the revenues of the customs, postal and telegraph duties, taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the Excise, are still in the hands of the General Administration of the Ottoman Finances.

"A successive examination then of the principles which have brought about the proposed arrangement for the provinces, cannot then, in the opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers, authorise the reservations which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries think they ought to make.

"However, after having settled the extent of the measures which has appeared to them the fittest to ensure the work of pacification and of the improvement for the purpose of effecting which they are convened, it has been the duty of the Representatives of the Great Powers to consider with what guarantees for their execution they should secure the putting in force of the new régime. This was the second part of their task, and the necessary complement of the first. The arrangements which they have proposed with this object seem to have met with particular opposition on the part of the Porte.

"The Plenipotentiaries feel it necessary in the first place to call attention to the fact that if the details of the administrative, judicial and financial organization to be introduced in the provinces have been developed in the two documents, Nos. 2 and 3, furnished to the Representatives of the Porte and forming a project of law, with respect to guarantees of execution, and particularly with respect to the International Commission and the foreign gendarmerie, only appears in the documents Nos. 4 and 5, which are drawn up in form of simple instructions. This is a distinction which it is important to bear in mind, and which we regret to say the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have not remarked upon in their observations.

"As regards the principle of the question itself, the Plenipotentiaries cannot help continuing to think that the Ottoman Government misunderstand this part of their

proposition.

"The Representatives of the Powers, anxious to assure the regular carrying out of the new administration in the midst of populations risen in opposition to one another, have thought purely and simply of helping the Ottoman Government to create a special With this object they recommend Turkey to resort to the help of an armed force, taken from a neutral state, and to form with this first force a kind of staff, which shall be enlarged by volunteers from the whole Empire. This loan borrowed from Europe cannot in fact be considered as infringing the sovereign rights and dignity of the Imperial Government, the preservation of which the Representatives of the Powers will always have at heart. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries themselves recognize the cases in which the employment of native troops would be in no way possible. In this train of thought the Representatives of the Powers have tried to organize a special force independent of local influences. They recall, moreover, the examples already cited in a preceding sitting of foreign military help being borrowed by other nations.

"The Imperial Commission provided in the programme of the Powers, is likewise only European help again lent to Turkey by Europe, under another administrative form.

"However prudent the reforms to be introduced in the vilayets about which we are concerned may be, we cannot but foresee that difficulties in their first application will arise. It will doubtless be necessary to correct the inexperience of the local authorities. The Plenipotentiaries have thought that, from this point of view, the proposition to confide to a Commission of Delegates of the Powers the business of fulfilling in the Provinces the part of Counsellors, and of protecting in its infancy the regular action of the new régime, would be helping the Ottoman Government. The Sovereign authority would thus only be strengthened by the aid that the Great Powers would lend on the spot to the Ottoman Government in the work of the pacification of these Provinces. The formation of Commissions for Bosnia and Bulgaria is not, moreover, without precedents. It is sufficient on this point to recall the labours of the International Commission for the Lebanon.

"The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers, in proposing the clauses relative to the cantonment of regular troops, and the undertaking not to bring Circassians into Europe, were again influenced by the hope of pacification. On this point there cannot possibly be any serious difference between the Representatives of the Powers and those of the Porte. The terms of the project with respect to the cantonment would have had the object, by limiting, as much as possible, the contact between the population and the army, to avoid dangerous collisions. On the other hand, the inconvenience of establishing amongst the Christians of European Turkey Circassians, had been brought before the Sublime Porte many years ago by foreign Representatives. Sir H. Bulwer had proposed to colonize them in the Mussulman Provinces of Asia, offering even to arrange a loan with this object. The French Ambassador had shared this opinion.

"They will probably reply to us by presenting the Constitution as forming a guarantee. We had laid our proposals when it had not been published. Now that it does exist, some time will elapse still before it can possibly be seriously applied, and it is during this delay that a Guaranteeing Commission has seemed to us likely to be

useful.

"Its powers would cease at the end of a year, and then we hope recourse could be had to the Constitution. But, in the mean time, we ask the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries [195]

where the guarantee is to be found, when so many declarations and sovereign engagements have been carried into execution?

"Such are the principles which have guided the Representatives of the Six Powers in the preparation of the instruments presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Their only object has been the establishment of a state of things in accordance with the bases agreed upon, and with the interests always of the Ottoman Empire. We regret that after bringing our discussions on to the distinct ground of the articles of a code of rules, we have had to go out of our way to discuss afresh the points of division amongst us, while setting aside those on which we should have easily agreed.

"But it is time to stop the general discussion. The labours of this Conference are keeping Europe in suspense. On its result depend the future relations between Europe and the Sublime Porte. The Plenipotentiaries are desirous of accomplishing the work of pacification entrusted to them. It is only a regular discussion of the details which can lead to the understanding so generally desirable. They are ready, therefore, from this moment to enter into the examination of the different parts of the project of pacifi-

cation communicated to the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte."

The Marquis of Salisbury speaks as follows:—
"In the speech delivered by his Excellency Safvet Pasha at the last sitting of the Conference, in reply to several of the most important proposals put forward by the Six Powers, his Excellency several times insisted on the fact that they were not compatible with the bases of the Conference, as they were proposed by the British Government.

"If I do not share this opinion, and think on the contrary, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers have adhered loyally to these bases, it is because I do not put the

same construction on them as the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries.

"It is for this reason I think it my duty to point out the exact interpretation of the English bases, as regards the subjects mentioned by the Plenipotentiaries of the Porte.

"I take the liberty of explaining, first of all, the points on which it seems to their Excellencies that the proposals of the Powers have exceeded the limits of the bases laid down by England.

"These points are as follows:-

"1. The Commission. "2. The gendarmerie.

"3. The judicial arrangements.

- "4. The cantonment of regular troops in the fortresses and large towns.
- " 5. The administrative divisions. "6. The position of the Vali.

"The clause respecting the subject is conceived, in the following terms:-

"The Porte to engage in a Protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the Plenipotentiaries of the Signatory Powers, to grant to Bosnia and Herzegovina a system of local and administrative autonomy, that is to say, a system of local institutions which shall give the population a certain control over their local affairs, and shall furnish guarantees against the exercise of an arbitrary authority. There shall be no question of a tributary State. Similar guarantees to be given against maladministration in Bulgaria.

"The bases include, too, the reforms proposed by Count Andrassy, which have

already received the assent of the Porte.

"It is especially to be remarked in these words, that not only reforms are demanded, but also guarantees. The population to be granted a control over its own affairs; and those reforms asked for in the Andrassy note should be included in the arrangement to be come to.

"But, besides, effective guarantees are asked against the exercise of arbitrary

authority and maladministration.

"The consequence is that the promulgation of good laws does not completely answer the demands of the English programme. Together with these laws, guarantees are wanted.

"The following extract from the note of the 30th December, which has received the general assent of Europe, is a sufficient proof of the motives which make such a guarantee thought necessary :-

"If one thinks of how little credit the promises of the Sublime Porte meet with among the Christian populations, one cannot fail to see that the reforms promulgated could only inspire the necessary confidence on the condition of the creation at the same time of an institution which may offer a certain guarantee that these reforms will be seriously applied. In only submitting their execution to the discretion of the Governments of the Provinces, the distrust I speak of would not be overcome. It would be expedient then to establish a Commission of notables the country, composed half of Mussulmans half of Christians, and elected by the inhabitants of the Province according to a system to be settled by the Sublime Porte.

"The duties of this Commission are settled further on, 'to control the execution of the reforms proposed by the Powers, as well as those proclaimed in the Iradé of

October 2 and the Firman of December 12.'

"The Porte accepted the institution and duties of this Commission on February 13,

and they are in the bases of pacification proposed by England.

"In accordance with these proceedings the Plenipotentiaries have proposed to the Sublime Porte the institution of a Commission of Control. The duties it should be charged with do not exceed those which are necessitated by the duty of controlling the execution of the reforms proposed in the Andrassy note, or promised in the Iradê of October 2 and the Firman of December 12. These two instruments have promised much in the way of reforms; but hitherto none of these promises have been fulfilled. But in entrusting to the Commission the duty of controlling the reforms therein mentioned, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has furnished it with a widely extended jurisdiction.

"The election of the Councils of Administration, the service of the taxes, as well as their assessment and collection, the reorganization of the Tribunals, the qualities requisite in the Judges, the entire reform in the police and the requisite qualities for admission to it, as well as its duties; the construction of roads, the establishment of complete freedom in religion, the conditions necessary for admission to the service of the State; all this was put under the supervision of a Commission by the Porte in the note of February 13, and the Commission was to be independent of the Porte.

"The functions with which the Powers propose to charge the Commission are much more moderate than those which the adoption of the Andrassy note, which forms part of

the English bases, would have rendered necessary.

"The only material change that the Powers have proposed results from the system, in accordance with which the Commission should be nominated. Since the Porte gave its assent to the Andrassy note terrible events have passed. The exasperation of men's minds at present is such that the system of election which might have been adopted a year ago, could not now be introduced with the same safety. There might result from it the formation of a Commission which would be pushed forward by revolutionary ideas, and would be quite ready to make use of the power of control with which it is invested to injure the Ottoman Empire. The Powers were convinced that the only sure way of forming an independent Commission would be to entrust the nomination of the Commission to the allies of the Sultan. It is very improbable that such a duty would be employed to the prejudice of the Sultan by those who are at present doing all in their power with the object of supporting the authority of His Imperial Majesty.

"The Commission comes therefore properly within the scope of the English programme. As being one of the most effective guarantees against maladministration,

it is equally consecrated by these bases.

"It is in accordance with these views that several of the questions which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries strive to reject as outside the English programme, are clearly comprised therein. A gendarmerie strong enough to maintain order is the first condition of a good administration. By assigning specified dwelling-places to the regular troops, they are kept apart from the ordinary life of the civil population, and thus regrettable conflicts are avoided, by observing a precaution which is the result of experience and put into practice by most civilized nations.

"This precaution is especially necessary in the cases where the regular troops are

neither of the same race nor religion as the surrounding population.

"The establishment of the Tribunals with independent and irremovable Judges, their possessing the requisite qualities, their judicial position in the midst of the people with whose welfare they are charged, the administration of justice in the language of the litigants, these are the conditions which strike one as necessary for a good administration, and in guaranteeing them there is only provision against maladministration in a very elementary manner.

"Experience has shown that the maladministration in the Provinces which have gone through so much has in most cases resulted from the nomination of the Valis, without consideration of their capacities, and from the energy and zeal of the most capable being hampered by the fact that they are exposed to the chance of being arbitrarily recalled.

"In taking precautions against this danger it is clear that the Plenipotentiaries have

not overstepped the limits of the English programme. They would hardly have escaped

this reproach if they had failed in this duty.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries then complained that there was nothing in the English programme which would authorize the new Administrative arrangements which have been drawn up. But this action was a necessary condition of the task which they had been called upon to fulfil. They were charged to furnish guarantees against bad administration in Bulgaria.

"'The word 'Bulgaria' does not indicate a district of which the geographical limits have been defined. To give it a practical meaning the Plenipotentiaries have been obliged to take into consideration the origin of the word itself, and the sense in which it is at present employed. The limits of the functions of the Plenipotentiaries have been

thus defined.

It was not possible to submit to the consideration of the Conference, under the name of Bulgaria, the districts where the Bulgarian population did not predominate, nor those districts which have not been exposed to the bad government which gave rise to the excesses committed in the course of last summer.

"The Plenipotentiaries have thus been prevented from applying this recommendation

to a great part of Adrianople, of Salonica, and of Prizrend.
"The necessity of excluding these districts from the operation of these regulations has obliged them to indicate fresh boundaries. If they had not done so they would have laid themselves open to the just reproaches of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, who would have been enabled to complain that the Conference had departed from the English programme by furnishing guarantees against bad administration in Bulgaria in districts which did not form part of Bulgaria.

"Having reviewed all the points respecting which their Excellencies the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have declared that the Conference has overstepped its legitimate limits, I think I have clearly shown that the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers have been at all events scrupulously confined within the limits of the English

programme.

His Excellency the Russian Ambassador desired that the general discussion should be considered as closed. He thought that it was time to pass on to the examination of

cach point separately.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha indicated some considerations tending to explain the reasons which made the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries think that the work undertaken by the Plenipotentiaries went beyond the English programme. He cited in particular the administrative division and recapitulated upon this point the arguments against its introduction. He would wish after that to pass to the consideration of the question

respecting the introduction of foreign troops.

His Excellency the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador called attention to the advantage to be gained by considering the different points successively. The remarks of His Excellency Count Corti respecting the speech made by his Excellency Safvet Pasha at the previous meeting expressed the general opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers. The Marquis of Salisbury, in expressing himself as he has just done, has given the reasons which show that there has been no departure from the English programme. He could not do otherwise, therefore, than adopt the opinion expressed by his Excellency the Russian Ambassador in favour of a consideration one by one of the various questions of which the Conference is duly informed.

The Count de Chaudordy, speaking in the same sense, thought that it would be advantageous to at once lay down the principle that whether the administrative division is maintained as it now exists, or whether a fresh one is adopted, the system of administration and of guarantees which shall be decided upon by the deliberations of the

Conference shall be applied to all districts where disturbances take place.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha said that resolutions which were in conformity with the Constitution, and on which the Ottoman Government and the Conference might agree, should be uniformly applied to the whole Empire. He explained the general character of the arrangements embodied in the counter-proposal of the Sublime Porte.

The Count de Chaudordy and the Marquis of Salisbury brought forward, in favour of the specializing of the measures to be adopted, the terms of the Andrassy Note and of the English programme, as well as the kind of events which happily did not spread throughout the whole of the Empire, but took place in certain localities only.

On some other observations in the same sense being made, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries intimated that, in their opinion, the measures indicated in the Andrassy proposals would be applicable to the districts concerned, and that, as to the reforms which the Ottoman Government is now carrying out, they have certainly a general character in so far that they should be applied to all the provinces of the Empire, but that there is nothing to prevent their being first of all, and above all, applied to the vilayets in which are the localities which have been the subject of the most particular attention of the Conference. To support this successive generalisation of the application of the new reforms, they quote more especially the way of proceeding for the application of the Tanzimat, as well as of the Law of the Vilayets.

The Marquis of Salisbury says that the term "Bulgaria" is found in the English programme, and that the Conference ought particularly to occupy itself about

Bulgaria.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that by the term "Bulgaria" is generally understood the Vilayet of the Danube, that particular importance had not been attached first of all to this expression which is, effectively, found in the English programme, because the English programme had not been accepted at first by the Sublime Porte, that it was only admitted later, and, so to speak, implicitly because the Conference, which made a point of it, had been accepted, and that, from that moment, the Ottoman Government had been in a position to ask for a settlement of a better definition for the vague term of "Bulgaria."

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia. Germany, and Great Britain remark that the principal motives for the initiative of Her Britannic Majesty's Government are found in the deeds that had taken place in the localities situated outside the vilayet of the Danube; that, from that time, no abstraction could be made from the southern slope of the Balkans, and that the measures on which they agreed are thus brought to extend over all, or part of, the vilayets of the Danube, of Sofia, of Prizrend, of Monastir, of Adrianople, and of Salonica.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries wish much to show that, according to explanations which have just been furnished, the ideas of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers would be better expressed if, instead of territories, they were willing to give as the object of the measures of reparation the populations which have suffered, and if, besides, they extended the circle of reforms to be applied to the whole of European Turkey.

His Excellency the Russian Ambassador declares that as regards himself personally he has no objection to the reforms agreed on receiving a larger extension. He would say as much for his colleagues. That is, however, a matter which concerns the Sublime Porte. But, he adds, that the deeds which have taken place have induced the Powers to occupy themselves especially with the three provinces and the guarantees which should be given.

The Count de Chaudordy thinks that it may be admitted for the future that the districts which are to be the subject of the measures to be taken shall be comprised within the limits of the Provinces which it is proposed to organize. He now wishes to know what are the guarantees which the Ottoman Government can furnish.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha says that the guarantees that the Imperial Government can furnish are moral guarantees, based on the feeling itself which Government has of its interests and its duties.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha now reads the note communicated by the Sublime Porte to the foreign Representatives, dated the 12th October, 1876, which sets forth the new programme of the Ottoman Government, and had served as an answer to the programme of Her Britannic Majesty.

The Russian Ambassador thanks his Excellency the chief Ottoman Plenipotentiary for reading the note which he has just done. If this note were compared with the report of the Plenipotentiaries, it would be clearly seen that the promises of the Ottoman Government surpass in certain respects the wishes expressed by the Powers. The difference is that the latter lay stress principally on everything that is serious, practical, and immediate, thus no one sets in doubt the efforts which the Ottoman Government has exerted to bring about the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. It is nevertheless well known that, if these efforts have not succeeded, that has been above all because the population have not found in them the guarantee of the Powers. The proclamation of the Constitution does not by itself fill up this gap. The document which his Excellency Safvet Pasha has just read is in some sort the condemnation of the whole administrative system now in force, or which had till then prevailed. To support these views his Excellency would wish to read to the Conference one passage out of the address of the Ottoman patriots to the Cabinets of Europe of last spring, which contain remarkable confessions respecting the abuses and vexations from which the inhabitants of the provinces suffer.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha remarked that this document had not an official

character, and he did not see any utility in reading it. Resuming the examination of the question of the guarantees, he reminded the members of the Conference that it was the continuation of the war which prevented Count Andrassy's propositions, which had been accepted by the Imperial Government, from being carried out. His Excellency concluded by asking the Conference to be good enough to grant a delay to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries to allow of their examining more closely the contents of the communications which had been made at the commencement of the sitting by their Excellencies the Count Corti and the Marquis of Salisbury.

The Count de Chaudordy did not see any use just then in examining the abovementioned communications; the question of the guarantees was at the present time the subject on which the Conference was deliberating. He again urged the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to point out what guarantees on their side they were inclined to propose to the

Conference.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha answered that the guarantees that he was enabled to indicate would be, as he already had had occasion to state, moral guarantees, a Constitution, laws, time to consolidate new institutions and establish their practical value. Those were the only real guarantees, and, moreover, the only ones that his Government were able to offer.

The Count de Chaudordy could not consider the answer of his Excellency Edhem Pasha a satisfactory one, as the Sublime Porte was in possession of a complete scheme drawn up by the Conference. He expressed a wish that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries should, on their part, make some propositions which could be discussed.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha reverted to his previous explanations, and regretted that he was obliged to remind them that several proposals of the project in question were thought to be incompatible with the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan and

of his Government.

Count Zichy wished to remark that the alteration in the form of Government naturally led to no change in promises and engagements which had been entered into in a most solemn manner; so that there might be no possible misapprehension as to the way in which he considered the Hatti-Cherifs of 1839 and 1856 had been carried out, he would limit himself to quoting the language in which His Majesty himself had quite recently affirmed that the Empire possessed good laws, but that, unhappily, these laws were scarcely ever put in force. In the face of such an assertion coming from so high an authority, how could distrust be appeared, save by the stipulation of guarantees?

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries answered that it was precisely that motive that caused the Constitution to be adopted—that is to say, a new form of Government which

contained in itself the desirable guarantees for its execution.

In future, Sultans would not be in a position to complain of laws not being carried out. It was, moreover, unjust to condemn the past so absolutely. Many laws had been already put into execution.

The Count de Chaudordy asked what were the financial, judicial, and administrative laws which were to put the Constitution in motion. As these laws did not now exist,

more detailed arrangements were necessary.

On Baron de Werther observing that the working of the Constitution would require a large code of laws, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries answered that five Commissions had already been formed, and that the greater part of the laws to which the German Ambassador alluded were in existence.

The Marquis of Salisbury wished note to be taken that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries discarded all other guarantees than moral ones, and offered no others except time and the existing and future laws.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha thought that no more solid guarantee could be asked for than that which would result from engagements recorded in a signed Protocol. That would be an international obligation, and the world knew with what loyalty the Imperial Government kept its engagements.

The Count de Chaudordy and the French Ambassador said that there was no intention of throwing doubt on the loyalty of the Ottoman Government, nor on its good faith; the question was to ascertain if it was in a position to carry out its engagements.

The Baron de Calice. in supporting the foregoing observations, said that the object of the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers was solely to find measures capable of an immediate and certain execution. His Excellency cited the failure of the attempts to induce the refugees from Bosnia and the Herzegovina to return. It was necessary that the recurrence of such errors should be avoided, and for this reason practical guarantees were absolutely indispensable in order to arrive at the object aimed at.

The Count Zichy read various passages from the Andrassy Note relating to the

establishment of a Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he remarked that this Commission had been agreed to by the Porte.

Sir H. Elliot said that the Porte, having then accepted the Commission for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, could not refuse to accept it equally for Bulgaria, as this Com-

mission formed part of the English programme.

The Marquis of Salisbury proceeded to explain that the application of the principles of the Andrassy Note to Bulgaria was embodied in the English programme; that the Commission in question was to be an elective one, and, consequently, an independent one; but under the present circumstances an election might prove inconvenient to the Porte, and that it would be preferable for her that the members of this Commission should be designated by the Powers. His Lordship dwelt again on the gravity of the situation.

Sir Henry Elliot laid stress on the advantages which would accrue to the Porte from a Commission nominated by the Powers, who were solely solicitous for the welfare of the Empire, instead of a Commission which would be elected by a population still under the

influence of political passions.

The Count Zichy again appealed to the Andrassy Note, and quoted the Circular addressed by the Sublime Porte on the 13th of February last, to its Representatives abroad, which announced the agreement of the Ottoman Government in the principles of the Andrassy Note.

Without casting doubts on the acceptance of the Andrassy Note by the Porte, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries made certain reservations on the mode of nomination which

was therein set forth.

Baron Werther remarked that this Note had been placed in the hand of the late Raschid Pasha.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, persisting in their desire to examine the question again, the Count de Chaudordy and Count Corti expressed a wish that the Conference might at the next sitting be placed in possession of the exact propositions of the Ottoman Government.

The meeting broke up, and the next sitting was fixed for Wednesday.

(Signed)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

No. 228.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 2, 1877.

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will convey to Mr. Currie the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the steps taken by him to alleviate the condition of the Bulgarian insurgents imprisoned at Stamboul, as reported in his letter of the 9th ultimo, inclosed in your Excellency's despatch of the same date.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 229.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Pera, January 20, 1877.

THE Conference met to-day for the ninth and last time.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries spoke at some length, dwelling much on the results to be expected from the new Constitution, and assenting to some of the less prominent points at issue, which, as they said, might be reconciled with the Constitution. They refused definitively to agree to the proposals of the Representatives in regard to the appointments of the Valis and the International Commission, and did not withdraw their previous refusal to assent to the local control of taxation and the local militia consisting of non-Mussulmans and Mussulmans in proportion to the population. They proposed that a gendarmerie should be organized which should contain Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans; but they did not admit the essential limitation that the number of non-Mussulmans in the gendarmerie should be proportionate to their number in the population.

They, at the same time, stated their readiness to agree to an elective indigenous Commission to be appointed for one year and to be presided over by a Turkish official.

The Russian Ambassador stated that he was unable to assent to these proposals, and read a protest which was couched in decisive language, but the tendency of which was to negative the probability of war unless further provocation should be given by Turkey.

I took special note of the refusal to admit the nomination of the Valis for five years, with (in the first instance) the concurrence of the Powers; and observed that, in the present circumstances of Bulgaria, a freely elected Commission was impossible.

I then stated that the Conference had been summoned not to take act of projects of reforms in the working of the Central Power, but to obtain administrative autonomy and guarantees against maladministration in the insurgent provinces; that, as soon as it was definitively ascertained that the Porte would not agree to conditions carrying out these objects, the task of the Conference was at an end and its existence could not be prolonged.

The Austrian Ambassador adhered generally to my views, and, after a few words from the German Ambassador in the same sense, the Conference broke up according to

the announcement made by all the Powers at the previous meeting.

All the Ambassadors of the Great Powers will leave Constantinople in the course of

The points, upon which the refusal of the Turkish Government was most decisively stated, were the nomination of the Vali for five years with the concurrence of the Powers, and the appointment of an International Commission of Surveillance. In the very modified form in which the proposals of the Six Powers were finally couched, and were presented by me at the Conference on Monday, these two were the only measures left providing a guarantee that the promises of the Porte would be performed. Without them any list of reforms, however promising, would have been exposed to the fate which attended the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, the communication of which was recorded by the Conference of Paris. I am of opinion that a scheme, from which both these guarantees were omitted, would have been illusory, and would, therefore, not have been one which the Conference would have been justified in sanctioning. But, even if England had adopted the opposite view, there is no doubt that it would have been rejected by others of the Powers.

These were the points upon which the divergence of opinion between the Six Powers and the Porte was the most conspicuous. But there were at least two others which the Turkish Government has to the end declined to entertain, and which were essential to the due protection of the Christians. A local control over the collection and imposition of direct taxes, and the admission of Christians to the militia and gendarmerie in numbers proportionate to their part in the population, were indispensable securities. Without the first the Christian will still remain liable to the extortions of the tax-gatherers in time of peace; without the second he will still be exposed to massacre in times of trouble.

The scheme, therefore, submitted by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries in the last instance, was wholly inadequate for the purposes for which, according to the bases proposed by Her Majesty's Government, the Conference had been assembled.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 230.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Pera, January 22, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copies of the Protocols of the seventh, eighth, and ninth meetings of the Conference.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 230.

VIII Protocole.—Séance du 26 Zilhidjé, 1293 (30 Décembre, 1876).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie-

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France—

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance, qui était fixée à Mercredi, et qui avait été remise dans l'intervalle, à la demande des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, à aujourd'hui (Jeudi), est ouverte à 1 heure et demie après-midi.

Le Protocole de la précédente séance, No. 6, est lu et approuvé.

Le Comte Zichy dit qu'il regard comme utile, pour établir que la répartition actuelle des provinces de l'Empire Ottoman est d'une date relativement récente, de présenter quelques observations sur l'état présent et passé des divisions territoriales.

Son Excellence donne lecture à la Conférence d'un exposé historique à ce sujet.

(Annexe A.)

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, répondant à ces considérations, fait remarquer que la Bosnie seule a conservé, comme province de l'Empire Ottoman, sa dénomination séculaire; que les autres provinces de Roumélie ont toujours été divisées en divers Gouvernements, et qu'en ce qui concerne notamment la Bulgarie, elle n'a jamais constitué une province. Jusqu'à l'époque de l'établissement de l'Exarchat, le nom de Bulgarie n'a jamais été prononcé dans aucun document officiel de la Sublime Porte. La division actuelle paraît au Gouvernement Ottoman la plus convenable pour la bonne administration.

Le Général Ignatien croit devoir relever que les divisions administratives ont

toujours été modifiées selon les convenances du Gouvernement.

A la suite de ces observations préliminaires, Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, prenant la parole, dit que les discours prononcés dans la séance précédente par M. le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie, au nom de ses collègues, et par M. le Marquis de Salisbury, lui ont suggéré les réflexions qu'il demande à la Conférence la permission de présenter:—

"Dans la séance précédente les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans s'étaient réservé de revenir sur le contenu des communications qui leur ont été faites par leurs Excel-

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lences le Comte Corti et le Marquis de Salisbury au commencement de cette même séance.

"Les observations présentées par son Excellence le Ministre d'Italic, répondent à l'ensemble des appréciations qui avaient été émises par les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans dans la cinquième séance, au sujet des huit propositions relatives à l'organisation des provinces. L'examen de la communication de son Excellence ne pourrait, par conséquent, se faire en ce moment sans couvrir de nouveau la discussion générale que MM. les Plénipotentiaires ont exprimé le désir de remplacer par l'étude de chacun des points pris successivement. C'est donc au fur et à mesure que ces différents points seront soumis à la discussion que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans seront dans le cas d'exposer les raisons qui font qu'ils ne sauraient partager les considérations que son Excellence le Ministre d'Italie a alléguées en faveur des propositions contenues dans le projet d'organisation primitif.

"Son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury s'est attaché dans son discours à établir qu'on ne pouvait reprocher au projet présenté au Gouvernement Ottoman de dépasser les limites assignées dans le programme Anglais. Cette manière de voir de son Excellence se relie trop directement à la question même des garanties, à celle de l'institution des commissions dont la Conférence s'était occupée en dernier lieu

pour ne rendre indispensable, dès à présent, un examen plus spécial.

"MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes reconnaissent bien certainement que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans sont dans leur droit en attribuant au programme Anglais le sens, l'étendue, et la portée que leur Gouvernement lui-même avait été amené à y attacher lorsque ce programme fut présenté, discuté et, comme il a été dit précédemment, implicitement accepté pour servir de base aux délibérations de la Conférence. Ainsi que cela résulte de la réponse par laquelle la Sublime Porte déclarait adhérer à la réunion de la Conférence, il s'agissait de concéder à la Bosnie et et à l'Herzégovine un système d'institutions qui donnerait aux populations quelque contrôle sur leurs officiers locaux et fournirait des garanties contre les actes d'autorité arbitraire; le maintain de l'intégrité de l'Empire et de l'indépendance de ses droits souverains devait servir de base à ses délibérations.

"Il suffit de rappeler cette circonstance pour faire disparaître le malentendu auquel, d'après divers passages du discours de sa Seigneurie, le mot de garanties

contenu dans le programme Anglais semble avoir donné lieu.

"Le programme Anglais ne parle pas de garanties à fournir par le Gouvernement Impérial aux Puissances, ou bien aux populations par l'intermédiaire de ces mêmes Puissances; ce qu'il demande, c'est la concession d'un système d'institutions qui donnera aux populations quelque contrôle sur leurs officiers locaux et fournira des garanties contre les actes d'autorité arbitraire. C'est au système lui-même à fournir les garanties; celles-ci doivent être inhérentes aux institutions et dans ces limites le Gouvernement Impérial abonde dans le sens du programme Anglais. Depuis l'adhésion du Gouvernement Ottoman à ce programme, le système d'administration qui a toujours paru le plus propre à garantir les populations contre des actes d'autorité arbitraire, le régime constitutionnel en un mot, a été solennellement inauguré et proclamé. Mais ce sur quoi il y a lieu d'insister ici avant tout, c'est que le programme Anglais, en stipulant un système d'institutions qui fourniront des garanties intrinsèques de bonne administration, dispensait d'avance de rechercher des garanties ayant le caractère d'interventions contraires au principe même de l'indépendance qu'il plaçait en tête des bases d'après lesquelles on adhérait à la réunion de la Conférence.

"Son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury a rappelé que dans l'opinion de son Excellence le Comte Andrassy certaines populations ne sont pas disposées à accorder une confiance absolue à de simples promesses. Mais c'est là une hypothèse à laquelle il convient d'autant moins de s'arrêter qu'il ne s'agit plus aujourd'hui de simples promesses, mais bien de la concession de tout un système administratif et gouvernemental qui mettra dans les mains des populations elles-mêmes les moyens de réaliser

les promesses qui pourraient leur être faites.

"L'institution de Commissions locales de Musulmans et de Chrétiens ayant pour mission de surveiller l'exécution des réformes en Bosnie et en Herzégovine avait été acceptée dans la note du 13 Février, 1876. Conformément à ce qui y avait été dit, ces Commissions ont été effectivement instituées, et ce n'est que par suite de la persistance de l'insurrection que le fonctionnement de ces Commissions s'est trouvé paralysé. Aujourd'hui, ainsi que cela a été déjà expliqué dans la note du 12 Octobre, 1876, l'extension donnée aux attributions des Conseils Administratifs des Provinces et le mode de leur composition dispenseraient complètement de l'institution de ces Commissions extraordinaires dont il est parlé dans la note du 13 Février. Elles

n'auraient plus en quelque sorte de raison d'être. Néanmoins, afin d'éviter toute équivoque, et eu égard au caractère provisoire de ces Commissions, le Gouvernement Impérial consentirait à ce que ces Commissions, dont il est question dans la note du 13 Février, soient de nouveau instituées à titre provisoire en Bosnie et en Herzégovine pour surveiller l'exécution des réformes que la mise en pratique de la Constitution y nécessite.

"Ce serait, d'ailleurs, une erreur que de penser que c'est parce que ces Commissions n'ont pas fonctionné que les dispositions du Firman du 12 Décembre, 1875, n'ont pas reçu leur pleine et entière exécution. Sur ce point, le Gouvernement Impérial ne croit avoir mérité aucun reproche. C'est, nous le répétons, la persistance de l'insurrection qui a rendu stérile l'œuvre des Commissions et s'il n'est plus question aujourd'hui, d'une manière spéciale, de l'exécution du Firman du 12 Décembre, c'est qu'un ensemble d'institutions bien autrement larges que celles contenues dans le susdit Firman a été érigé en loi fondamentale de l'Etat, c'est que l'exécution de cette loi fondamentale et celles qui en sont et seront corollaire comprend bien plus qu'il n'avait été promis dans le Firman et qu'il est naturel qu'on s'attache aujourd'hui aux effets de l'acte nouveau qui est destiné à remplacer, à résumer, et à compléter tous ceux qui l'ont précédé.

"Dans la suite de son discours, sa Seigneurie développe les considérations qui rendent aujourd'hui avantageuse la substitution d'une Commission Internationale, c'est-à-dire, d'une Commission dont les membres seraient nommés par les Puissances Garantes, à celles dont il est question dans la note du 13 Février. A son avis l'élection des membres de ces Commissions par des populations qui se trouvent sous l'influence des derniers événements présenterait de graves inconvénients, et c'est dans l'intention d'éviter ces inconvénients que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances donnent la préférence à un mode de formation qui remettrait la désignation des membres de la Commission

aux bons sentiments et à l'impartialité des Puissances.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans regrettent de ne pouvoir partager les considérations présentées sur ce point par sa Seigneurie. Le sentiment arrêté de la Sublime Porte à cet égard est que de quelque manière qu'on se prenne la formation d'une Commission de Surveillance dont les membres seraient nommés par les Puissances, ne pourrait manquer de porter une grave atteinte au principe de l'indépendance de l'Empire, à l'esprit aussi bien qu'à la lettre du Traité de Paris; qu'elle porterait un coup fatal au prestige et aux droits de l'autorité souveraine, et qu'une dérogation si essentielle aux principes fondamentaux du droit des gens constituerait un procédé contraire à la dignité de l'Empire. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont déjà déclaré qu'afin de ne point paraître s'écarter de la teneur de la note du 13 Février ils acceptaient l'institution des Commissions dont il y avait été question pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, bien qu'ils ne se rendissent pas bien compte de l'utilité qu'elles pourraient présenter aujourd'hui et cela uniquement par déférence au désir exprimé par les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes. Aussi, dans le cas où la mise en pratique et la formation de ces Commissions dans les limites qui leur avaient été assignées, seraient de nature à soulever les graves inconvénients et les dangers que sa Seigneurie a bien voulu signaler, ils ne voient pas pourquoi, plutôt que de s'en tenir aux garanties amplement suffisantes qui sont fournies par les nouvelles institutions, on essayerait de substituer aux Commissions de la note du 13 Février un autre système de surveillance qu'ils doivent persister à ne point admettre pour les raisons qu'ils ont eu l'honneur d'exposer. Dans leur pensée, entre les Commissions que la note du 13 Février admettait pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine et qui n'auraient que l'inconvénient d'une institution qui ne serait pas, peut-être, absolument nécessaire, mais qui, néanmoins, est admise, et la formation d'une Commission dont les membres seraient nommés par les Puissances, il existe une différence essentielle absolue. Le désir des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans de faciliter les moyens d'arriver à une entente commune est évident. Mais ils ne sauraient se prêter à une combinaison qu'il est impossible de concilier, pour le fond aussi bien que pour la forme, avec le Traité de Paris, avec le programme Anglais, et avec la situation nouvelle qui résulte de la Constitution de l'Empire. La Conférence, dans l'esprit de haute équité qui l'anime, saisira bien la nécessité qui s'impose aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, ainsi qu'à leur Gouvernement, de ne jamais faire abstraction de ce triple point de vue. Les considérations qui précèdent ont trait plus spécialement à la question des garanties, qui avait été entamée dans la dernière séance, mais malgré toute la bonne volonté qu'ils sont disposés à apporter dans cette discussion il ne sera guère en leur pouvoir de ne point s'inspirer des mêmes nécessités de politique et de raisonnement lorsqu'ils seront dans le cas d'examiner les appréciations de sa Seigneurie concernant les autres points de discussion auxquels se rapportent les autres parties de son discours."

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Le Général Ignatiew demande si la Porte se réserve d'entrer dans un nouvel examen

des points exposés par le discours du Comte Corti.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont répondu que la Sublime Porte est disposée à exécuter les points indiqués dans la note du Comte Andrassy malgré les inconvénients signalés par le Marquis de Salisbury.

Le Général Ignatiew fait observer que le Gouvernement Ottoman repousse l'institu-

tion d'une Commission Internationale.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ayant demandé si la Porte refuse également la nomination du Vali avec l'assentiment des Puissances, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans déclarent qu'en effet le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale ne saurait consentir à ces deux propositions et ils développent les objections qu'elles leur semblent de nature à susciter.

Une discussion s'engage entre le Comte Zichy et les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans sur la Commission proposée par la note du Comte Andrassy. M. le Première Plénipotentiaire d'Autriche-Hongrie déclare que cette Commission n'a jamais été instituée; leurs Excellences Safvet Pacha et Edhem Pacha rappellent que, dans les circonstances traversées par les provinces de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine, l'élection des délégués était impossible et que le Gouvernement Ottoman a fait, vu l'état des choses, tout ce qui dépendait de lui.

Sir Henry Elliot constate que la Porte repousse tout élément étranger nommé par

les Puissances dans les Commissions qu'il s'agirait de créer.

Le Marquis de Salisbury ajoute que la Porte veut seulement exécuter les promesses antérieures, mais qu'elle se refuse à promettre rien de nouveau et à donner aucune garantie pour l'avenir.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que la plupart des réformes édictées en 1856 sont

déjà exécutées.

Le Général Ignatiew objecte qu'en 1867 Lord Lyons et lui avaient été chargés de réclamer auprès de Fuad Pacha au sujet de la non-exécution d'un certain nombre de points contenus dans le Hatti-Humayoun de 1856.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans maintiennent que, sauf le recrutement, les autres réformes du Hatti-Humayoun ont été exécutées. Revenant ensuite sur la question d'une Commission Internationale, leurs Excellences déclarent de nouveau qu'une telle institution porterait atteinte à la dignité, à l'autorité, au prestige et à l'indépendance du Souverain.

Le Marquis de Salisbury demande si la Porte donne la même réponse pour les autres réformes proposées par les Puissances, telles que la constitution territoriale des

provinces et la nomination du Vali.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans répondent en insistant sur les graves inconvénients d'une nouvelle division des provinces et sur la perturbation qu'elle apporterait dans l'administration. En ce qui concerne le Vali, ils ajoutent que la Sublime Porte est la première intéressée à choisir les Gouverneurs-Généraux les plus capables de bien administrer et que la Constitution garantit la stabilité de ces fonctionnaires.

Sir Henry Elliot s'étant informé des motifs qui justifieraient aux yeux de la Porte la destitution d'un Vali, Son Excellence Safvet Pacha cite le désordre de la vie privée,

les actes arbitraires, ou portant atteinte au prestige de l'autorité.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha ajoute que dans ces divers cas, le Vali est poursuivi devant les Tribunaux.

Lord Salisbury constate que le dissentiment entre les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans et ceux des Puissances Garantes est si accentué, qu'il n'y a en ce moment rien à discuter. Peut-être y aurait-il lieu pour la Conférence de s'ajourner jusqu'à ce qu'une démarche ait été faite auprès de la Porte.

Le Comte Corti s'associe complètement aux paroles du Marquis de Salisbury. Il pense qu'après le refus opposé par les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans aux bases essentielles qui ont été présentées par les Représentants des Puissances Garantes, la dignité de la Conférence, aussi bien que l'intérêt de ses travaux, lui conseillent l'ajournement.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne dit qu'en effet la Porte ayant repoussé les points principaux, nottament la Commission Internationale et le Vali, il n'y a pas de terrain

de discussion.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha attribue les difficultés auxquelles il vient d'être fait allusion à la manière dont le programme des Puissances a été élaboré en dehors du Gouvernement Ottoman. Il regrette qu'il ait été arrêté avant que des renseignements exacts aient été pris auprès de la Sublime Porte.

Le Comte Corti croît devoir rappeler que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances ont toujours été prêts à recevoir toutes les communications du Gouvernement Ottoman.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha exprime le regret que les déclarations de la Sublime Porte ne soient pas prises en considération et fait appel à la confiance des Plénipotentiaires, notamment pour le choix de Valis.

Le Général Ignatiew dit que tous les Plénipotentiaires sont liés par leurs instructions, et qu'en ce qui le regarde, il ne peut discuter les points qui s'écartent des bases

proposées.

Le Comte de Chaudordy ayant demandé si, en ce qui concerne l'assentiment des Puissances à la nomination du Vali, la Porte accepterait de limiter cet assentiment à un certain laps de temps, par exemple à quatre ou cinq ans, son Excellence Edhem Pacha répond que c'est le principe même que le Gouvernement Impérial refuse d'admettre.

Les Plénipotentiaires de Russie et d'Allemagne et le Marquis de Salisbury font observer de nouveau que le Gouvernement Ottoman n'accorde aucun des principes

essentiels.

Son Excellence Satvet Pacha dit que cependant pour la gendarmerie la Sublime Porte consenterait à l'organiser avec des Chrétiens et des Musulmans et en faisant appel spontanément au concours d'officiers Européens; que, pour les Circassiens, elle ne permettrait pas la colonisation en masse, qu'il n'y a peut-être même pas assez de terrains disponibles pour de nouvelles colonisations, mais qu'il ne faudrait pas donner ce nom à l'établissement d'individus qui iraient rejoindre leurs parents.

Le Comte Zichy désire savoir si pour ce qui concerne la gendarmerie, ces déclarations pourraient être consignées par écrit, et il insiste sur les réformes financière et

judiciaire.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha dit que les énonciations des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans sont régulièrement consignées aux Protocoles et que pour les réformes dont il vient d'être question, celles qui pourraient être admises sont indiquées dans le contre-projet du Gouvernement Ottoman.

Le Général Ignatiew demande si le Firman du 12 Décembre, 1875, est retiré, et son Excellence Safvet Pacha répond qu'il est compris dans la Constitution.

La prochaine séance est fixée à Lundi, 15 Janvier.

SAFVET. EDHEM. WERTHER. ZICHY. CALICE. F. DE BOURGOING. CHAUDORDY. SALISBURY. HENRY ELLIOT. \mathbf{L} . CORTI N. IGNATIEW.

Annex (A).

Les grandes divisions territoriales en Turquie portaient, dès l'époque de la conquête, le nom même des nationalités qui étaient reconnues comme en ayant été les • habitants originaires, et étaient érigées en grandes provinces (éyalets) administrées le plus souvent par un seul Gouverneur-Général et quelquefois aussi par deux Gouverneurs.

Ainsi donc la Turquie d'Europe, la partie du territoire ayant toujours eu pour habitants les Bosniaques, s'appelait, y compris l'Herzégovine, et s'appelle encore Bosna (Bosnie), le tout administré par un Gouverneur-Général et équivalent en étendue à celle existant au moment de la conquête. La partie habitée dès l'origine par les Bulgares s'appelait Boulgaristan (Bulgarie) et était placée avec les limites anciennes sous l'administration également d'un Gouverneur-Général (Vali). Enfin, la division territoriale ayant pour habitants les Grees et comprenant l'Epire, la Macédoine, et la Thessalie s'intitulait Eyalet de Roumili (pays Romain), et avait également un Gouverneur-Général avec les mêmes limites qu'à l'époque de la conquête.

Enfin les parties ayant des habitants mixtes portaient, comme elles portent encore, le nom de leurs villes principales ou chefs-lieux; exemple: l'Eyalet d'Edirné (Andrinople); l'Eyalet des Iles, avec Rhôdes pour chef-lieux; l'Eyalet de Guirid (Crête).

En Asie, de même, les grandes divisions correspondaient à l'étendue territoriale du temps de la conquête et portaient, à l'instar des provinces Européennes, le nom des communautés qui les habitaient dès l'origine; exemple: l'Eyalet d'Erménistan (Arménie), l'Eyalet du Kurdistan (pays des Kurdes), l'Eyalet du Lazistan, habité par les Lazes et comprenant Trébizonde et une partie du littoral de la Mer Noire, l'ancien Eyalet du Gurgistan (Georgie), perdu aujourd'hui pour l'Empire; enfin, les Eyalets du Souryé (Syrie), dont la domination subsiste encore, et d'Arabistan (Arabie).

Les provinces mixtes Asiatiques portaient, elles aussi, à l'instar de la Turquie d'Europe, comme elles le portent d'ailleurs encore, le nom de leurs villes les plus importantes. Telles sont les provinces d'*Enguru* (Angora), de Castamouni, d'*Aidin*

(Smyrne), d'Adana, d'Alep, de Tarabelous (Tripoli), ètc.

Ces dénominations des grandes agglomérations avec l'étendue originelle du territoire ont subsisté jusqu'au règne du Sultan Mahmoud II. Mais à partir de cette époque, la politique du Divan voulant effacer les noms des grandes divisions précitées, qui rappelaient trop l'importance historique des nationalités conquises; et morceler en même temps les éyalets, supprima les dénominations de Bulgarie de Roum-ili dans la Turquie d'Europe, ainsi que celle d'Arménie, du Lazistan, et d'Arabie dans la Turquie d'Asie.

En leur lieu et place il partaga en Europe:—

1. L'ancienne Bulgarie en trois gouvernements généraux (vilayets), ceux du Danube, de Niche, et de Sofia.

2. L'ancien éyalet Grec de Roum-ili en quatre vilayets, savoir : Vilayet de Scodra (Scutari d'Albanie), de Yania (Yanina), de Monastir, et de Sélanic (Salonique).

En Asie:-

3. L'ancienne Arménie en quatre gouvernements généraux, savoir : Van, Diarbékir

(Tigranocerte), Erzeroum, et Kharpout.

4. L'ancien Lazistan en Vilayets de Trébizonde et de Sinope (sandjak), et enfin l'Arabie en vilayets de Sour (Beyrouth, du Yémen, et de l'Hedjaz, modifiés, à leur tour, en partie, à une époque récente.

Quant aux Provinces mixtes, en général, elles continuent, comme par le passé,

· ainsi qu'il a été dit plus haut, à porter les anciens noms de leurs chefs-lieux.

(Translation.)

VIIth Protocol.—Sitting of the 26th Zilhidjé, 1293 (December 30, 1876).

Present:

For Turkey—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany-

His Excellency the Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency the Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency the Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency the Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary,

For Great Britain

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Minister, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassador for England.

For Italy—

His Excellency the Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia-

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Ambassador for Russia.

THE sitting, which had been fixed for Wednesday, and which was postponed in the interval, at the request of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries till to-day, Thursday, was opened at 1.30 r.m.

The Protocol of the preceding sitting, No. 6, was read and approved.

Count Zichy said that he thought it well, with a view of showing that the present distribution of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire is of relatively recent date, to offer a few observations upon the present and past state of the territorial divisions. His

Excellency read to the Conference an historical statement on this subject. (Annex A.)

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, in reply to these considerations, observed that Bosnia alone has preserved its ancient denomination as province of the Ottoman Empire; that the other provinces of Roumelia have always been divided into several Governments, and, as regards Bulgaria, more especially, it never formed a province. Up to the time of the establishment of the Exarchate the name of Bulgaria was never used in any official documents of the Sublime Porte. The present division seems to the Ottoman Government the best suited for a good administration.

General Ignatiew thinks it right to observe that the administrative divisions have

always been modified to suit the convenience of the Government.

In reply to these preliminary remarks his Excellency Safvet Pasha, rising to speak, says that the speeches made at the last sitting by the Plenipotentiary of Italy in the name of his colleagues, and by the Marquis of Salisbury, have suggested to him certain reflections which he requests permission to lay before the Conference:

"At the last sitting the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries reserved the right of reverting to the contents of the communications made to them by their Excellencies Count Corti

and the Marquis of Salisbury at the beginning of that sitting.

"The observations made by his Excellency the Italian Minister are a general answer to the remarks advanced by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries at the fifth sitting, on the subject of the eight proposals relating to the organization of the provinces. His Excellency's communication could not, therefore, now be examined, without again giving rise to a general discussion, and the Plenipotentiaries have expressed the wish to substitute for this the consideration of each of the points one by one.

"As each of these different points come under discussion, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries will be in a position to explain the reasons which prevent them from sharing the opinions which his Excellency the Italian Minister advanced in favour of the proposals

contained in the original project of organization.

"His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury endeavoured in his speech to establish the fact that it could not be said of the project presented to the Ottoman Government that

it exceeded the limits laid down in the English programme.

"These views of his Excellency have too close a connection with the very question of the guarantees, and with that of the institution of the Commissions upon which the Conference was lately engaged, not to make a more particular examination of them

indispensable.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers must fully acknowledge that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries are in their right in attributing to the English programme the meaning, scope, and bearing, which their Government had been led to attach to it when this programme was presented, discussed, and, as has been said before, implicitly accepted as a base for the deliberations of the Conference. As is seen from the reply in which the Porte announced its assent to the meeting of the Conference, it was a question of granting to Bosnia and the Herzegovina a system of institutions giving to the populations some control over their local officers, and furnishing guarantees against acts of arbitrary The maintenance of the integrity of the Empire, and of the independence of its sovereign rights, was to serve as the basis of its deliberations.

"It is sufficient to recall these circumstances to remove the misunderstanding to which, judging from several passages in the speeches of his Excellency, the word 'guarantees' contained in the English programme seems to have given rise.

"The English programme does not speak of guarantees to be furnished by the Imperial Government to the Powers or to the populations, through the medium of these same Powers; what it demands is, the concession of a system of institutions which shall give the populations some control over their local officers, and furnish guarantees against acts of arbitrary authority. It is the system itself which should furnish the guarantees; they should be inherent in the institutions, and within these limits the Imperial Government entirely concurs in the sense of the English programme. Since the assent of the Ottoman Government to this programme, the administrative system which has always seemed the best adapted to guarantee the populations against acts of arbitrary authority, in a word, the constitutional régime, has been solemnly inaugurated and But what before all must be insisted on, is that the English programme. while stipulating for a system of institutions, furnishing intrinsic guarantees of good administration, rendered it unnecessary to search for guarantees, bearing the character of an intervention opposed to the very principle of the independence which it placed as the most important of the bases in accordance with which the meeting of the Conference was assented to.

"His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury recalls the fact that in the opinion of his Excellency Count Andrassy, certain populations are not disposed to put an absolute trust in mere promises. But that is an hypothesis which it is now little necessary to dwell upon, since at present there is no longer a question of mere promises, but of the concession of a complete system of administration and Government, which will place in the hands of the populations themselves the means of realizing the promises which

may be made them.

"The institution of local Commissions composed of Mussulmans and Christians charged with superintending the execution of the reforms in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, had been accepted in the note of February 13, 1876. In accordance with what was laid down therein, these Commissions have, in fact, been instituted, and it is only owing to the continuance of the insurrection that the action of these Commissions has been paralysed. At present, as has already been explained in the note of October 12, 1876, the extension given to the functions of the Administrative Councils of the Provinces, and the nature of their composition, render quite unnecessary the establishment of the extraordinary Commissions which were proposed in the note of the 13th of February. The necessity for them, so to speak, no longer exists.

"Nevertheless, to avoid any chance of a mistake, and considering the provisional character of these Commissions, the Imperial Government would consent to the Commissions mentioned in the note of February 13 being appointed again provisionally in Bosnia and Herzegovina to superintend the execution of the reforms which the putting

into force of the provisions of the Constitution render obligatory.

"Moreover, it would be a mistake to suppose that because the Commissions have never really exercised their functions, that therefore the arrangements decreed by the Firman of December 12, 1875, have never been fully and entirely carried out. On this point the Imperial Government does not think that it has given any ground for complaint. We repeat that it is the continuance of the insurrection which has rendered the work of the Commissions barren, and if it is now no longer specially a question of putting into force the arrangements of the Firman of December 12, this is because a large number of institutions, far more extensive than those contained in the abovementioned Firman, has been instituted as a fundamental law of the State, and that the execution of this fundamental law, and of those which form its corollary now, and those which will supplement it, will include far more than had been promised in the Firman, and that it is natural that at the present day we should cling more to the results of the new measure, intended to replace, to sum up, and to complete all preceding ones.

"In continuing his speech his Lordship stated in detail that the considerations which now render advantageous the substitution of an International Commission, that is to say, of a Commission whose members should be appointed by the Guaranteeing Powers, for those proposed in the Note of February 13. In his opinion, the election of the members of these Commissions by a population still under the influence of recent events, would offer serious difficulties; and it was with the intention of avoiding these difficulties that the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers would prefer to see the Commission formed in a way which would entrust the nomination of the members of the Commission

to the good feeling and impartiality of the Powers.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries express their regret that they cannot agree to the arguments put forward on this point by his Lordship. The opinion of the Sublime Porte remains unshaken that in whatever way the Commission of Surveillance may be formed, if the members of it are appointed by the Powers, the principle of the independence of the Empire would receive a severe shock, both in the spirit and according to the letter of the Treaty of Paris; that a fatal blow would be given to the prestige and the rights of the supreme authority, and that so marked a disregard of the fundamental principles of international law would be a proceeding contrary to the dignity of the Empire. Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have already declared that in order not to appear to depart from the principle of the note of February 13, they would accept the appointment of the above-mentioned Commissions for Bosnia and Herzegovina, although they do not see the necessity for them at the present time, and that they only agreed to it out of deference to the known wishes of the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers. Thus, if the formation and establishment of these Commissions within the proposed limits would be likely to cause serious difficulty and give rise to the dangers pointed out by his Lordship, they cannot see why, instead of relying upon the amply sufficient guarantees provided by the new institutions, an attempt should be made to substitute for the Commissions proposed in the note of February 13 a fresh system of superintendence which they, as Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, must persist in refusing for the reasons they have had the honour of giving. In their opinion between the Commissions proposed in the note of February 13 for Bosnia and the Herzegovina (the only objection to them being that an institution not absolutely necessary was thus created, the formation of which has, nevertheless, been sanctioned) and the formation of a Commission, whose members were to be appointed by the Powers, there exists an essential and absolute difference.

"The wish on the part of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries to facilitate the means of arriving at a common understanding is evident. But they cannot agree to a combination which it is impossible to harmonize, either in principle or in form, with the Treaty of Paris, the English programme, and the new situation which results from the Constitution

of the Empire.

"The Conference, in the spirit of strict equity with which it is animated, will easily understand the obligation, imposed on the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries as well as their Government, never to lose sight of this triple point of view. The foregoing considerations refer more especially to the question of guarantees, which was mooted at the last sitting; but in spite of the good will with which they are disposed to enter upon this discussion, it will be beyond their power not to be guided by the same necessities as regards policy and argument when it devolves upon them to examine the views of his Lordship concerning the other points under discussion, to which the other parts of his speech relate."

General Ignatiew asks if the Porte reserves to itself the power of entering into a

fresh examination of the points enumerated in the speech of Count Corti.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries answered that the Sublime Porte was disposed to carry into execution the points indicated in Count Andrassy's Note, notwithstanding the objections pointed out by the Marquis of Salisbury.

General Ignatiew calls attention to the fact that the Ottoman Government rejects

the institution of an International Commission.

The Marquis of Salisbury having inquired whether the Porte likewise refuses the nomination of the Vali with the consent of the Powers, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries declare that the Government of His Imperial Majesty could not consent to these two proposals, and they detail the objections to which these proposals appear to them to give rise.

A discussion ensues between Count Zichy and the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries on the subject of the Commission proposed in Count Andrassy's Note. The First Austro-Hungarian Plenipotentiary declares that that Commission was never established. Their Excellencies Safvet Pasha and Edhem Pasha remind him that, owing to the circumstances of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the election of delegates was impossible, and the Ottoman Government, considering the state of things, has done all that was in its power to do.

Sir Henry Elliot points out that the Porte rejects any foreign element, to be named

by the Powers, in the Commissions which it was proposed to appoint.

The Marquis of Salisbury adds that the Porte only proposes to execute its former promises, but that it refuses to promise anything new, or to give any guarantee for the future.

His Excellency Safret Pasha says that most of the reforms decreed in 1856 have

been already carried out.

General Ignatiew replies that in 1867 Lord Lyons and he had been instructed to make representations to Fuad Pasha about the non-execution of a certain number of

points contained in the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries maintain that, with the exception of the recruiting, the other reforms of the Hatti-Humayoun have been executed. Reverting to the question of an International Commission, their Excellencies again declare that the appointment of such a Commission would be derogatory to the dignity, the authority, the prestige, and the independence of the Sovereign.

The Marquis of Salisbury asks if the Porte returns a similar answer to the other reforms proposed by the Powers, such as the territorial constitution of the provinces.

and the nomination of the Vali.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries reply by insisting on the serious objections to a new division of the provinces, and on the disturbing effect that it would have on the administration. As far as the Vali is concerned, they add that the Sublime Porte is the most interested in choosing Governors-General capable of good administration, and that the Constitution guarantees the continuance in office of these functionaries.

Sir Henry Elliot, having inquired the motives which would justify, in the eyes of the Porte, the dismissal of a Vali, His Excellency Safret Pasha instances misconduct in

private life, arbitrary acts, or acts injurious to the prestige of authority.

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His Excellency Edhem Pasha adds, that in these several cases the Vali will be prosecuted before the Tribunals.

Lord Salisbury states, that the divergence of opinion between the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries and those of the Powers is so marked, that at the present moment there is no subject open for discussion. It might perhaps be opportune for the Conference to

adjourn until further reference had been made to the Porte.

Count Corti entirely agrees with the opinions of the Marquis of Salisbury. He is of opinion that, in view of the fact of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries having refused the absolutely essential bases proposed by the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers, the dignity of the Conference and also the interests of its labours render an adjournment advisable.

The German Plenipotentiary says, that the Porte having rejected the principal points, in particular the International Commission and the Vali, there is no longer any subject for discussion.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha attributes the difficulties just alluded to to the way in which the programme of the Powers has been drawn up without the co-operation of the Ottoman Government. He expresses his regret that it was determined on before the Sublime Porte had been requested to furnish accurate information.

Count Corti thinks it right to remind the Conference that the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers have always been ready to receive any communication from the Ottoman

Government.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha expresses regret that the declarations of the Sublime Porte are not taken into account, and appeals to the Plenipotentiaries to put some trust in them, especially as concerning the mode of choosing the Valis.

General Ignatiew says that all the Plenipotentiaries are bound by their instructions, and that, as far as he is concerned, he cannot discuss points unconnected with the bases

that had been proposed.

Count de Chaudordy, having inquired whether, as regards the assent of the Powers to the nomination of the Vali, the Porte would consent to it, if the period during which this assent was to be obligatory, were limited to a fixed period, say, four or five years, his Excellency Edhem Pasha answers that it is the principle itself to which the Ottoman Government declines to assent.

The Russian and German Plenipotentiaries and the Marquis of Salisbury again draw attention to the fact that the Ottoman Government has not conceded any of the essential

principles.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha states, however, that, as regards the gendarmerie, the Sublime Porte would consent to organize it of Christians and Mussulman, and would voluntarily offer posts in it to European officers; that, as to the Circassians, no colonization on a large scale would be allowed; that, perhaps, there is no land available for the introduction of fresh colonists, but that the settlement of persons going to rejoin their relations must not be designated by the name of colonization.

Count Zichy wishes to know whether, as regards the gendarmerie, these promises

may be put into writing, and he insists on reforms in the finances and Law Courts.

His Excellency Edhem Pasha says that the statements of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries are duly incorporated in the Protocols, and that, as regards the reforms in question, those that are admissible are stated in the counter project put forward by the Ottoman Government.

General Ignatiew asks if the Firman of December 12, 1875, is withdrawn, and His Excellency Safvet Pasha answers that it is included in the Constitution.

The next sitting is fixed for Monday, January 15.

(Signed)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

Annex (A).

The great territorial divisions in Turkey bore, from the time of the conquest, the actual name of the races who were acknowledged as the aboriginal inhabitants, and were constituted into great provinces (éyalets), generally administered by one Governor-

General, and sometimes also by two Governors.

Thus, in European Turkey, the part of the territory the inhabitants of which had always been the Bosniacs, and which included the Herzegovina, was called, and is still called, Bosna (Bosnia), the whole administered by one Governor-General, and of the same area as that existing at the time of the conquest. The part inhabited from the beginning by the Bulgarians was called Boulgaristan (Bulgaria), and was, in like manner, placed, with its ancient limits, under the administration of a Governor-General (Vali). Lastly, the territorial division which was inhabited by the Greeks, and comprised Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, was called the Eyalet of Roumili (Rouman-Land), and had also a Governor-General, with the same limits as at the time of the conquest.

Similarly, the parts with inhabitants of mixed race bore, as they still bear, the names of their principal towns or capitals—viz., the Eyalet of Edirné (Adrianople), the

Eyalet of the Islands, with Rhodes as capital, the Eyalet of Guirid (Crete).

In Asia, in the same way, the great divisions corresponded with the area at the time of the conquest, and bore, like the European provinces, the name of the original races—viz., the Eyalet of Erménistan (Armenia), the Eyalet of Kurdistan (Land of the Kurds), the Eyalet of Lazistan, inhabited by the Lazes, and comprising Trebizond and part of the coast of the Black Sea; the ancient Eyalet of Gurgistan (Georgia), now lost to the Empire, finally the Eyalets of Souryé (Syria), which name still exists, and of Arabistan (Arabia).

The mixed Asiatic provinces bore, like those of European Turkey, as moreover they still bear, the names of their most important towns. Such are the provinces of Enguru (Angora), of Castamoreni, of Aïdin (Smyrna), of Adana, of Aleppo, of Tarabelous

(Tripoli), &c.

These designations of the great collections of races co-existed with the original extent of their territory, and remained up to the time of the reign of Mahmoud II; but, from that time forward, the policy of the Divan, aiming at effacing the names of the before mentioned great territorial divisions, which recalled too much the historical importance of the conquered nationalities, and at sub-dividing the eyalets at the same time, suppressed the designations of Bulgaria and Roum-ili in European Turkey, as well as that of Armenia, of Lazistan, and of Arabia in Asiatic Turkey.

In their stead it divided in Europe:—

1. Ancient Bulgaria into three general Governments (Vilayets), those of the Danube, of Niche, and Sofia.

2. The ancient Greek Elayet of Roum-ili into four vilayets, namely, that of Scodra (Albanian Scutari), of Yania (Yanina), of Monastir, and of Sclanie (Salonica).

In Asia:—

3. Ancient Armenia into four general Governments, namely, Van, Diarbékir

(Tigranocerte), Erzeroum, and Kharpout.

4. Ancient Lagistan into the Vilayets of Trebizond and of Sinope (sandjak), and lastly, Arabia, into the Vilayets of Sour (Beyrouth), of Yemen and of Hedjaz, partly modified again in recent times.

With respect to the mixed provinces, they still, generally speaking, continue, as in

the past, as has been described above, to bear the ancient names of their capitals.

Inclosure 2 in No. 230.

VIII Protocole.—Séance du 30 Zilhidjé, 1293 (3 Janvier, 1877).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie—

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongric.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France-

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie-

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure et demie. Le Protocole de la précédente

réunion, No. 7, est lu et approuvé.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie, revenant sur les derniers mots du Protocole qu'on vient de lire, demande dans quel sens le Firman du 12 Décembre, 1875, doit être considéré comme compris dans la Constitution.

Le Premier Plénipotentiaire de Turquie répond comme précédemment qu'en effet les principes de ce document y sont renfermés et que les lois spéciales dont la rédaction est prescrite par la Constitution comprendront toutes les dispositions du Firman auquel le Général Ignatiew a fait allusion et les adapteront à la situation nouvelle.

Le Marquis de Salisbury prononce ensuite le discours suivant :--

"Il s'est déjà écoulé un temps considérable depuis que la Conférence a commencé à siéger et c'est avec de vifs regrets que les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances se trouvent aujourd'hui forcés de constater qu'aucun progrès n'a été fait vers un accord. Les Plénipotentiaires de la Sublime Porte n'ont pas accepté les arrangements principaux que les Puissances ont proposés. Ils ne les ont pas même acceptés en principe, soit en mettant en avant des modifications, soit en soumettant des contreprojets qui auraient pour but l'établissement de garanties contre la mauvaise administration, telles que la Conférence a été chargée de pourvoir.

"Les Plénipotentiaires sont d'avis que la discussion prolongée de refus si nettement formulés doit toucher à son terme. C'est pourquoi ils se sont décidés à soumettre un résumé de leurs recommendations à l'acceptation de la Sublime Porte. Dans ce résumé ont été introduites des modifications dans le but d'écarter tout malentendu, de mitiger la forme des propositions les moins acceptables, et de rétrécir le terrain des discussions en enlevant les questions d'un caractère secondaire ou peu important. Ils proposent de se réunir en Conférence le Jeudi, 18 courant, pour recevoir la réponse des Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, qui leur annoncera si la Sublime Porte est prête à accepter ces propositions dans leur forme mitigée et définitive.

"Je crois devoir aujourd'hui en appeler à la Porte de considérer sérieusement

l'attitude sans pareille que des conseillers il réfléchis lui persuadent de garder.

"En 1856 on a écarté les arrangements d'une date antérieure afin de déclarer que désormais l'Empire Ottoman serait admis dans le concert Européen, et serait placé sous la garantie des Six Puissances; ce qui a été fait sans aucune réserve. Les sages intentions et les promesses de réforme du Sultan Abd-ul-Medjed ont été communiquées aux Puissances, et la haute valeur de cette communication a été constatée par elles; mais malgré les circonstances qui ont donné lieu à la guerre de Crimée et les discussions qui l'ont précédée, aucun droit d'ingérence dans les rapports de Sa Majesté et de ses sujets ne fut fondé sur l'Article IX du Traité de 1856. Cependant les engagements de ce Traité ne furent pas et ne peuvent être unilatéraux. On renonça à faire ressortir du Traité aucun droit d'ingérence dans l'administration intérieure. On avait la confiance que le Sultan prêterait toujours l'oreille aux conseils désintéressés des l'uissances unies qui garantissaient son Empire et qui, à la suite des sacrifices bien connus faits par quelques unes d'entre elles, en avaient maintenu l'intégrité et l'indépendance.

"Si cette Conférence se sépare par le motif que le Sultan et ceux auprès de Sa Majesté Impériale ne veulent point écouter les conseils des Six Puissances Garantes, la position de la Turquie vis-à-vis de l'Europe aurait subi un changement complet et serait fort périlleuse. Il sera désormais reconnu dans tous les pays que la Porte, après avoir joui pendant vingt ans de la sécurité qui lui a été assurée par l'accord des Puissances Chrétiennes, refuse de prêter l'oreille à leurs réclamations contre les épreuves que

subissent les sujets Chrétiens de Sa Majesté Impériale.

"La conscience de l'Europe sera émue de la conviction qu'elle n'exerce plus aucune influence dans les conseils de la Sublime Porte, et qu'elle ne peut plus s'acquitter de la responsabilité que lui imposent les efforts qu'elle a faits pour sauvegarder la Turquie.

"Il faut aujourd'hui que la Porte réfléchisse aux suites fâcheuses qui pourront résulter d'un tel revirement dans l'opinion publique de l'Europe. On pressent déjà à une époque fort peu éloignée des dangers qui menaceront l'existence même de la

Turquie dans le cas qu'elle se laissera entièrement isolée.

"Il est de mon devoir de dégager le Gouvernement de la Reine de toute responsabilité pour ce qui pourra arriver, et je suis par conséquent chargé de déclarer formellement que la Grande Bretagne est résolue de ne donner sa sanction ni à la mauvaise administration, ni à l'oppression, et que si la Porte par opiniatreté ou inertie résiste aux efforts qui se font actuellement dans le but de placer l'Empire Ottoman sur une base plus sure, la responsabilité des suites qui en résulteront reposera uniquement sur le Sultan et ses Conseillers.

"En communiquant à vos Excellences ce résumé mitigé, je suis en outre autorisé par les Plénipotentiaires de déclarer que c'est la dernière communication qui vous sera faite de notre part et que si les principes de nos propositions ne sont pas acceptécs à la Conférence qui doit se réunir le 18 courant, les Représentants des Six Puissances considéreront la Conférence close et quitteront Constantinople selon les ordres qu'ils ont reçus."

A la suite de ce discours, sa Signeurie lit le texte des propositions adoptées par les Représentants des Puissances Garantes. Ce document est ainsi conçu :

Monténégro.

Rectification des frontières du Monténégro avec annexion des Banyani, Piva avec Nikchitch, Drobniak, une partie de Charanzi, le district de Kolachine, les Kutchi-Drékalovitchi, les Kutchi-Kraïni, les Vassoïevitchi de la Zievna au Lim, les Maly et Vely Brdo, Spouze et Zabliak.

Commission Internationale de délimitation ad hoc.

Liberté de navigation et neutralisation des fortins sur la Boyana.

Serbie.

Statu quo ante bellum pour la Serbie, avec règlement des difficultés de limites du côté de la Bosnie par une Commission Arbitrale, conformément au Hatti-Chérif de 1833.

Pour les deux Principautés: Evacuation par les troupes Ottomanes et par les troupes Princières des territoires en dehors des limites fixées, échange de prisonniers de guerre, et annistie aux sujets employés au service ennemi.

Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie.

Les Gouverneurs Généraux des provinces seront nommés pour les premiers cinq

ans par la Porte avec l'agrément préalable des Puissances.

Subdivision des provinces en sandjaks, avec des Mutessarifs nommés par la Porte, sur la proposition des Valis, pour un terme fixe; et en cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants, avec des autorités cantonales librement élues par la popula-

tions dans chaque commune et compétentes pour toutes les questions touchant les intérêts du canton.

Assemblées Provinciales élues pour un terme de quatre ans par les Conseils Cantonaux, d'après le système indiqué. Elles établiront le budget de la province et nommeront les Conseils Administratifs Provinciaux, dont les Valis devront prendre l'avis dans les cas dépassant l'exécution pure et simple des dispositions légales et règlementaires, et sur lesquelles ils pourront en référer à la Sublime Porte.

Amélioration de l'assiette des impôts: les Assemblées Provinciales et les Conseils Cantonaux auront la répartition et perception des contributions, sauf les douanes,

postes et télégraphes, les taxes sur le tabac et spiritueux et la régie.

Abolition complète de l'affermage.

Remise des arriérés des impôts. Fixation du budget des provinces chaque cinq ans sur la moyenne des revenus. Une partie sera affectée au payement de la dette publique et aux besoins du Gouvernement Central, et le reste à ceux des provinces.

Réorganisation de la justice dans le sens d'une plus grande indépendance du magistrat. Nomination des juges des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels par les Valis, avec l'assentiment du Conseil Administratif et des membres de la Cour d'Appel par la Porte, sur la proposition des Valis. Publicité des séances et enquête judiciaire obligatoires. Juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions.

Entière liberté de culte. Entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux et d'instruction publique par les communautés elles-mêmes. Garanties contre les

conversions forcées.

Usage de la langue du pays dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration également avec le Turc.

Défense absolue de l'emploi des troupes irrégulières. Formation d'une milice et d'une gendarmerie de Chrétiens et de Musulmans proportionnellement à la population, avec des officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs-Généraux.

Interdiction de la colonisation des Circassiens.

Amnistie générale pour les Chrétiens condamnés pour causes politiques.

Amélioration du sort des laboureurs et des fermiers en Bosnic et en Herzégovine. Facilités pour l'acquisition de terrains de l'Etat, ainsi que pour le rapatriement des émigrés.

Mise en vigueur de ces dispositions dans un terme fixe de trois mois.

Commissions de Contrôle.

Deux Commissions de Contrôle seront nommées par les Puissances pour veiller à l'exécution des règlements et aider les autorités locales dans différentes mesures touchant l'ordre et la sécurité publique et recevront des instructions spéciales.

Le Comte Zichy déclare adhérer aux paroles que vient de prononcer le Marquis de Salisbury. Son Excellence ajoute qu'elle a reçu l'ordre de son Gouvernement de faire savoir à la Sublime Porte que dans le cas où les bases des propositions des Puissances ne seraient pas acceptées, elle serait obligée de se rendre à Vienne et de remettre la gestion de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à un Chargé d'Affaires.

Le Baron de Calice dit: "Je suis autorisé à m'associer à la déclaration faite par le Marquis de Salisbury, c'est-à-dire que si les Plénipotentiaires Turcs n'acceptent pas les principes des propositions formulées par les Représentants des Puissances Garantes et dont sa Seigneurie vient de leur communiquer un résumé modifié, les séances de la Conférence manqueraient d'une base de discussion et ne sauraient, par conséquent, être prolongées. Je devrais dans ce cas partir simultanément avec les autres Plénipotentiaires."

Le Baron de Werther s'exprime ainsi: "Dans le cas d'un regrettable refus de la Sublime Porte d'accepter les principes des propositions faites par les Représentants des Six Puissances, mes instructions me prescrivent de me joindre à mes collègues et de quitter Constantinople, me trouvant appelé à me rendre à Berlin, ayant l'ordre de

remettre alors la gestion de l'Ambassade à un Chargé d'Affaires.

Le Plénipotentiaire d'Italie fait la déclaration suivante: "J'ai l'honneur d'adhérer aux propositions ainsi qu'aux considérations qui viennent d'être communiquées à la Conférence par M. le Marquis de Salisbury, et je crois de mon devoir de déclarer en même temps, au nom de mon Gouvernement, que si elles sont rejétées, il décline toute la responsabilité des conséquences qui pourront prévenir de ce refus." Son

Excellence ajoute qu'en ce cas elle retournerait à Rome, en laissant un Chargé d'Affaires à Constantinople.

Sir Henry Elliot dit qu'il a ordre de se rendre à Londres à la fin de la Conférence,

après avoir accrédité un Chargé d'Affaires auprès de la Sublime Porte.

Le Comte de Bourgoing: "Je m'associe aux déclarations précédentes, et dans le cas où la Porte refuserait d'accepter les propositions des Puissances, je suis autorisé à quitter Constantinople, en accréditant un Chargé d'Affaires."

Le Comte de Chaudordy annonce également qu'il a reçu l'ordre d'adhérer aux propositions des Puissances Garantes et de partir pour Paris si elles ne sont pas

acceptées par la Porte. Son Excellence ajoute:--

"En lisant avec attention les propositions que M. l'Ambassadeur Extraordinaire d'Angleterre vient de présenter au nom des Six Puissances, les membres du Gouvernement Ottoman seront convaincus de la pensée de modération et d'apaisement qui les a dictées. De la réponse qu'ils y feront peut dépendre tout l'avenir de l'Empire.

"Un jeune et sage Souverain est monté récemment sur la trône. Une Constitution nouvelle a été proclamée. Ce n'est pas en restant dans l'isolement que de telles espérances peuvent produire des résultats heureux. La Turquie a besoin de paix et de

crédit, de tranquillité et d'une bonne administration.

"Par suite de procédés financiers funestes, le Gouvernement Ottoman s'est déjà mis vis à-vis de la plupart des Etats Européens dans une position déjà très-difficile. Il ne faudrait pas aggraver cette situation. Le Ministère actuel est revenu, il est vrai, aux saines doctrines financières, mais encore doit-il profiter des circonstances favorables pour mettre à exécution ses bonnes intentions. Il dépend en ce moment de lui de donner au travail, à l'industrie, et au commerce la sécurité qui leur est nécessaire. Sa responsabilité serait bien grande devant son pays et devant l'histoire, si, loin d'entrer dans la voie de conciliation qui lui est ouverte et que tous les intérêts et les amis de la Turquie lui conseillent de suivre, parce qu'elle est celle du progrès et de la vraie grandeur des peuples, il se laissait aller au hasard des événements."

L'Ambassadeur de Russie s'associe entièrement aux paroles de ses collègues et

prononce le discours suivant:-

"En m'associant entièrement à la déclaration qui vient d'être faite par l'Ambassadeur Spécial de la Grande Bretagne, je crois devoir rappeler à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans les circonstances qui nous ont amenés à la situation actuelle, ainsi que la

vraie signification de la démarche que nous faisons.

"Les événements qui se sont produits dépuis dix-huit mois dans quelques unes des Provinces de la Turquie et la lutte engagée entre la Sublime Porte et les Principautés de Serbie et de Monténégro ont attiré l'attention la plus sérieuse des Grandes Puissances. Désireux de conserver la paix Européenne et de maintenir le statu quo politique en Orient, tout en assurant une existence meilleure aux populations éprouvées par les derniers événements, les Cabinets Garants ont accepté le rôle de médiateurs entre le Gouvernement Ottoman et les Principautés en lutte avec lui. Ils ont posé en conséquence les bases sur lesquelles la paix devait être rétablie et le sort des populations Chrétiennes amélioré. Ces bases, formulées par le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique et acceptées successivement par les autres Cabinets, ont été discutées et développées par les Représentants des Grandes Puissances dans des réunions spéciales tenues à Constantinople, ainsi que cela avait été convenu entre les Gouvernements.

"Ces réunions, qui ont servi de préliminaires à la Conférence plénière, étaient nécessaires d'abord pour bien établir la signification et la portée des demandes qu'on présenterait à la Sublime Porte et ensuite pour fondre en un seul tout les idées et les opinions particulières que chacune des Puissances pouvait attacher aux bases Anglaises en les envisageant à son point de vue spécial. Loin de compliquer la tâche du Gouvernement Ottoman, ce mode de procéder ne pouvait que lui faciliter l'acceptation des propositions des Puissances, qui avaient ainsi révêtu le caractère d'un vœu unamine et immuable de l'Europe réunic. Si chacun des Cabinets avait eu à formuler ses demandes séparément, la Sublime Porte se serait trouvée certainement en présence de plus grandes difficultés et de réclamations, je puis le dire pour ma part, plus considérables.

"En éliminant de leurs propositions, afin d'arriver à une entente définitive, tout ce qui pourrait porter le caractère d'une réclamation exagérée, personnelle, ou intéressée, les Représentants des Grandes Puissances en sont venus à un minimum qui se trouve résumé en traits généraux dans la communication qui vient d'être faite par

le Marquis de Salisbury.

"Au lieu d'adhérer à nos propositions détaillées ou procéder à leur discussion systématique, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans n'y ont opposé jusqu'à présent qu'un contre-projet qui s'éloignait entièrement des bases de la Conférence, acceptées

par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Sultan lui-même.

"Les efforts d'entente et de pacification entrepris par les Cabinets se trouvant ainsi compromis, les Représentants des Grandes Puissances ont cru devoir faire un dernier appel au Gouvernement Ottoman et le rendre attentif à la grave responsabilité qui retomberait sur lui s'il refusait de se prêter à ce qu'elles considèrent comme une nécessité absolue pour la conservation de l'Empire et le maintien de la paix.

"Si, se rendant un compte plus exact de la situation qui lui est faite et appréciant à sa juste valeur le programme Européen qui se trouve résumé dans notre dernière communication, la Porte y donne son adhésion, les travaux de la Conférence pourront être repris et nous procéderons en commun à l'examen des détails de nos propositions.

"Dans le cas contraire, un terrain d'entente nous faisant absolument défaut et des négociations ultérieures ne pouvant plus être continuées, le Gouvernement Impérial, que j'ai l'honneur de représenter, juge la prolongation des séances de la Conférence comme n'ayant plus de raison d'être. Le maintien d'un Ambassadeur à Constantinople devient également superflu du moment où sa voix, unie à celle des Représentants de toutes les Puissances Garantes de la Turquie, n'y a plus la valeur qui devrait s'attacher à la manifestation unanime d'un vœu Européen, dicté par une pensée de paix et de conservation.

"Je déclare donc, bien à regret, que si à notre prochaine réunion, Jeudi, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne nous aunoncent pas l'adoption par la Sublime Porte des bases qui viennent de leur être communiquées par le Marquis de Salisbury, je ne suis plus autorisé à continuer des pourparlers et quitterai sans retard Constantinople."

A la suite de ces déclarations des Représentants des Puissances son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit qu'il pense que MM, les Plénipotentiaires ne peuvent avoir de doute sur le désir de conservation de la paix qui anime la Sublime Porte. La mise en pratique de la Constitution, l'amélioration des finances, le développement des ressources de l'Empire sont trop intimement liés au rétablissement de la tranquillité à l'intérieur et à la consolidation des bons rapports à l'extérieur pour que le Gouvernement Impérial ne soit porté à faire tout ce qui dependra de lui pour y parvenir. C'est dans cette conviction qu'il avait accepté la Conférence. La Sublime Porte avait proposé, dès le début de ces réunions, un contre-projet; il regrette de devoir dire que la Conférence n'a pas accordé peut-être à ce contre-projet l'attention qu'il méritait. reconnaît bien volontiers que MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes ont apporté un certain nombre de modifications à leurs propositions primitives et que le projet dont il vient d'être donné lecture présente des améliorations sur celui qui l'a La Sublime Porte serait donc prête à entrer en discussion avec les Représentants des Puissances sur ce document, si les Plénipotentiaires consentaient à en retirer deux points, ceux qui concernent la nomination des Valis et la Commission Internationale, sur lesquels la Sublime Porte ne saurait transiger. Son Excellence ajoute qu'au surplus, si les Plénipotentiaires maintiennent ces points, le Gouvernement Impérial sera obligé de convoquer un Conseil Extraordinaire pour en délibérer.

Le Marquis de Salisbury répond que les Représentants des Puissances ne sont pas autorisés à retirer les deux points indiqués, qui constituent les garanties demandées à

la Sublime Porte.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans font observer que le délai jusqu'à Jeudi prochain, 18 courant, indiqué par les Représentants des Puissances, serait peut-être insuffisant pour que le Gouvernement Impérial soit en mesure de répondre. Leurs Excellences expriment le désir que dans le cas où la Sublime Porte ne se trouverait pas complètement préparée, la date de la prochaine réunion de la Conférence puisse être, d'un commun accord, reportée à Samedi, 20.

(Signé)

Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances ayant adhéré, la séance est levée.

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER,
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI,
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

VIIIth Protocol.—Sitting of the 30th Zilhidjé, 1293 (January 3, 1877).

Present:

For Turkey—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany—

His Excellency the Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary-

His Excellency the Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency the Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency the Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain—

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Minister, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassador for England.

For Italy--

His Excellency the Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia—

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Ambassador for Russia.

THE sitting opened at 1.30. The Protocol of the preceding meeting, No. 7, is read and approved.

The Russian Ambassador, referring to the last words of the Protocol just read, asks in what sense the Firman of December 12, 1875, is to be considered as included in the Constitution?

The first Turkish Plenipotentiary answers, as on previous occasions, that in fact the principles of this document are included in the Constitution, and that the special laws ordered by the Constitution to be drawn up, will include all the stipulations of the Firman alluded to by General Ignatiew and will adapt them to the new state of affairs.

The Marquis of Salisbury then speaks as follows:—

"Some considerable time has already elapsed since the Conference commenced its sittings, and the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers deeply regret to be obliged to state that no progress has been made towards arriving at an agreement. The Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte have not accepted the principal arrangements proposed by the Powers. They have not even accepted them in principle, whether by putting forward modifications or by submitting to the Conference counter projects aiming at the establishment of guarantees against bad government such as the Conference is bound to provide.

"The Plenipotentiaries are of opinion that the prolonged discussion of so thorough a refusal must shortly be brought to a close. They have therefore decided to submit a summary of their recommendations for the acceptance of the Sublime Porte. In this summary some modifications have been introduced with the object of avoiding any misunderstanding and softening down the form of the least acceptable proposals, and narrowing the ground for discussion by removing secondary or unimportant questions. They propose to assemble in Conference on Thursday the 18th instant to receive the answer of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, from which they will learn if the Sublime Porte is ready to accept these proposals in their modified and final form.

"I think it right to-day to appeal to the Porte to devote serious consideration to the unparalleled attitude which some heedless advisers would persuade her to adopt.

"In 1856 the arrangements entered into at a previous date were abolished in order to declare that henceforth the Ottoman Empire would be admitted into the concert of the European Powers and placed under the guarantee of the Six Powers; all of which has been done without reservation. The wise intentions and promises of reform made by Sultan Abdul Medjid were communicated to the Powers, and the great value of this communication has been attested by them; but in spite of the circumstances which caused the Crimean War and the discussions which preceded it, no right of interference

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in the relations between His Majesty and his subjects was established by Article IX of the Treaty of 1856. Yet the engagements of this Treaty were not and cannot be unilateral. No right of interference in internal administration was to be deduced from the Treaty. It was confidently believed that the Sultan would always be ready to listen to the disinterested counsels of the Powers who guaranteed his Empire, and who maintained its integrity and independence by means of the well-known sacrifices that some of them made.

"If this Conference breaks up because the Sultan and those in the confidence of his Imperial Majesty will not listen to the counsels of the six Guaranteeing Powers, the position of Turkey before Europe will have been completely changed and will be extremely perilous. It will be known in all the countries that the Porte, after having enjoyed for twenty years the security assured to her by the accord of the Christian Powers, refuses to listen to their complaints against the hardships which the Christian subjects of his Imperial Majesty have to endure.

"The whole feeling of Europe will be excited by the conviction that she no longer exercises any influence in the counsels of the Sublime Porte, and that she can no longer relieve herself of the responsibility imposed upon her by the efforts she has made for the

protection of Turkey.

"The Porte should now consider the injurious consequences that may result from such a change in the public opinion of Europe. We can foresee dangers near at hand which will threaten the very existence of Turkey if she allows herself to be entirely isolated.

"It is my duty to free Her Majesty's Government of all responsibility for what may happen, and I am therefore instructed to declare formally that Great Britain is resolved not to give her sanction either to maladministration or to oppression, and that if the Porte from obstinacy or inactivity, offers resistance to the efforts now being made to place the Ottoman Empire on a more sure basis the responsibility of the consequences will rest solely on the Sultan and his advisers.

"In communicating to your Excellencies this modified summary, I am, moreover, authorized by the Plenipotentiaries to declare that it is the final communication which will be made to you by us, and that if the principles of our proposals are not accepted at the Conference which is to meet on the 18th instant, the Representatives of the Six Powers will consider the Conference at an end and will leave Constantinople according to

the instructions that they have received."

After this speech his Lordship read the text of the proposals adopted by the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers. This document is to the following effect:—

Montenegro.

Rectification of the frontiers of Montenegro with the addition of the Baniani, Piva with Niksich, Drobniak, a part of Charanzi, the district of Kolachine, the Kutchi-Drekalovitchi, the Kutchi-Kraïni, the Vassoïevitchi from the Zievna to the Lim, the Maly and Vely Brdo, Spouze and Zabliak.

International Commission of delimitation ad hoc.

Free navigation of, and neutrality of the forts on the Boyana.

Servia.

Status quo ante bellum for Servia, with a settlement of the boundary difficulties on the side of Bosnia by a Commission of Arbitration in conformity with the Hatti-Cherif. of 1833.

For the Two Principalities.

Evacuation by the Ottoman troops and those of the Principalities of the territories beyond the fixed boundaries; exchange of prisoners of war and amnesty for subjects employed in the enemy's service.

Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

The Governors-General of the Provinces shall be named for the first five years by

the Porte with the previous agreement ("agrément préalable") of the Powers.

Subdivision of the provinces into sandjaks, with Mutessarifs named by the Porte, on the suggestion of the Valis, for a fixed term, and into cantons (nahiés, mudirliks) of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, with cantonal authorities freely chosen by the people in every commune, and capable of settling all questions affecting the interests of the canton.

Provincial Assemblies, elected for a term of four years by the Cantonal Councils, after the system marked out. They will fix the budget of the province, and name the administrative Provincial Councils, whose advice the Vali must take in cases beyond the pure and simple execution of legal and statutory measures. On these questions they can also refer to the Sublime Porte.

The amelioration of the imposition of taxes. The Provincial Assemblies and the Cantonal Councils will have jurisdiction over the assessment and levying of taxes, with the exception of the Customs, postal and telegraph dues, taxes on tobacco and spirits, and the régie.

Complete Abolition of Tax-farming.

Remission of the back payments of taxes. Settlement of the provincial budget every five years on the average revenue. One part will be applied to the payment of the public debt and the wants of the Central Government, and the remainder to those of the provinces.

Reorganisation of the administration of justice, with a view to the greater independence of the magistrates. The nomination of the civil and criminal Judges by the Valis with the assent of the Administrative Council; and of the members of the Court of Appeal by the Porte, on the nomination of the Valis. Publicity of the meetings and of judicial inquiries to be obligatory. Exclusive jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authorities for the special causes of different religions.

Entire freedom of worship. Maintenance of the clergy and of establishments of religion and of public instruction, &c., by the communities themselves. Guarantees against forced conversions.

Use of the language of the country in the Tribunals and the Administration, on the same footing as Turkish.

Prohibition of the employment of irregular troops. Formation of a militia and gendarmerie of Christians and of Mussulmans in proportion to the population, with subaltern officers nominated by the Guaranteeing Governments.

Prohibition of the colonization of Circassians.

General amnesty for Christians condemned on political grounds.

Amelioration of the lot of labourers and farmers in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. Facilities for acquiring State lands, as well as for the return of exiles.

Establishment of these measures within three months.

Commissions of Control.

Two Commissions of Control shall be nominated by the Powers to watch over the execution of the regulations and assist the local authorities in the different measures respecting order and public security, and will receive special instructions.

Count Zichy pronounces his adherence to what the Marquis of Salisbury has just said. His Excellency adds that he has received instructions from his Government to announce to the Sublime Porte that in the case of the bases of the propositions of the Powers not being accepted, he should be obliged to proceed to Vienna and to hand over the management of the Embassy of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to a Chargé d'Affaires.

The Baron Calice says: "I am authorized to agree with the Marquis of Salisbury's statement, that is to say, that if the Turkish Plenipotentiaries do not accept the principles of the proposals put forward by the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers, of which his Lordship has just communicated a modified summary, the sittings of the Conference would have no bases of discussion, and could not, therefore, be prolonged. It would be my duty, therefore, in that case to leave simultaneously with the other Plenipotentiaries."

Baron Werther spoke as follows: "In case of the refusal, which we should regret, of the Sublime Porte to accept the principles of the propositions made by the Representatives of the Six Powers, my instructions direct me to join my colleagues in leaving Constantinople. I am, in that case, to go to Berlin and leave the care of the Embassy to a Chargé d'Affaires."

The Italian Plenipotentiary states as follows: "I have the honour to adhere to the proposals as well as to the opinions which have just been communicated to the Conference by the Marquis of Salisbury, and I think it my duty to state, at the same time, in the name of my Government, that if they are rejected, it declines all the responsibility of the consequences which may arise from this refusal." His Excellency adds that in this case he should return to Rome, leaving a Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople.

Sir H. Elliot says that he is ordered to go to London at the end of the Conference

after accrediting a Chargé d'Affaires to the Sublime Porte.

The Count de Bourgoing: "I adhere to the preceding declarations, and if the Porte should refuse to accept the proposals of the Powers, I am authorized to leave Constantinople, and accredit a Charge d'Affaires."

Count de Chaudordy likewise announces that he has orders to adhere to the proposals of the Guaranteeing Powers, and to leave for Paris if they are not accepted by the Porte;

his Excellency adds:—

"If the members of the Ottoman Government read attentively the proposals presented by the English Ambassador Extraordinary, they will be convinced of the moderate and calm ideas which dictated them. On the answer they shall make thereto, the whole future of the Empire may depend.

"A young and sagacious Sovereign has lately ascended the throne. A new Constitution has been proclaimed. It is not in remaining isolated that such expectations can produce happy results. Turkey requires peace and credit and tranquillity and a good

administration.

"Through unhappy financial transactions, the Ottoman Government is already, as regards most European States, in a very embarrassed position; this position must not be aggravated. The present Ministry, it is true, has returned to sound financial doctrines, but still it should profit by favourable circumstances to carry out its good intentions. It rests with it at this moment to give to labour, industry, and commerce that security which is needful. Their responsibility to their country and to history would indeed be great, if, instead of treading the path of conciliation, which is open to them, and which is recommended to them by all their interests and all friends to Turkey, because it is the path of progress and of the real greatness of nations, they were to abandon themselves to the chance of events.'

The Russian Ambassador adheres entirely to the words of his colleagues, and delivers

the following speech:—
"While adhering entirely to the declaration which has just been made by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries the circumstances which have brought us to the present

position, as well as the real meaning of the part we are taking.

"The events which have taken place in the last eighteen months in some of the Turkish provinces, and the struggle between the Sublime Porte and the Principalities of Servia and Montenegro have attracted the most serious attention of the Great Powers. The Guaranteeing Cabinets, while desirous of preserving the peace of Europe, and of maintaining the political status quo in the East, and at the same time ensuring a better state of things to the populations which have suffered from the recent events, have accepted the part of mediators between the Ottoman Government and the Principalities contending with it. They have consequently laid down the bases on which peace should be established and the condition of the Christian populations ameliorated. These bases, formulated by the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty, and accepted successively by the other Cabinets, have been discussed and developed by the Representatives of the Great Powers in the special meetings held in Constantinople, according to agreements between the Governments. These meetings, which served as preliminaries to the Plenary Conference, were necessary, in the first place, to establish clearly the meaning and the bearing of the demands to be presented to the Sublime Porte, and, secondly, to combine the ideas and private opinions that each Power might attach to the English bases, looking at them from its particular point of view. Far from complicating the task of the Ottoman Government, this proceeding could only facilitate for it the acceptance of the proposals of the Powers, which had thus assumed the character of a unanimous and unalterable wish of united Europe. If each Cabinet had had to draw up its demand separately, the Sublime Porte would have certainly had to contend with greater difficulties, and I am in a position to affirm with more considerable claims. In eliminating from their propositions, in order to arrive at a final understanding, everything that might bear the character of an exaggerated, personal, or interested claim, the Representatives of the Great Powers have reduced their demands to a minimum, which is summed up in general terms in the communication which has just been made by the Marquis of Salisbury.

"Instead of adhering to our proposals in detail or proceeding with their systematic discussion, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have only up to now opposed a counter-project, differing completely from the bases of the Conference accepted by the Government of

His Majesty the Sultan itself.

"The efforts towards an understanding and pacification undertaken by the Cabinets being thus compromised, the Representatives of the Great Powers have thought it their duty to make a last appeal to the Ottoman Government and to draw their attention to

the grave responsibility which they would incur if they refused to listen to what was considered an absolute necessity for the preservation of the Empire and the maintenance of peace.

"If the Porte, taking a juster view of their situation and appreciating at its true value the European programme summed up in our last communication, gives in its adhesion to it, the work of the Conference may be resumed, and we shall be able to

proceed to the examination of our proposals in detail.

"If, on the contrary, we should find that there is no room for an understanding and that further negotiations cannot be continued, the Imperial Government which I have the honour to represent considers that there is no ground for the continuance of the meetings of the Conference.

"The maintenance of an Ambassador at Constantinople becomes equally superfluous from the moment that his advice united to that of the Representatives of all the Guaranteeing Powers of Turkey has no longer that value which ought to attach to the unanimous manifestation of European opinion dictated by the desire for peace and order.

"I have therefore to state, much to my regret, that if at our next meeting the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries do not announce the adoption by the Porte of the bases which have just been communicated to them by the Marquis of Salisbury, I am no longer authorized to continue the discussion, and shall leave Constantinople without delay."

After these expressions of opinion by the Representatives of the Powers, His Excellency Safvet Pasha remarks that he believes that the Plenipotentiaries can have no doubt as to the desire of the Porte for the preservation of peace. The working of the Constitution, the improvement of the finances, the development of the resources of the Empire, are too intimately connected with internal peace and the preservation of good relations abroad for the Imperial Government not to do everything it can to succeed in these It was with this conviction that it accepted the Conference. The Sublime Porte had proposed from the commencement of these meetings a counter-project; it regrets to be obliged to state that the Conference has not perhaps given to this counter-project the attention which it deserved. It is very willing to recognize that the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers have introduced a certain number of modifications into their original proposals, and that the project which has just been read presents improvements on that which preceded it. The Sublime Porte would be ready, therefore, to discuss this document with the Representatives of the Powers should the Plenipotentiaries consent to withdraw two points, those relating to the appointment of the Valis and the International Commission, on which the Porte is unable to treat. His Excellency adds that, at all events, if the Plenipotentiaries adhere to these points the Imperial Government will be obliged to convoke an Extraordinary Council to deliberate upon them.

The Marquis of Salisbury replies that the Representatives of the Powers are not authorized to withdraw the two points, indicated which constitute the guarantees demanded

from the Sublime Porte.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries remark that the postponement until next Thursday the 18th instant, indicated by the Representatives of the Powers, would perhaps be insufficient to enable the Imperial Government to be ready with its answer. Their Excellencies express a wish that if the Sublime Porte is not quite ready the date of the next meeting of the Conference should be deferred, by mutual agreement, till Saturday the 20th.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers assented, and the sitting adjourned.

(Signed) SAFVET.

EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.

N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 230.

IX^{ème} Protocole.—Séance du 5 Mouharrem, 1294 (§ Janvier, 1877).

Présents:

Pour la Turquie-

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ambassadeur Ottoman à Berlin.

Pour l'Allemagne-

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Werther, Ambassadeur d'Allemagne.

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Zichy, Ambassadeur d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Son Excellence M. le Baron de Calice, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

Pour la France

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Bourgoing, Ambassadeur de France.

Son Excellence M. le Comte de Chaudordy, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire.

Pour la Grande Bretagne-

Son Excellence M. le Marquis de Salisbury, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Indes, Ambassadeur Spécial.

Son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.

Pour l'Italie-

Son Excellence M. le Comte Corti, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Italie.

Pour la Russie—

Son Excellence M. le Général Ignatiew, Ambassadeur de Russie.

LA séance est ouverte à une heure et demie. Le Protocole de la dernière réunion, No. 8, est lu et adopté.

Le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman donne lecture du discours suivant :-

"Le projet présenté par son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury, au nom des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Garantes, dans la séance du $\frac{3}{15}$ Janvier, a fait l'objet

de l'examen le plus attentif du Gouvernement Impérial.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont déjà eu l'honneur d'appeler dans la dernière séance l'attention de leurs collègues sur les deux points du nouveau projet relatifs à la Commission (de Contrôle), dont les membres devraient être désignés par les Puissances et à la nomination des Gouverneurs-Généraux avec l'agrément des Représentants des Six Puissances.

"Ces deux points présentent un caractère particulier, en ce sens qu'ils ne constituent pas de nouvelles réformes, mais bien un moyen pour les Puissances de s'assurer de l'exécution des réformes que le Gouvernement Impérial se propose de réaliser. En d'autres termes, la Sublime Porte est mise par là en demeure de fournir des garanties; et une pareille proposition ne pouvait manquer de provoquer des objections trèssérieuses.

"A une époque qui n'est pas bien éloignée, la question des garanties avait été soulevée; depuis lors, le sentiment universel s'est confirmée dans la légitimité des principes d'indépendance qui servent de base aux relations des Etats. Les barrières que des préjugés séculaires avaient élevées entre le monde Occidental et Oriental se En Turquie des progrès notables ont été réalisés; le niveau des sont abaissées. intelligences et de l'esprit public s'est élevé, une Constitution modelée sur les institutions des Etats les plus éclairés a été proclamée. Serait-il possible de priver aujourd'hui la Turquie des droits que l'Europe a été unanime à lui reconnaître lorsqu'il y a vingt ans elle fut admise dans la grande famille des Etats Européens? Serait-il juste de lui imposer aujourd'hui un contrôle effectif sous une des formes les plus dures sous lesquelles une intervention étrangère peut se produire? Faire participer des Délégués ou des Représentants étrangers à l'exercice de l'autorité souveraine, se serait mettre le Gouvernement Impérial en état de suspicion vis-à-vis de ses sujets : se serait placer la Turquie dans une situation sans exemple dans le monde et inférieure à celle qui est faite à ses propres vassaux.

"Le premier article du programme Anglais indiquait comme une des bases essentielles de la Conférence le maintien de l'indépendance de l'Empire. Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, invoquant cet article, ont eu soin de faire voir que le terme de garantie, qui se trouve dans la suite des propositions Anglaises, ne signifiait pas des

garanties à fournir par le Gouvernement Ottoman, mais bien des garanties morales devant découler du système d'institutions à concéder à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine. Ils ont insisté sur les garanties d'exécution fournies par le régime constitutionnel accordé spontanément par Sa Majesté le Sultan à tous ses peuples; ils ont enfin fait valoir qu'on ne saurait imaginer un meilleur gage de l'exécution des réformes projetées que celui qui consiste dans l'intérét du Gouvernement lui-même à rendre heureux et prospères ses sujets, et la nécessité qui existe pour lui d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait lui aliéner des sympathies auxquelles il attache le plus grand prix.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne sauraient dire jusqu'à quel degré les considérations qui précèdent et qui exprimaient les convictions du Ministère Impérial ont

modifié la manière de voir de leurs collègues.

"Eu égard cependant à la gravité de la situation, et afin de ne point s'exposer au reproche de se laisser guider par des appréciations individuelles, le Ministère Impérial a pensé qu'il était nécessaire de faire appel, ainsi qu'il est d'usage en pareil cas, au jugement et aux sentiments d'un Conseil Général Extraordinaire. Ce Conseil, qui a été convoqué en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial le $\frac{6}{18}$ courant à la Sublime Porte, était composée d'environ 200 personnes, et réunissait les sommités de toutes les classes des sujets de Sa Majesté, ainsi que les représentants des communautés religieuses. La question lui fut soumise dans tous ses détails, et il est de mon devoir d'informer vos Excellences qu'après en avoir mûrement délibéré, le Conseil s'est prononcé à l'unanimité pour la non-acceptation des deux points en question.

"Ceux-ci ainsi écartés, la Sublime Porte n'en a pas moins recherché les moyens propres à conduire à un arrangement de cette difficulté et de nature à lui permettre d'entrer, dans la mesure du possible, dans les vues de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances. Elle croit y avoir réussi, autant que cela dépend d'elle, en admettant que l'institution des Commissions proposées par son Excellence le Comte Andrassy pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine soit étendue à d'autres parties de l'Empire également.

En conséquence, la Sublime Porte propose:—

"'Que deux Commissions composées en nombre égal de Musulmans et de Chrétiens soient librement élues par la population pour un an, l'une pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et l'autre pour les Vilayets du Danube et d'Andrinople. Ces Commissions, dont chacune sera placée sous la présidence d'un haut Commissaire désigné par le Gouvernement Impérial, seront chargées pour le dit terme d'un an:

"'1. De veiller à l'exécution des réformes constitutionnelles;

"'2. De surveiller l'exécution des mesures sur lesquelles on sera tombé d'accord pour ces provinces;

"'3. De prendre des mesures pour venir en aide aux populations éprouvées; et

"'4. D'assurer la complète sécurité des habitants au moyen de la gendarmerie

formée par le Gouvernement Impérial.'

- "Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ajouteront que si la Conférence veut bien se rendre compte de la proposition qui précède, elle se convaincra aisément que ces Commissions électives ainsi constituées remplaceront avec avantage dans la pratique la Commission Internationale, et qu'en même temps qu'elles épargnent à toutes les parties les difficultés insurmontables que présenterait la Commission Internationale, elles constituent en elles-mêmes une nouvelle institution que toute l'Europe avait acceptée et recommandée comme suffisante et comme parfaitement répondant aux intentions des Cabinets.
- "D'un autre côté, dans la nouvelle rédaction présentée par son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury et dans laquelle la Sublime Porte a constaté avec satisfaction le progrès qui a été réalisé par l'échange de vues qui s'est établi dans la Conférence depuis l'ouverture des délibérations communes, dans cette nouvelle rédaction, disons-nous, il existe un grand nombre de dispositions qui se trouvent être conformes aux lois en vigueur ou qui sont contenues dans les principes énoncés dans notre Constitution. Telles sont les dispositions concernant:—

"1. La division des vilayets en sandjaks;

"2. L'élection des Assemblées des Vilayets pour une durée de quatre ans;

"3. La fixation du Budget des vilayets par ces mêmes Assemblées;

- " 4. L'indépendance des Tribunaux;
- " 5. La publicité des audiences;
- "6. La liberté entière des cultes;
- "7. La juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions;
- "8. L'entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux, ainsi que des établissements d'instruction publique, par les communautés elles-mêmes;

"9. Les garanties contre les conversions forcées;

"10. La formation d'une gendarmerie de Musulmans et de Chrétiens avec des

officiers subalternes nommés par les Gouverneurs-Généraux.

"Indépendamment des dispositions rentrant dans cette catégorie et sur lesquelles l'entente est déjà complète, il en existe d'autres qui, bien que non explicitement spécifiées par les lois en vigueur ou les articles de la Constitution, ne présentent aucun caractère inconstitutionnel et pour lesquelles, dès lors, l'acceptation du Gouvernement Impérial ne fait pas de doute.

"Telles sont les dispositions concernant:—

"1. La subdivision des cazas en cantons de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants avec des autorités cantonales librement élues par la population dans chaque commune;

"2. L'abolition des fermages;

"3. Le non-emploi de troupes irrégulières;

"4. L'interdiction de la colonisation en masse des Circassiens en Roumélie;

" 5. L'amnistie générale et sans distinction;

"6. La prohibition du port d'armes non-autorisé.

"Il suffira maintenant de comparer les déclarations qui précèdent avec le travail présenté par son Excellence le Marquis de Salisbury pour voir que les divergences, s'il en existe encore, se réduissent à bien peu de chose. Aussi, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans croient-ils ne pas se faire illusion en exprimant l'espoir qu'aussitôt la discussion ouverte sur le nouveau travail, il sera aisé d'arriver à l'accord si généralement désiré.

"Tel étant en réalité l'état de la question, les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ne veulent pas croire que les Représentants des Six Puissances tiennent absolument à ne pas faire écarter de leur programme les deux points qui, sans relation avec l'ensemble des réformes qu'il s'agira d'inaugurer, s'opposent à la mise en discussion des questions

qui présentent une utilité pratique.

"Si l'Europe, aussi bien que l'Empire Ottoman, attend avec anxiété le résultat des délibérations de la Conférence, le Gouvernement Impérial pense que les Puissances Garantes reconnaîtront qu'il ne serait pas juste de prolonger cette anxiété en persistant à maintenir sur leur programme, et cela au risque des plus graves éventualités, deux points auxquels il est aujourd'hui évident que la Turquie se trouve dans l'impossibilité de souscrire."

Le Marquis de Salisbury constate que le mode de nomination des Valis demandé par les Puissances n'est pas accordé dans le document que vient de lire le Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha reconnaît l'exactitude de cette observation.

Le Général Ignatiew dit que la Porte n'admet dans les propositions des Puissances, que ce qui est conforme aux lois existantes et à la Constitution. Son Excellence se demande alors pourquoi le Gouvernement Ottoman a accepté la Conférence.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha répond que la Porte a dû tenir compte des incompatibilités qui existent entre ces propositions et sa propre législation et faire la part de celles qu'elle peut accepter et de celles qui ne sauraient, à son avis, être mises à

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie considère le document lu par son Excellence Safvet Pacha comme un simple abrigé des contre propositions déjà repoussées par les Il fait observer qu'il n'y est question ni de l'assentiment des Puissances pour la nomination du Vali, ni de la division territoriale des provinces dont les Puissances se sont préoccupées, ni de la nomination des Mutessarifs pour un terme déterminé, ni de la milice, ni de l'organisation proposée pour les Tribunaux, ni de la définition des attributions des autorités cantonales, ni de la compétence des En se référant à la Constitution la Porte repousse par cela Assemblées Provinciales. même les mesures qui n'y sont pas indiquées et non seulement celles que son Excellence vient de rappeler, mais encore les dispositions relatives aux changements de religion et en général aux affaires religieuses aussi bien qu'à l'emploi de la langue du Ainsi, les points les plus essentiels de la réorganisation proposée par les Puissances, sans parler même des Commissions de Contrôle, sont écartés ou remis à un règlement ultérieur, et même les articles que le Gouvernement Ottoman a l'air d'accepter sont entourés de réserves qui attenuent la valeur de cette adhésion.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans disent que le premier contre-projet présenté par la Porte contient sur plusieurs de ces points des déclarations dont il convient de tenir compte; qu'il leur semble que sur plusieurs dispositions signalées par le Général Ignatiew comme constituant des différences entre les deux projets, et notamment sur la question des conversions ainsi que sur les affaires religieuses, il y a accord, et que

d'ailleurs, ils sont prêts à entrer en discussion sur les points auxquels son Excellence a

fait allusion avec l'espoir d'arriver à une entente.

Le Général Ignatiew demande si la Commission proposée par la Porte sera composée de fonctionnaires; et sur la réponse de son Excellence Safvet Pacha que cette Commission sera élective, le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ajoute qu'elle ne saurait être indépendante du Gouvernement, puisqu'elle devra être sous la présidence d'un fonctionnaire Ottoman.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans font valoir qu'il serait en tout cas nécessaire de mettre ces Commissions électives en relation avec le Gouvernement, et que c'est dans ce but que la Sublime Porte propose d'en confier la présidence à une personne qui serait désigné par elle; ils expriment de nouveau la pensée qu'un grand nombre de points indiqués par son Excellence le Général Ignatiew pourront être ultérieurement discutés.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie déclare qu'en tout cas, du moment que les deux points principaux, la nomination du Vali avec l'agrément des Puissances, et l'institution des Commissions de Contrôle International, ne sont pas admis par la Sublime Porte, il a lieu de considérer qu'il n'y a plus de terrain de discussion.

Le Comte Zichy fait observer que dans la communication lue par son Excellence

Safvet Pacha, il n'est question ni de la Serbie, ni du Monténégro.

Son Ecellence Safvet Pacha dit que la discussion de cette question est réservée à cause de son caractère politique.

Le Marquis de Salisbury s'exprime ainsi :—

"J'ai déjà exprimé ma conviction qu'une Cammission élective, si elle était librement élue, contiendrait des éléments funestes à l'autorité du Gouvernement Ottoman, en émettant aussi l'opinion que, dans les circonstances où se trouve actuellement la Bulgarie, l'élection vraiment libre d'une Commission indépendante du Gouvernement serait impossible. Or, l'indépendance de la Commission est la condition essentielle de son efficacité, sans laquelle elle n'offrirait aucune garantie pour l'exécution des

réformes que le Gouvernement Ottoman a promises.

"Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique et tous les autres Gouvernements, j'en suis bien sûr, verront avec une vive sympathie la fidèle exécution de ces réformes non seulement en Bulgarie et en Bosnie, mais aussi en Epire et en Thessalie et dans les autres parties de l'Empire. Mais ce n'était pas pour prendre acte des intentions conciliantes du Gouvernement actuel, ni pour enregistrer des projets d'amélioration du fonctionnement du pouvoir central que la Conférence des Puissances s'est réunie à Constantinople. Sa tâche est d'établir une autonomie administrative et des garanties sérieuses contre la mauvaise administration dans les provinces révoltées. Dès qu'un refus d'accorder de telles garanties sera dûment constaté, sa mission est achevée et son existence ne peut plus se prolonger."

Le Général Ignatiew prononce le discours suivant:—

"La réponse que nous venons d'entendre de la bouche de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans et qui constitue un refus des propositions des Grandes Puissances consignées dans le résumé qui a été présenté dans la séance précédente par le Marquis de Salisbury, me place dans la pénible nécessité de déclarer que le terrain des délibérations de la Conférence est épuisé et que nous la considérons, dès lors, comme dissoute.

"Ainsi que mes collègues des Grandes Puissances et moi en avons prévenu MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, nous avons reçu tous l'ordre de quitter Constantinople en laissant des Chargés d'Affaires pour l'expédition des affaires courantes ordinaires.

"C'est avec un sentiment de profond regret que je vois nos efforts sincères et unanimes aboutir à un résultat négatif, et la modération de nos demandes, surtout celle témoignée, de l'aveu général, par la Russie, donner lieu à de fausses interprétations qui, méconnaissant la source élevée et rigoureuse de nos dispositions conciliantes, semblaient portées à les attribuer à d'autres motifs.

"Conscientes de leur rôle de garantes de la Turquie, les Grandes Puissances ont fait tout ce qu'elles croyaient possible et nécessaire pour engager l'Empire Ottoman à entrer dans la seule voie qui pouvait, selon elles, assurer son intégrité et sa

conservation, tout en maintenant la paix Européenne.

"La Sublime Porte n'a pas voulu écouter leur voix. Se laissant entraîner par le courant dangereux de manifestations patriotiques dont les origines ne sont ni aussi profondes ni aussi étendues qu'en sont bruyants les éclats, elle a répondu par une fin de non-recevoir aux vœux unanimes et aux conseils désintéressés de l'Europe.

"Le Gouvernement du Sultan altère ainsi lui-même la nature des rapports qu'il [195] 3 B

entretenait avec les Grandes Puissances et risque de perdre, comme l'a constaté dans la séance précédente le Marquis de Salisbury, ses droits de réclamer leur appuis et le bénéfice de la garantie qui lui était acquise par les Traités. Il assume également la responsabilité entière des graves conséquences qui pourraient en résulter. ce titre devoir déclarer, des aujourd'hui, que si à la suite de cette rupture des négociations de paix les hostilités contre la Serbie ou le Monténégro, dont les Puissances avaient en vue de prévenir le retour, étaient reprises, ou si la sécurité des Chrétiens était sérieusement compromise dans les provinces intérieures ou dans une des villes du littoral, le Gouvernement Impérial, que j'ai l'honneur de représenter, considérerait une semblable éventualité comme une provocation à l'Europe.

"Je ne saurais m'empêcher d'ajouter quelques avertissements.

"Dans le cours de nos travaux préparatoires maintenant strictement les limites qui leurs ont été assignées par les bases Anglaises, nous avons évité de nous occuper des questions qui n'y entraient pas directement. Cependant, malgré les efforts tentés par les autorités Ottomanes pour provoquer des manifestations favorables à l'état des choses actuel, des adresses et des pétitions ont été présentées à la Conférence pour la prier de prendre en considération la situation des provinces Chrétiennes de la Turquie, dont le sort n'entrait pas dans le programme Anglais. Ainsi les habitants de la Thessalie et de l'Epire ont signalé les nombreux abus de pouvoir dont ils avaient à souffrir. Crétois ont cherché à nous exposer les imperfections du Règlement Organique qui, même dans sa forme actuelle considérée comme défectueuse, n'est pas sérieusement appliquée par les autorités Ottomanes.

"Nous ne saurions passer sous silence ces réclamations, et, fidèles au désir de nos Gouvernements de maintenir la paix de l'Orient, nous devons attirer la plus sérieuse attention de la Porte sur la situation de toutes les populations Chrétiennes de l'Empire, en l'engageant à ne point attendre les effets miraculeux d'une Constitution ébauchée, et dont les avantages ne pourraient en tout cas se faire sentir, si elle était même parfaite, qu'après son exécution consciencieuse pendant un espace de temps plus ou moins prolongé, pour prendre des mesures efficaces afin d'épargner à l'humanité le triste spectacle du renouvellement des tragiques événements qui ont fait frémir d'indignation

le monde civilisé.

"Ne pouvant nous prononcer d'avance sur la valeur de la Constitution récemment promulguée dont nombre de nouvelles lois doit encore compléter les dispositions et déterminer le véritable caractère, je crois devoir prémunir la Sublime Porte contre les atteintes qui pourraient être portées aux stipulations du Hatti-Humayoun de 1856 et aux prescriptions du Firman du 12 Décembre, 1875, et qui constitueraient une violation des engagements contractés à l'égard de l'Europe. Un soin particulier devrait être mis surtout à maintenir intacts les anciens privilèges et immunités acquis aux communautés Chrétiennes en général, et à leurs chefs religieux en particulier, et à n'altérer en rien les droits dont ils jouissent.

"Un intérêt universel d'un autre genre semble réclamer également la prompte sollicitude de la Sublime Porte. La confiance du monde financier de l'Europe lui avait été acquise et des milliards d'épargne ont été placés dans les emprunts Ottomans. récentes ordonnances du Gouvernement témoignent de son intention de reconnaître la totalité des ses obligations à l'égard de ses créanciers. Mais la situation de ces derniers n'en est nullement améliorée. Il serait urgent et avantageux pour la Porte d'aviser sans retard aux moyens de satisfaire les porteurs des fonds Turcs. Les Représentants ont eu en vue leurs intérêts lorsqu'ils proposaient de faire verser dans la Banque une partie des revenus des provinces dont ils étaient appelés à régler l'organisation. Le Gouvernement du Sultan ayant repoussé leur projet, il serait équitable de sa part d'adopter sans retard un système qui garantisse dans une mesure analogue les intérêts des détenteurs d'emprunts Ottomans.

"Il ne me reste en terminant que d'exprimer un dernier vœu. Puissent les Conseillers du Sultan, dont la popularité et l'influence sur l'opinion publique ont dirigé les décisions qui mettent fin à la Conférence, ne jamais se trouver dans le cas de les regretter; puissent-ils ne point avoir à déplorer les conséquences désastreuses pour la Turquie d'une situation pouvant amener une rupture avec l'ordre de choses légal qui avait établi les conditions de son existence au milieu des Etats Européens et garanti son intégrité territoriale."

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que la Porte a fait tout son possible pour arriver à une entente. Il exprime le regret qu'un projet d'organisation ait été préparé sans que le Gouvernement Ottoman ait été consulté, et que sur quelques points les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances et ceux de la Porte se trouvent en divergence d'opinion. Il ne lui appartient pas d'apprécier si ces points doivent amener la cloture de la discussion et il affirme de nouveau que la Sublime Porte a fait toutes les concessions qu'il lui était permis de faire.

Le Comte Zichy déclare adhérer complétement aux paroles de Lord Salisbury; il rappelle que les points auxquels son Excellence Safvet Pacha vient de faire allusion sont ceux qui contiennent précisément les garanties réclamées et qu'au surplus, sur plusieurs autres points, le Gouvernement Ottoman n'est pas d'accord avec les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha s'étant étonné que les deux propositions dont il s'agit puissent donner lieu à une rupture, le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne dit que ces propositions sont les principales, constituent les garanties, et qu'au surplus la résolution des Puissances à cet égard avait été déclaré aux Plénipotentiaires Ottomans dans la séance précédente.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha dit que, eu égard à la situation géographique des vilayets dont il s'agit, situation qui les place sous la surveillance immédiate de la Sublime Porte, ces deux points ne sont pas assez importants pour motiver l'insistance des Représentants.

Le Baron de Werther répond que si la Porte ne les considère pas comme importants il y a lieu de s'étonner qu'elle se refuse à y accéder.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha fait observer qu'il a voulu dire que leur importance n'est pas considérable pour les Puissances, mais qu'elle est très-grande, au contraire, pour la Sublime Porte, qui ne saurait admettre l'immixtion étrangère dans l'administration de ses provinces. Son Excellence insiste sur les excellentes intentions du Gouvernement Ottoman en vue d'arriver à une entente et sur les diverses dispositions

qui ont été acceptées.

Le Marquis de Salisbury fait remarquer que la Porte n'a donné que des promesses

et elle refuse d'accorder des garanties.

Le Comte Zichy ajoute que la Note Andrassy, à laquelle fait allusion le document lu par les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, admet, il est vrai, des Commissions électives, mais

que ces Commissions doivent être permanentes.

Son Excellence Safvet Pacha, après avoir fait remarquer que la Sublime Porte n'avait pas donné le même sens à la proposition du Comte Andrassy, déclare de nouveau que le Gouvernement Ottoman est disposé à exécuter les meilleurs réformes, à nommer les Valis parmi les personnages les plus capables de l'Empire, que d'autres institutions seront créées; son Excellence ajoute que des Conseils d'Administration, des Conseils ne Vilayets seront nommés, que la Chambre des Députés va se réunir, que les Tribunaux seront indépendants, que les réformes une fois mises à exécution donneront à l'administration provinciale le caractère que MM. les Plénipctentiaires des Six Puissances ont eu en vue, et que ce sont là de solides garanties.

Les Plénipotentiaires des Six Puissances pensent qu'il n'y a pas lieu de poursuivre

la discussion et la séance est levée.

(Signé)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

(Translation.)

IXth Protocol.—Sitting of the 5th Mouharrem, 1294 (January \(\frac{8}{20}\), 1877).

Present:

For Turkey—

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire;

His Excellency Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin.

For Germany—

His Excellency the Baron de Werther, German Ambassador.

For Austria-Hungary—

His Excellency the Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador;

His Excellency the Baron de Calice, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

For France—

His Excellency the Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador;

His Excellency the Count de Chaudordy, Ambassador Extraordinary.

For Great Britain—

His Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, Minister, Secretary of State for India, Special Ambassador;

His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, English Ambassador.

For Italy—

His Excellency the Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Italy.

For Russia—

His Excellency General Ignatiew, Russian Ambassador.

THE sitting was opened at 1.30 P.M. The Protocol of the last meeting, No. 8, was read and approved.

The Chief Ottoman Plenipotentiary read the following address:—

"The proposals presented by his Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the Guaranteeing Powers, at the sitting of the $\frac{3}{15}$ th January, have been the subject of the most attentive consideration on the part of the Imperial Government.

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have already had the honour, at the last sitting, of calling the attention of their colleagues to the two points of the new projet relative to the Commission (of Control), the members of which are to be designated by the Powers, and to the appointment of the Governors-General, with the approval of the Six Guaranteeing Powers.

"These two points present peculiar features, inasmuch as they do not constitute new reforms, but rather a means for the Powers to ensure the execution of the reforms which the Imperial Government proposes to execute. In other words, the Sublime Porte is thus placed in the position of providing guarantees, and such a proposal could not fail to give rise to very serious objections.

"At a period not very distant the question of guarantees was raised, and since then the general opinion as to the correctness of the principles of independence which form

the basis of the relations between different States has been confirmed.

"The barriers which ancient prejudices had raised between the Eastern and Western worlds have been removed. In Turkey important progress has been made; the intellectual and moral level of the public has been raised; a Constitution modelled on the institutions of the most enlightened States has been promulgated. Would it be possible to deprive Turkey at the present day of rights which Europe accorded to her unanimously when she was admitted twenty years ago into the great family of European nations? Would it be just to impose upon her at the present day an effective system of supervision under one of the severest forms in which a foreign intervention could be produced? To cause foreign delegates or representatives to take a part in the exercise of the sovereign authority would be to place the Imperial Government under suspicion as regards its own subjects, and to place Turkey in an unprecedented position in the world, and one inferior to that enjoyed by her own vassal States.

"The 1st Article of the English programme indicated as one of the essential bases of the Conference the maintenance of the independence of the Empire. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, appealing to this Article, have taken pains to show that the word 'guarantees,' which occurs later in the English proposals, does not mean guarantees to

be furnished by the Ottoman Government, but rather moral guarantees which are to result from the system of institutions to be granted to Bosnia and the Herzegovina. They insisted on the guarantees for execution which are furnished by the Constitution spontaneously granted by His Majesty the Sultan to all his subjects; they laid stress, in short, on the fact that it was impossible to conceive a better security for the execution of the reforms proposed than that which lay in the interest of the Government itself to make its subjects happy and prosperous, and in the necessity of avoiding everything

which could alienate sympathies to which it attached the greatest value. "The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries are unable to say how far the foregoing considerations, which express the convictions of the Imperial Government, have modified the attitude of their colleagues. Having regard, however, to the gravity of the situation, and in order to avoid exposing themselves to the charge of having been guided by the sentiments of individuals, the Imperial Government thought it necessary to appeal, as is usual in such cases, to the judgment and opinions of an Extraordinary General Council. This Council, which was summoned at the Sublime Porte, by an Imperial Iradé on the ⁶/₁₈th instant, was composed of about 200 persons, and comprised representatives of all classes of the subjects of His Majesty, as well as of the religious communities. question was placed before them in all its details; and it is my duty to inform your Excellencies, that, after mature deliberation, the Council pronounced unanimously against the acceptance of the two points in question.

"These points being thus settled, the Sublime Porte sought none the less to find means likely to lead to an arrangement of this difficulty, and of a nature to allow her to enter, as far as possible, into the views of the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers. She believes she has succeeded, as far as it lies in her power, by granting the extension of the institution of the Commissions, proposed by his Excellency Count Andrassy, for Bosnia and Herzegovina, equally to other parts of the Empire. Consequently the

Sublime Porte proposes:

"'That two Commissions composed of an equal number of Christians and Mussulmans should be freely elected by the population for a year, one for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and the other for the Vilayets of the Danube and Adrianople. These Commissions, each of which will be placed under the presidency of a High Commissioner appointed by the Imperial Government, will be entrusted for the above period of one year:

"'1. With the superintendence of the execution of the Constitutional reforms.

"'2. With the control of the execution of the measures that may be agreed upon for these provinces.

"'3. With the adoption of measures for the assistance of the populations affected, and

"4. With insuring the complete security of the inhabitants by means of the

gendarmerie established by the Imperial Government.'

- "The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries add, that if the Conference will be good enough to take into consideration the preceding propositions, it will be easily convinced that the elective Commissions thus constituted will in practice advantageously replace the International Commission, and that while sparing all parties the insurmountable difficulties which the latter would present, they will form in themselves a new institution which all Europe has accepted and recommended as sufficient, and as exactly corresponding to the intentions of the Cabinets.
- "On the other hand, in the new version presented by the Marquis of Salisbury, in which the Sublime Porte has noted with satisfaction the progress made by the exchange of ideas which has taken place in the Conference since the opening of the common deliberations, in this new version. A great number of provisions exist, which are in conformity with the laws at present in force, or which are contained in the principles enunciated in our Constitution. These provisions concern:

"1. The division of the vilayets into sandjaks.

"2. The election of the Assemblies of the Vilayets for a period of four years. "3. The settlement of the Budget of the Vilayets by these same Assemblies.

"4. The independence of the Tribunals.

- " 5. Publicity of proceedings. "6. Entire freedom of worship.
- "7. Exclusive jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authorities in the special causes of different creeds.
- "8. The maintenance of the clergy and religious establishments, as well as those for public education by the communities themselves.

"9. Guarantees against forced conversions."

"10. The formation of a gendarmerie of Mussulmans and Christians with subaltern officers named by the Governors-General.

"Independently of the provisions which come under this category, and on which there is already a complete understanding, there are others which, though not explicitly specified by the laws in force or by the Articles of the Constitution, are not unconstitutional in their nature, and which, therefore, the Imperial Government does not hesitate

"Such are the provisions concerning:-

"1. The subdivision of the cazas into cantons of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, with cantonal authorities freely elected by the people in each commue.

"2. The abolition of farming taxes.

"3. The non-employment of irregular troops.

"4. The prohibition of the settlement of Circassians in Roumelia.

"5. A general amnesty without distinction.

6. The prohibition of carrying arms without authority.

"It will be sufficient now to compare the foregoing declarations with the proposals presented by his Excellency the Marquis of Salisbury, to see that the differences between them, if any remain, are reduced to a minimum. Moreover, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries think that they are not mistaken in expressing the hope that as soon as the discussion of the new proposals is begun, it will be easy to arrive at the agreement so generally desired.

"Such being in reality the state of the question, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries are unwilling to believe that the representatives of the six Powers absolutely insist on retaining in their programme the two points which, without having reference to the whole of the reforms which are to be inaugurated, prevent the discussion of questions of

practical utility.

"If Europe, as well as the Ottoman Empire, is anxiously awaiting the result of the deliberations of the Conference, the Imperial Government imagines that the Guaranteeing Powers will see that it would not be right to prolong this anxiety by persisting in the maintenance in their programme, at the risk of the most serious consequences, of two points to which it is now evident that Turkey finds it impossible to give its assent."

The Marquis of Salisbury remarks that the manner of nominating the Valis asked for by the Powers is not conceded in the document which the chief Ottoman Plenipoten-

tiary has just read.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha admits the truth of this observation.

General Ignatiew says that the Porte only admits that part of the propositions of the Powers which is in conformity with the existing laws and the Constitution. lency asks himself why the Ottoman Government accepted the Conference.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha answers that the Porte has had to consider the inconsistencies existing between these proposals and its own legislation, and to announce those which it can accept and those which in its opinion could not be carried into execution.

The Russian Plenipotentiary considers the document read by his Excellency Safvet Pasha to be a simple abstract of the counter-proposals already rejected by the Powers. He calls attention to the fact that there is no question either of the assent of the Powers. to the nomination of the Vali, or of the territorial division of the provinces which had occupied the attention of the Powers, or of the nomination of the Mutessarifs for a fixed term, or of the militia, or of the organization proposed for the tribunals, or of the definition of the jurisdiction of the cantonal authorities, or of the powers of the Provincial Assemblies. By referring to the Constitution the Porte rejects in so doing the measures which are not mentioned in it; and not only those to which his Excellency has just alluded, but also the provisions relative to changes of religion and to religious affairs in general, as well as the employment of the language of the country. most essential points of the reorganization proposed by the Powers, without even mentioning the Commissions of Control, are avoided or reserved for a future arrangement, and even the Articles which the Ottoman Government appears to accept are surrounded with reservations which weaken the value of their assent.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries said that the first counter-project presented by the Porte contains on many of those points declarations which it is proper to take notice of; that it seems to them that on many points referred to by General Ignatiew as constituting differences between the two projects, and specially on the question of conversions, as well as on religious affairs, there is an agreement; and that, moreover, they are ready to discuss the points to which his Excellency has alluded, in the hope of arriving at an understanding.

General Ignatiew asks if the Commission proposed by the Porte will be composed of officials; and on Safvet Pasha replying that this Commission will be elective, the Plenipotentiary of Russia adds that it could not be independent of the Government, since it would have to be under the Presidency of an Ottoman official.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries maintain the opinion that it would be necessary in any case to place these elective Commissions in relation with the Government, and that it is with this object that the Sublime Porte proposes to confide the Presidency to a person to be named by it. They reiterate the opinion that a great number of points put forward

by his Excellency General Ignatiew can be discussed later.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia declares that in any case, from the moment that the two principal points—the nomination of the Vali with the consent of the Powers and the institution of Commissions of International Control—are not admitted by the Sublime Porte, there is reason for thinking that there is no further ground for discussion.

Count Zichy observes that in the communication read by his Excellency Safvet

Pasha there is no question of Servia or Montenegro.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that the discussion of this question is reserved, because of its political character.

The Marquis of Salisbury expresses himself as follows:—

"I have already expressed my conviction that an elective Commission, if it were freely elected, would contain elements fatal to the authority of the Ottoman Government, adding the opinion that in the present state of Bulgaria a really free election of a Commission independent of the Government would be impossible. Now the independence of the Commission is the essential condition of its working effectively, without which it would offer no guarantee for the execution of the reforms that the Ottoman Government has promised.

"Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and all the other Governments, I am quite sure, will look with a lively sympathy upon the faithful execution of these reforms, not only in Bulgaria and Bosnia, but also in Epirus and Thessaly, and in the other parts of the Empire. But it was not to take note of the conciliatory intentions of the present Government, nor to record projects of improvement in the administration of the central power, that the Conference of the Powers has met at Constantinople. Its task is to establish administrative autonomy and effective guarantees against bad administration in the revolted provinces. As soon as a refusal to grant such guarantees has been duly recorded, its mission is completed, and its existence can no longer be prolonged."

General Ignatiew makes the following speech :-

"The reply which we have just heard from the lips of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, and which constitutes a refusal of the proposals of the Great Powers laid down in the Summary which was presented at the last sitting by the Marquis of Salisbury, places me under the painful necessity of declaring that the grounds of the deliberations of the Conference are exhausted, and that we consider it from this moment as dissolved. As my colleagues, the Representatives of the Great Powers, and myself have already informed the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, we have all received instructions to quit Constantinople, leaving Chargés d'Affaires to carry on the ordinary current business.

"It is with feelings of profound regret that I see our sincere and unanimous endeavours end in a negative result, and the moderation of our demands, especially that universally admitted to have been shown by Russia, give rise to false interpretations which mistaking the lofty and vigorous origin of our conciliatory dispositions, seem inclined to

attribute them to other motives.

"Conscious of their position as Guaranteeing Powers of Turkey, the Great Powers have done all that they thought possible and necessary to induce the Ottoman Empire to enter upon the only course which could, in their opinion, ensure its integrity and its

preservation, and at the same time maintain the peace of Europe.

"The Sublime Porte has not been willing to listen to their advice. Allowing itself to be carried away by the dangerous influences of patriotic demonstrations, of which the source is neither so deep nor so extended as the clamorous manifestations lead one to suppose, she has answered by a non possumus the unanimous desire and disinterested counsels of Europe.

"The Government of the Sultan thus itself impairs the nature of its relations with the Great Powers, and endangers, as the Marquis of Salisbury has shown at the previous meeting, its right to claim their support, and the benefit of the guarantee acquired by Treaty. It also assumes the sole responsibility of the serious consequences which may result from this course of action. On this head I think it, therefore, right to declare at once that if, in consequence of this rupture of the negotiations for peace, hostilities against Servia or Montenegro, the recurrence of which the Powers had hoped to prevent, were

recommenced, or if the security of the Christians was seriously compromised in the provinces of the interior, or in any of the seaboard towns, the Imperial Government, which I have the honour to represent, would consider such an eventuality as a defiance of Europe. I cannot do otherwise than add a few words of warning. In the course of our preliminary labours, while keeping strictly within the limits which were assigned to them by the English bases, we have avoided the treatment of questions which did not directly form part of them. Nevertheless, in spite of the efforts made by the Ottoman authorities in order to induce manifestations favourable to the present state of things, addresses and petitions have been presented to the Conference, praying it to take into consideration the situation of those Christian provinces of Turkey, the condition of which formed no part of the English programme. Thus the inhabitants of Thessaly and Epirus have brought forward the numerous abuses of power which they have been compelled to undergo. The Cretans have endeavoured to lay before us the defects of the Règlement Organique, which, even in its present defective form, is not seriously enforced by the Ottoman authorities.

"It would not be possible for us to pass over these claims in silence, and adhering to the desire of our Governments to maintain peace in the East we must call the most serious attention of the Porte to the situation of all the Christian populations of the Empire, and beg her not to wait for the miraculous results of a skeleton Constitution, the advantages of which could not at any rate be felt, even if it were perfect, until after it had been conscientiously carried out for a period more or less prolonged, before taking steps to spare humanity the sad sight of a renewal of the tragic events which have made the eivilized world shudder with indignation.

"Though we cannot pronounce beforehand on the value of the Constitution lately proclaimed, which requires a number of new laws to complete its enactments and determine its true character, I consider myself bound to warn the Porte against possible infringements on the stipulations of the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, and on the ordinances of the Firman of the 12th December, 1875, which would constitute a violation of the engagements entered into with Europe. Particular care should be taken to maintain intact the ancient privileges and immunities conferred upon the Christian communities in general and upon their religious heads in particular, and not to prejudice in any degree

the rights they enjoy.

"A subject of universal interest of another kind seems to me to claim also the prompt and attentive care of the Sublime Porte. She had gained the confidence of the financial world of Europe, and millions of savings were invested in the Ottoman Loans. The recent decrees of the Government prove its intention to recognise the sum total of its obligations to its creditors. But their situation is in no way ameliorated. The Porte would find it of the greatest advantage to devise without delay means of satisfying the holders of Turkish funds. The Representatives had their interests in view when they proposed to have a portion of the revenues of the provinces, the organization of which they were called upon to settle, paid into the Bank. The Sultan's Government, having rejected their project, ought on its own account to adopt without delay a system for guaranteeing in some similar measure the interests of the holders of Ottoman Loans.

"In conclusion I have but to express a last wish. May the advisers of the Sultan, whose popularity and influence on public opinion have governed the decisions which put an end to the Conference, never find themselves in a position to regret them; may they never have to deplore the disastrous consequences for Turkey of a situation which might bring about a rupture with the legitimate order of things, which had regulated the conditions of its existence among the European States and had guaranteed its territorial

integrity."

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that the Porte has done all in its power to come to an understanding. He expresses regret that a project of organization should have been prepared without the Ottoman Government having been consulted, and that on some points there should be a difference of opinion between the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers and those of the Porte. It is not for him to give an opinion whether these points should close the discussion, and he again affirms that the Sublime Porte has made every concession which it was allowable to make.

Count Zichy adheres entirely to the words of Lord Salisbury. He recalls to notice that the points alluded to by his Excellency Safvet Pasha are precisely those which contain the guarantees demanded, and that, moreover, on several other points the Ottoman Government does not agree with the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, expressing surprise that the two proposals in question can give rise to a rupture, the German Plenipotentiary says that these are the principal proposals, and constitute the guarantees, and that further, the determination of the

Powers on this point had been announced to the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries at the previous meeting.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha says that, as regards the geographical position of the vilayets in question, which position places them under the immediate supervision of the Porte, these two points are not of sufficient importance to justify the persistence of the Representatives.

Baron Werther replies that if the Porte does not consider them important there is

reason to be surprised at her refusal to accede to them.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha observes that he meant to say that they were not of much importance to the Powers, but very important, on the contrary, to the Sublime Porte, who could not allow foreign interference in the administration of its provinces. His Excellency insists on the excellent intentions of the Ottoman Government, with a view to arriving at an understanding, and on the various arrangements which have been accepted.

The Marquis of Salisbury remarks that the Porte has only given promises, and

refuses to grant guarantees.

Count Zichy adds that the Andrassy Note, alluded to in the document read by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, admits, it is true, the elective Commissions, but makes these

Commissions permanent.

His Excellency Safvet Pasha, after remarking that the Porte had not attached the same meaning to Count Andrassy's proposal, again announces the willingness of the Ottoman Government to execute the most important reforms, namely, to nominate the Valis from among the most capable men of the Empire, and that other institutions will be established. His Excellency adds that the Councils of Administration and Councils of the Vilayets will be appointed; that the Chamber of Deputies is about to meet; that the Tribunals will be independent; that the reforms once put into execution will give to the provincial administration the character which the Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers have had in view, and that these are all substantial guarantees.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Six Powers think that there is no reason to prolong the

discussion, and the sitting terminated.

(Signed)

SAFVET.
EDHEM.
WERTHER.
ZICHY.
CALICE.
F. DE BOURGOING.
CHAUDORDY.
SALISBURY.
HENRY ELLIOT.
L. CORTI.
N. IGNATIEW.

No. 231.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,
I HAVE to report to your Lordship that, at my request, Captain Ardagh and
Mr. Calvert went into Bulgaria in order to ascertain the state of public feeling.
Their duties were performed very satisfactorily.

I deeply regret that Captain Ardagh's zealous performance of his work should have exposed him to a severe attack of fever.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 232,

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 3.)

My Lord,
THE principal object of my mission—the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Turkey—has not been attained; but the services of those who were deputed to assist [195]

me have not been the less meritorious because my own efforts were not crowned with success, and I cannot close the Embassy without recording my warm acknowledgments to them.

From Mr. Currie I have obtained assistance of especial value. In addition to the work in the Chancellerie, which he has assiduously superintended, he has undertaken for me many duties of a diplomatic character, which he has discharged with remarkable tact and ability. Mr. Lee's accomplishments as a linguist bave also been of great service.

To both these gentlemen and to Mr. Hozier my thanks are due for the very satis-

factory mode in which the departmental work has been performed.

Mr. Northcote has acted as my Private Secretary, and I have great pleasure in acknowledging the effective and agreeable manner in which that office was filled by him. Mr. Tucker, who kindly undertook an unpaid post as Assistant Private Secretary, has also rendered diligent and useful service.

Your Lordship was good enough to place at my disposal the services of the several Consuls connected with the country. I owe an especial acknowledgment to Mr. White, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Belgrade, on whose judgment and minute information concerning Slavs and Russians I set a high value. A good deal of duty of

various kinds fell to him, and it was all most satisfactorily performed.

As Baron de Calice, among the Plenipotentiaries, devoted himself especially to the consideration of the arrangements fequired for Bosnia and Herzegovina, I requested Mr. Holmes to place his extensive knowledge of those countries at the Baron's disposal, and the latter, I believe, highly appreciated the assistance rendered

to him.

Mr. Blunt, being well acquainted with the Turkish language, executed for me much confidential work in an efficient manner.

All rendered me their assistance with great cordiality.

Mr. Reade, unfortunately for me, was compelled to go to Boyadjik on public business during the period when his knowledge of Bulgaria would have been most useful.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 233.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Pera, January 22, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that a final meeting of the Conference was held last night at the Austrian Embassy, in order to sign the Protocol of the Conference of the 20th instant.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries had agreed to be present, but did not come, and sent no excuse for their absence.

I shall leave this afternoon, with the members of my Embassy, in the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Ceres," and shall proceed via Athens to Brindisi.

I have, &c., (Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 234.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 5, 1877.

1 HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, inclosing the Protocol of the last meeting of the Conference, and reporting that your Excellency intended to leave Constantinople with as little delay as possible; and 1 am commanded by Her Majesty to convey to you the entire approval of Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government of your proceedings throughout the Conference, and your departure from Constantinople at its close.

I have at the same time the honour of expressing to your Excellency the high sense which the Queen and Her Majesty's Government entertain of the ability, energy and patriotic motives which have marked your Excellency's conduct of the very important duties intrusted to you as Special Ambassador.

The Queen and Her Majesty's Government have to thank your Excellency for having undertaken these duties, and they are confident that the whole country will join in congratulating your Excellency on the admirable manner in which you have discharged

them.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 235.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 5, 1877.

I AM glad to receive from your Excellency a satisfactory report of the services

rendered to you by Captain Ardagh and Mr. Calvert, who were employed in Bulgaria for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public feeling.

I have not failed to communicate to the War Office your Excellency's appreciation of Captain Ardagh's services.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 236.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

My Lord,

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, stating the able assistance rendered to your Excellency by Mr. Currie, as Secretary to your Excellency's Special Embassy; and by Mr. H. Northcote, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Hozier, as Members of the Special Embassy; and Mr. M. Tucker, as additional Private Secretary.

I have received this report from your Excellency with the greatest satisfaction, and have had much pleasure in conveying to Mr. Currie and the other members of the Embassy my entire approval of the zeal and ability which they have displayed on this occasion.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 237.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

IN order that your Excellency might have the benefit, during your stay at Constantinople, of the advice and experience of those well acquainted with the affairs of the Turkish provinces, I instructed Mr. White, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Belgrade, to be in attendance during the Conference, and requested Her Majesty's Ambassador to summon to Constantinople Consuls Holmes, Blunt, and Reade for a similar purpose.

I have now learned with satisfaction from your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd ultimo that your Excellency has derived from these gentlemen the assistance that I had

anticipated, and have conveved to them my approval.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 238.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, February 5, 1877.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 24th ultimo, stating that, in compliance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, you proposed to quit Constantinople on the following day to proceed to England to report upon the situation of affairs in Turkey, leaving Mr. Jocelyn in charge of Her Majesty's Embassy, and taking Mr. Elliot with you to assist in the arrangement of your papers.

Her Majesty's Government approve your returning to England to report, as you propose, and also the arrangements you have made for Mr. Jocelyn to take charge of

the Embassy, and Mr. Elliot to accompany you on your return.

Her Majesty's Government are sensible of the great strain to which you have been subjected by the onerous responsibility and severe labour of the past year, and highly appreciate the spirit which has induced you, at their desire, to continue at your post, notwithstanding the effect on your health.

They have also to express their thanks for your Excellency's unremitting exertions

in the very difficult circumstances arising out of the state of affairs in Turkey.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

DESPATCH

TO

SIR HENRY ELLIOT, MAY 25, 1876,

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—1657.] Price 1d.

Despatch to Sir Henry Elliot, May 25, 1876, respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Foreign Office, May 25, 1876.

IN the course of the conversation with Musurus Pasha reported in my despatch of yesterday,* I took the opportunity of suggesting to his Excellency that it would be undesirable that the Turkish Government should misunderstand the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the proposals of the Berlin Conference.

Her Majesty's Government had declined to join in proposals which they thought ill-advised, but both the circumstances and the state of feeling in this country were very much changed since the Crimean war, and the Porte would be unwise to be led, by recollections of that period, to count upon more than the moral support of Her Majesty's Government in the event of no satisfactory solution of the present difficulties being found.

I merely suggested this in conversation, and carefully avoided pledging Her Majesty's Government to any line of policy.

> (Signed) DERBY.

TURKEY. No. 3 (1877).

DESPATCH to Sir Henry Elliot, May 25, 1876, respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 4 (1877).

TREATIES

RELATING TO THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

1841, 1856, & 1871.

[The French Text of these Treaties was laid before Parliament in 1841, 1856, and 1871.]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

1877.

LONDON:

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Convention between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.

Signed at London, July 13, 1841.

(Translation.)

In the Name of the Most Merciful God.

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, being persuaded that their union and their agreement offer to Europe the most certain pledge for the preservation of the general peace, the constant object of their solicitude; and their said Majesties being desirous of testifying this agreement, by giving to the Sultan a manifest proof of the respect which they entertain for the inviolability of his Sovereign rights, as well as of their sincere desire to see consolidated the repose of his Empire; their said Majesties have resolved to comply with the invitation of His Highness the their said Majesties have resolved to comply with the invitation of His Highness the Sultan, in order to record in common, by a formal Act, their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, according to which the passage of the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus is always to be closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace.

Their said Majesties, on the one part, and His Highness the Sultan, on the other part, having resolved to conclude between them a Convention on this subject, have

named for that purpose as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:-

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Paul Prince Esterhazy of Galantha, Count of Edelstett, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stephen, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, and St. Anne of the first class, Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle, Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and of the Orders of the Guelphs of Hanover, of St. Ferdinand and Merit of Sicily, and of Christ of Portugal; Chamberlain, Actual Privy Councillor of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Neumann, Commander of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Cross for Civil Merit, Commander of the Orders of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, of the Southern Cross of Brazil, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stanislaus of the first class of Russia, Aulic Councillor, and his Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of the French, the Sieur Francis Adolphus, Baron de Bourqueney, Commander of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, Master [186/78]

of Requests in his Council of State, his Chargé d'Affaires and Plenipotentiary at London;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Henry William Baron de Bülow, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of the first class of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Orders of Leopold of Austria, of St. Anne of Russia, and of the Guelphs of Hanover, Knight of the Orders of St. Stanislaus of the second class, and of St. Wladimir of the fourth class, of Russia, Commander of the Order of the White Falcon of Saxe-Weimar, his Chamberlain, actual Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brünnow, Knight of the Order of the White Eagle of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, of St. Wladimir of the third class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle, and of St. John of Jerusalem, his Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to

Her Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Most Majestic, Most Powerful, and Most Magnificent Sultan Abdul Medjid, Emperor of the Ottomans, Chekib Effendi, decorated with the Nichan Iftihar of the first class, Beylikdgi of the Imperial Divan, Honorary Councillor of the Department for Foreign Affairs, his Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and signed the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

His Highness the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for the ships-of-war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus; and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, His Highness will admit no foreign ship-of-war into the said Straits.

And their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

ARTICLE II.

It is understood that in recording the inviolability of the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire mentioned in the preceding Article, the Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed as is usual in the service of the Missions of foreign Powers.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Sultan reserves to himself to communicate the present Convention to all the Powers with whom the Sublime Porte is in relations of friendship, inviting them to accede thereto.

ARTICLE IV.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of two months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

(L.S.) PALMERSTON.

(L.S.) CHEKIB.

(L.S.) ESTERHAZY.

(L.S.) NEUMANN.

(L.S.) BOURQUENEY.

(L.S.) BULOW.

(L.S.) BRUNNOW.

No. 2.

General Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan.

Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856.

[Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.]

(Translation.)

In the Name of Almighty God.

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolve to come to an understanding with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the bases on which peace might be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

For this purpose Their said Majesties named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is

to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His

Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Sieur Charles Ferdinand Count of Buol-Schauenstein, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Leopold of Austria, and Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of Alexander Newski, in diamonds, and of the White Eagle of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., His Chamberlain and actual Privy Councillor, His Minister of the House and of Foreign Affairs, President of the Conference of Ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübner, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His actual Privy Councillor, and His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the

Legion of Honour, Knight Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of the Scraphim, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., &c., Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial

and Royal Apostolic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the Head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two Portraits in diamonds of Their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip, Baron de Brünnow, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation and to the Grand Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Orders of St. Wladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders;

His Majesty the King of Sardinia, the Sieur Camille Benso, Count of Cavour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Knight of the Order of Civil Merit of Savoy, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, Grand Cross of several other foreign Orders, President of the Council of Ministers, and His Minister Secretary of State for the Finances; and the Sieur Salvator Marquis de Villa-Marina, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Medjidie and of Merit of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stephen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign Orders; and Mehemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the second class, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to His Majesty the King of Sardinia;

Which Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris.

An understanding having been happily established between them, Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, considering that in the interest of Europe, His Majesty the King of Prussia, a signing Party to the Convention of the 13th July, 1841, should be invited to participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, and appreciating the value that the concurrence of His said Majesty would add to a work of general pacification, invited him to send Plenipotentiaries to the

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia named as His Plenipotentiaries,

that is to say:

The Sieur Otho Theodore Baron de Manteuffel, President of His Council, and His Minister for Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, with Oak-leaves, Crown, and Sceptre, Grand Commander of the Order of Hohenzollern, Knight of the Order of St. John of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newski, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the Order of the Nichan-Iftihar of Turkey, &c., &c., &c.; and the Sieur Maximilian Frederick Charles Francis Count of Hatzfeldt Wildenburg-Schoenstein, His actual Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the second class, with Oakleaves and Badge, Knight of the Cross of Honour of Hohenzollern of the first class, &c., &c., &c.

The Plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, there shall be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part; as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects, in perpetuity.

ARTICLE II.

Peace being happily re-established between their said Majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated.

Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of the evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

ARTICLE III.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to His Majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

ARTICLE IV.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jenikale, Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

ARTICLE V.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy.

It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued, during the war, to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

ARTICLE VI.

Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

ARTICLE VII.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (concert) of Europe. Their Majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

ARTICLE VIII.

If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing Powers, any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the

use of force, shall afford the other Contracting Parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

ARTICLE IX.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a Firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the Contracting Parties the

said Firman emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The Contracting Powers recognize the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relation of His Majesty the Sultan

with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire.

ARTICLE X.

The Convention of the 13th July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the

Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.

The Act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the High Contracting Parties, is and remains annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part

ARTICLE XI.*

The Black Sea is neutralized: its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts, or of any other Power, with the exceptions mentioned in Articles XIV and XIX of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XII.

Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit Consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

ARTICLE XIII.*

The Black Sea being neutralized according to the terms of Article XI, the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military-maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military-maritime arsenal.

ARTICLE XIV.*

Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan having concluded a Convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels, necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that Convention is annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the Powers signing the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XV.

The Act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different States, the Contracting Powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

* Abrogated by Treaty of March 13, 1871.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following Articles: in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine to be established for the safety of the States separated or traversed by that river shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

ARTICLE XVI.

With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding Article, a Commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate and to cause to be executed the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea, from the sands and other impediments which obstruct them, in order to put that part of the river and the said parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the Commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that, in this respect as in every other, the flags of all

nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

ARTICLE XVII.

A Commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Wurtemberg (one for each of those Powers), to whom shall be added Commissioners from the three Danubian Principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This Commission, which shall be permanent: 1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police; 2. Shall remove the impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna; 3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river; and 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European Commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube and the neighbouring parts of the sea in a navigable state.

ARTICLE XVIII.

It is understood that the European Commission shall have completed its task, and that the River Commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding Article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing Powers assembled in Conference having been informed of that fact, shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European Commission, and from that time the permanent River Commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European Commission shall have until then been invested.

ARTICLE XIX.

In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the Contracting Powers shall have the right to station, at all times, two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

ARTICLE XX.

In exchange for the towns, ports, and territories enumerated in Article IV of the present Treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the River Yalpuck to the height of Saratsiki, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth.

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Above that point the old frontier between the two Empires shall not undergo any modification.

Delegates of the Contracting Powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.

ARTICLE XXI.

The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

The inhabitants of that territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the Principalities; and, during the space of three years, they shall be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

ARTICLE XXII.

The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the Contracting Powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the Guaranteeing Powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said Principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such revision, a Special Commission, as to the composition of which the High Contracting Powers will come to an understanding among themselves, shall assemble, without delay, at Bucharest, together with a Commissioner of the Sublime Porte.

The business of this Commission shall be to investigate the present state of the Principalities, and to propose bases for their future organization.

ARTICLE XXIV.

His Majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two Provinces a Divan ad hoc, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These Divans shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organization of the Principalities.

An instruction from the Congress shall regulate the relations between the Commission and these Divans.

ARTICLE XXV.

Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two Divans, the Commission shall transmit, without delay, to the present seat of the Conferences, the result of its own labours.

The final agreement with the Suzerain Power shall be recorded in a Convention to be concluded at Paris between the High Contracting Parties; and a Hatti-Scherif, in conformity with the stipulations of the Convention, shall constitute definitively the organization of those Provinces, placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing Powers.

ARTICLE XXVI.

It is agreed that there shall be in the Principalities a national armed force, organized with the view to maintain the security of the interior, and to insure that of the frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take in order to repel any external aggression.

ARTICLE XXVII.

If the internal tranquillity of the Principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other Contracting

Powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those Powers.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the Imperial Hatts which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the Contracting Powers.

In consequence, the said Principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

ARTICLE XXIX.

The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the High Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE XXX.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Majesty the Sultan maintain, in its integrity, the state of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture.

In order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory being sustained by either party.

For this purpose a Mixed Commission, composed of two Russian Commissioners, two Ottoman Commissioners, one English Commissioner, and one French Commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XXXI.

The territories occupied during the war by the troops of their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the Conventions signed at Constantinople on the twelfth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte; on the fourteenth of June of the same year between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on the fifteenth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, between Sardinia and the Sublime Porte; shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the Powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

ARTICLE XXXII.

Until the Treaties or Conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent Powers have been either renewed or replaced by new Acts, commerce of importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

The Convention concluded this day between their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Islands, is and remains annexed to the present Treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

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ARTICLE XXXIV.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris, in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.)	${f CLARENDON}.$
(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L.S.)	BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.
(L.S.)	HUBNER.
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.
(L.S.)	BOURQUENEY.
(L.S.)	MANTEUFFEL.
(L.S.)	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
(L.S.)	ORLOFF.
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.
(L.S.)	C. CAVOUR.
(L.S.)	DE VILLAMARINA.
$(\mathbf{L.s.})$	AALI.
(L.S.)	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.
` ,	

ADDITIONAL AND TRANSITORY ARTICLE.

The stipulations of the Convention respecting the Straits, signed this day, shall not be applicable to the vessels of war employed by the belligerent Powers for the evacuation, by sea, of the territories occupied by their armies; but the said stipulations shall resume their entire effect as soon as the evacuation shall be terminated.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.)	CLARENDON.
(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L.S.)	BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.
(L.S.)	HUBNER.
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.
(L.S.)	BOURQUENEY.
(L.S.)	MANTEUFFEL.
(L.S.)	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
(L.S.)	ORLOFF.
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.
(L.S.)	C. CAVOUR.
(L.S.)	DE VILLAMARINA.
(L.S.)	AALI.
$(\mathbf{L.S.})$	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

Conventions annexed to the preceding Treaty.

1.—Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan, on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.

Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856.

[Rotifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, signing Parties to the Convention of the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one; and His Majesty the King of Sardinia; wishing to record in common their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, according to which the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus are closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace;

Their said Majesties, on the one part, and His Majesty the Sultan, on the other, have resolved to renew the Convention concluded at London on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, with the exception of some modifica-

tions of detail which do not affect the principle upon which it rests.

In consequence, Their said Majesties have named for that purpose as their Pleni-

potentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Sieur Charles Ferdinand Count of Buol-Schauenstein, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Leopold of Austria, and Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of Alexander Newski, in diamonds, and of the White Eagle of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medicidio of the of St. John of Jerusalem, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., His Chamberlain and actual Privy Councillor, His Minister of the House and of Foreign Affairs, President of the Conference of Ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübner, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His actual Privy Councillor, and His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of the Seraphim, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Madicial of the Madic of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., His Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c., &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extra-ordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Otho Theodore Baron de Manteuffel, President of His Council, and His Minister for Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, with Oak-leaves, Crown, and Sceptre, Grand Commander of the Order of Hohenzollern, Knight of the Order of St. John of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newski, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the Order of the Night of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the Order of the Nichan-Iftihar of Turkey, &c., &c., &c.; and the Sieur Maximilian Frederick Charles Francis, Count of Hatzfeldt Wildenburg-Schoenstein, His actual Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the second class, with Onkologyes and Redge, Fright of the Cross of Handy and Hadren Fright o Oak-leaves and Badge, Knight of the Cross of Honour of Hohenzollern of the first

class, &c., &c., &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two portraits in diamonds of their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the Orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron ciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation, and to the Grand Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Orders of St. Wladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders:

His Majesty the King of Sardinia, the Sieur Camille Benso, Count of Cavour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Knight of the Order of Civil Merit of Savoy, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, Grand Cross of several other foreign Orders, President of the Council of Ministers, and his Minister Secretary of State for the Finances; and the Sieur Salvator Marquis de Villamarina, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister

Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie and of Merit of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stepen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign Orders; and Mehemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the second class, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to His Majesty the King of Sardinia;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have

agreed upon the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has, at all times, been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Strait of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus;

and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, His Majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits.

And their Majestics the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the Missions of foreign Powers.

ARTICLE III.

The same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war which each of the Contracting Powers is authorized to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each Power.

ARTICLE IV.

The present Convention, annexed to the General Treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.)	CLARENDON.
(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L.S.)	BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.
(L.S.)	BUBNER.
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.
(L.8.)	BOURQUENEY.
(L.S.)	MANTEUFFEL.
(L.S.)	C. M. D'HATZFELDT:
(L.S.)	ORLOFF.
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.
(L.S.)	C. CAVOUR.
(L.S.)	DE VILLAMARINA.
ČESÝ.	AATI

MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

2.—Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, limiting their Naval Force in the Black Sea.

Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856.*

[Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, taking into consideration the principle of the neutralization of the Black Sea established by the preliminaries contained in the Protocol No. 1, signed at Paris on the twenty-fifth of February of the present year, and wishing, in consequence, to regulate by common agreement the number and the force of the light vessels which they have reserved to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea for the service of their coasts, have resolved to sign, with that view, a Special Convention, and have named for that

purpose:

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two portraits in diamonds of their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the Orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Orders of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation and to the Grand Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Order of St. Wladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Medjidie and of Merit of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stephen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign Orders; and Mehemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the second class, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to His

Majesty the King of Sardinia;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are hereafter stipulated.

ARTICLE II.

The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of fifty mètres in length at the line of flotation, of a tonnage of

• Abrogated by Treaty of March 13, 1871.

eight hundred tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing-vessels of a tonnage which shall not exceed two hundred tons each.

ARTICLE III.

The present Convention, annexed to the General Treaty, signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.) ORLOFF. (L.S.) BRUNNOW.

(L.S.) AALI.

(L.S.) MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

3 .- Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the Emperor of Russia, respecting the Aland Islands.

Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856.

[Ratifications Exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to extend to the Baltic Sea the harmony so happily re-established between them in the East, and thereby to consolidate the benefits of the general peace, have resolved to conclude a Convention, and have named for that purpose:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of the Seraphim, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., His Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal

Apostolic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two portraits in diamonds of their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the Orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brünnow, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation and to the Grand Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Order of St. Wladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski, enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle of St. Anne of the first class, St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have

agreed upon the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to respond to the desire which has been expressed to him by their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of the French, declares that the Aland Islands shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there.

ARTICLE II.

The present Convention, annexed to the General Treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or somer if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.)	CLARENDON.
(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.
(L.S.)	BOURQUENEY.
(L.S.)	\mathbf{ORLOFF} .
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.

No. 3.

Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, and the Emperor of the French, guaranteeing the Independence and Integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Signed at Paris, April 15, 1856.

[Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 29, 1856.]

SA Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, voulant régler entre elles l'action combinée qu'entraînerait, de leur part, toute infraction aux stipulations de la Paix de Paris, ont nommé à cet effet, pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir:—

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Très Honorable George Guillaume Frédéric Comte de Clarendon, Baron Hyde de Hindon, Pair du Royaume Uni, Conseiller de Sa Majesté Britannique en Son Conseil Privé, Chevalier du Très Noble Ordre de la Jarretière, Chevalier Grand-Croix du Très Honorable Ordre du Bain, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté pour les Affaires Etrangères; et le Très Honorable Henri Richard Charles Baron Cowley, Pair du Royaume Uni, Conseiller de Sa Majesté en Son Conseil Privé, Chevalier Grand-Croix du Très Honorable Ordre du Bain, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Sieur Charles Ferdinand Comte de Buol-Schauenstein, Grand-Croix des Ordres Impériaux de Saint Etienne et de Léopold d'Autriche, Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Couronne de Fer de première classe, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, &c., &c., &c., Son Chambellan et Conseiller Intime Actuel, Son Ministre de la Maison et des Affaires Etrangères, Président de la Conférence des Ministres; et le Sieur Joseph Alexandre Baron de Hübner, Chevalier de l'Ordre Impérial de la Couronne de Fer de première classe, Grand Officier de l'Ordre Impériade la Légion d'Honneur, &c., &c., &c., Son Conseiller Intime Actuel, et Son Envoye Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire à la Cour de France;

Et Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, le Sieur Alexandre Comte Colonna Walewski. Sénateur de l'Empire, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur, &c., &c., &c., &c., Son Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères; et le Sieur François Adolphe Baron de Bourqueney, Sénateur de l'Empire, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur et de l'Ordre de Léopold d'Autriche, &c., &c., &c., Son Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique;

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due

forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants:-

ARTICLE I.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes garantissent solidairement entre elles l'indépendance et l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman, consacrées par le Traité conclu à Paris, le trente Mars, mil huit cent cinquante-six.

ARTICLE II.

Toute infraction aux stipulations du dit Traité sera considérée par les Puissances signataires du présent Traité comme casus belli. Elles s'entendront avec la Sublime Porte sur les mesures devenues nécessaires, et détermineront sans retard entre Elles l'emploi de leurs forces militaires et navales.

ARTICLE III.

Le présent Traité sera ratifié, et les ratifications en seront échangées dans l'espace de quinze jours, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

En foi de quoi les Plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signé, et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.

Fait à Paris, le quinzième jour du mois d'Avril, de l'an mil huit cent cinquantesix.

(L.S.)	CLARENDON.
(LS)	$\mathbf{COWT.EV}$

(L.S.) BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.

(L.S.) HUBNER.

(L.S.) A. WALEWSKI. (L.S.) BOURQUENEY.

(Translation.)

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, wishing to settle between themselves the combined action which any infraction of the stipulations of the Peace of Paris would involve on their part, have named for that

purpose as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :-

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Sieur Charles Ferdinand Count de Buol-Schauenstein, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of St. Stephen and of Leopold of Austria, Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, &c., &c., &c., His Chamberlain and Actual Privy Councillor, His Minister of the House and of Foreign Affairs, President of the Conference of Ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübner, Knight of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., &c., His Actual Privy Councillor, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister

Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c., &c., &c., His Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, &c., &c., &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have

agreed upon the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties guarantee, jointly and severally, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, recorded in the Treaty concluded at Paris on the thirtieth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

ARTICLE II.

Any infraction of the stipulations of the said Treaty will be considered by the Powers signing the present Treaty as casus belli. They will come to an understanding with the Sublime Porte as to the measures which have become necessary, and will without delay determine among themselves as to the employment of their military and naval forces.

ARTICLE III.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in a fortnight, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the fifteenth day of the month of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(L.S.)	ČĽAŘENDON.
(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L .S.)	BÜÖL-SCHAUENSTEIN.
(L.S.)	ĦÜBNER.
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.
(L.S.)	BÔÙRQŬÈŇEY.

No. 4.

Declaration annexed to Protocol No. 1 of Conferences held in London respecting the Treaty of March 30, 1856.

Signed at London, January 17, 1871.

(Translation.)

THE Plenipotentiaries of North Germany, of Austria-Hungary, of Great Britain, of Italy, of Russia, and of Turkey, assembled to-day in Conference, recognize that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a Treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the Contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement.

In faith of which the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol. Done at London, the 17th January, 1871.

(Signed)

BERNSTORFF.
APPONYI.
GRANVILLE.
CADORNA.
BRUNNOW.
MUSURUS.
BROGLIE.

March 13, 1871.

No. 5.

Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, the French Republic, the King of Italy, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, for the Revision of certain Stipulations of the Treaty of March 30, 1856.

Signed at London, March 13, 1871.

Ratifications exchanged at London, May 15, 1871.

(Translation.)

In the Name of Almighty God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, &c., and Apostolic King of Hungary, the Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, have judged it necessary to assemble their Representatives in Conference at London, in order to come to an understanding, in a spirit of concord, with regard to the revision of the stipulations of the Treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th March, 1856, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, as well as to that of the Danube; being desirous, at the same time, to insure in those regions new facilities for the development of the commercial activity of all nations. the High Contracting Parties have resolved of the commercial activity of all nations, the High Contracting Parties have resolved to conclude a Treaty, and have for that purpose named as their Plenipotentiaries, that

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Granville George Earl Granville, Lord Leveson, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of Her Majesty's Privy Council, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, Chancellor of the University of London, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for

His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, the Sieur Albert, Count of Bernstorff-Stintenburg, His Minister of State and Chamberlain, Grand Commander of Bernstorff-Stintenburg, His Minister of State and Chamberlain, Grand Commander of His Order of the Imperial and Royal House of Hohenzollern in diamonds, and Grand Cross of His Order of the Red Eagle with Oak Leaves, Grand Cross of the Ducal Order of the Ernestine Branch of the House of Saxony, Knight of the Imperial Order of St. Stanislaus of Russia of the first class, and of the Royal Order of the Golden Lion of the House of Nassau, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Civil Merit of the Crown of Bavaria, of the Order of the Legion of Honour of France, of the Imperial Order of the Lion and Sun of Persia, of the Royal and Military Order of Christ of Portugal &c... Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleningtentiary of His Imperial Christ of Portugal, &c., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Imperial and Royal Majesty to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;
His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, &c., and Apostolic King

of Hungary, the Sieur Rudolph Count Apponyi, Chamberlain, Privy Councillor of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Leopold, His Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic] Majesty, &c.;

The Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic, the Sieur James Victor Albert Duc de Broglie, Knight of the Order of the Legion of Honour, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic to Her Britannic

Majesty, &c.;

His Majesty the King of Italy, the Chevalier Charles Cadorna, Minister of State, Senator of the Kingdom, Knight Grand Cross decorated with the Grand Cordon of His Orders of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus and of the Crown of Italy, His Envoy Extra-

ordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Actual Privy Councillor, Knight of the Orders of Russia, of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of St. Stephen of Hungary, Grand Cross of the Order of the Legion of Honour of France, of the Order of Merit of Turkey, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Constantine Musurus Pasha, Muchir and Vizir of the Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Osmanié and of the Medjidié of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of several other foreign Orders, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have

agreed upon the following Articles: -

ARTICLE I.

Articles XI, XIII, and XIV of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, as well as the Special Convention concluded between Russia and the Sublime Porte, and annexed to the said Article XIV, are abrogated, and replaced by the following Article.

ARTICLE II.

The principle of the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, such as it has been established by the separate Convention of March 30, 1856, is maintained, with power to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to open the said Straits in time of peace to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Sublime Porte should judge it necessary in order to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856.

ARTICLE III.

The Black Sea remains open, as heretofore, to the mercantile marine of all nations.

ARTICLE IV.

The Commission established by Article XVI of the Treaty of Paris, in which the Powers who joined in signing the Treaty are each represented by a delegate, and which was charged with the designation and execution of the works necessary below Isaktcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the Black Sea, from the sands and other impediments which obstruct them, in order to put that part of the river and the said parts of the sea in the best state for navigation, is main. tained in its present composition. The duration of that Commission is fixed for a further period of twelve years, counting from April 24, 1871, that is to say, till April 24, 1883, being the term of the redemption of the loan contracted by that Commission, under the guarantee of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and Turkey.

ARTICLE V.

The conditions of the re-assembling of the Riverain Commission, established by Article XVII of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, shall be fixed by a previous understanding between the Riverain Powers, without prejudice to the clause relative to the three Danubian Principalities; and in so far as any modification of Article XVII of [186]

the said Treaty may be involved, this latter shall form the subject of a special Convention between the co-signatory Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

As the Powers which possess the shores of that part of the Danube where the Cataracts and the Iron Gates offer impediments to navigation reserve to themselves to come to an understanding with the view of removing those impediments, the High Contracting Parties recognize from the present moment their right to levy a provisional tax on vessels of commerce of every flag which may henceforth benefit thereby, until the extinction of the debt contracted for the execution of the works; and they declare Article XV of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 to be inapplicable to that part of the river for a space of time necessary for the repayment of the debt in question.

ARTICLE VII.

All the works and establishments of every kind created by the European Commission in execution of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, or of the present Treaty, shall continue to enjoy the same neutrality which has hitherto protected them, and which shall be equally respected for the future, under all circumstances, by the High Contracting Parties. The benefits of the immunities which result therefrom shall extend to the whole administrative and engineering staff of the Commission. It is, however, well understood that the provisions of this Article shall in no way affect the right of the Sublime Porte to send, as heretofore, its vessels of war into the Danube in its character of territorial Power.

ARTICLE VIII.

The High Contracting Parties renew and confirm all the stipulations of the Treaty of March 30, 1856, as well as of its annexes, which are not annulled or modified by the present Treaty.

ARTICLE IX.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London in the term of 6 weeks,* or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the thirteenth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one.

(L.S.)	GRANVILLE.
(L.S.)	BERNSTORFF.
(L.S.)	APPONYI.
(L.S.)	BROGLIE.
(L.S.)	CADORNA.
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.
(L.S.)	MUSURUS.

Minutes of Proceedings.

The Undersigned having met together for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty concluded and signed on the 13th of March, 1871, between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, &c., and Apostolic King of Hungary, the Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, for the revision of the stipulations of the Treaty of the 30th of March, 1856, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, as well as to that of the Danube; and the respective ratifications having been carefully compared and found in good and due form, the exchange took place this day in the usual form.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia and of the Sublime Porte, at the same time

^{*} This period was afterwards extended to the 15th May.

exchanged the ratifications of the Convention concluded between their respective Courts, on the 13th of March, for abrogating the stipulations of that signed at Paris on the $\frac{18}{30}$ th of March, 1856, relative to the number and force of the vessels of war of the Riverain Powers in the Black Sea; and communicated that Convention to the Conference, according to the terms of the Protocol No. 5, of the 13th March.

In witness whereof the Undersigned have signed the present Proces-Verbal of Exchange, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the 15th of May, 1871.

(Signed)	(L.S.)	GRANVILLE.
, ,	(L.S.)	BERNSTORFF.
	(L.S.)	A. WOLKENSTEIN.
	(L.S.)	BROGLIE.
	(L.S.)	CADORNA.
	(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.
	(L.S.)	MUSURUS

Convention between Russia and Turkey, signed at London, March 13, 1871.

(Communicated to the Conference, on the Exchange of the Ratifications, May 15, 1871.)

In the Name of Almighty God.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, being mutually animated with the desire to consolidate the relations of peace and good understanding happily existing between their Empires, have resolved to conclude for this purpose a Convention, and have named to that effect as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Actual Privy Councillor and His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, Knight of the Orders of Russia, and decorated with the Imperial Ottoman Order of the Nishan Iftihar;

And His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, Constantine Musurus Pasha, Muchir and Vizir of the Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Osmanié and of the Medjidié of the first class, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The Special Convention concluded at Paris between His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the district of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, relative to the number and force of the vessels of war of the two High Contracting Parties in the Black Sca, is and remains abrogated.

ARTICLE II.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the first day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one.

(L.S.) BRUNNOW. (L.S.) MUSURUS.

A true copy from the original,

(Signed) THE COUNT DE BRUNNOW,.

Ambassador of Russia.

London, May $\frac{3}{15}$, 1871.

Convention between Turkey and Russia, signed at London, March 13, 1871.

(Communicated to the Conference, on the Exchange of the Ratifications, May 15, 1871.)

In the name of Almighty God.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being mutually animated with the desire to consolidate the relations of peace and good understanding happily existing between their Empires, have resolved to conclude for this purpose a Convention, and have named to that effect as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, Constantine Musurus Pasha, Muchir and Vizier of the Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Osmanié and of the Medjidié of the first class, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her

Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Actual Privy Councillor, and His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, Knight of the Orders of Russia, and decorated with the Imperial Ottoman Order of the Nishan Iftihar;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have

agreed upon the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I.

The Special Convention concluded at Paris on the distriction of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, between His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, relative to the number and force of the vessels of war of the two High Contracting Parties in the Black Sea, is and remains abrogated.

ARTICLE II.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the thirteenth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one.

(L.S.) MUSURUS. (L.S.) BRUNNOW.

A true copy from the original.

(Signed)

Musurus,
Ambassador of Turkey.

London, May 15, 1871.

TREATIES relating to the Ottoman Empire.

1841, 1856, and 1871.

[The French Text of these Treaties was laid before Parliament in 1841, 1856, and 1871.]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

: NOURON

FRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 5 (1877).

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

No. 1.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

My Lord, Bosna Seraï, March 17, 1876.

IN my despatch of the 10th instant,* I expressed to your Lordship my conviction that under existing circumstances the refugees from these provinces could not be expected to return, and I have since received information from Novi and Kostainitza confirming my opinion. The refugees in that direction unanimously declare that if the Austrian Government withholds all further assistance they will sooner drown themselves in the Unna than again subject themselves to Turkish oppression. This is hardly to be wondered at considering the acts of violence and oppression that are of almost daily occurrence along the north-western frontiers of this province. In as few words as possible I will mention a few that have occurred quite lately.

as few words as possible I will mention a few that have occurred quite lately.

On the 8th instant, at the village of Bushevitza, two girls of about 12 years old, daughters of a peasant named Nikola Stojanovich, of the village of Zalina, were

seized by a party of Turks and violated, death at last supervening.

On the 9th ten soldiers seized a Christian woman, in an advanced state of pregnancy, and carried her off to a "kuleh," or guard-house, near Novi, where she died under successive acts of violation.

On the 10th a certain Rado Buyich was impaled near Novi, and exposed to view for four days. Four other peasants have also been lately killed near Novi, and their heads exposed on stakes.

About a week ago the master of the Orthodox School at Priédor was killed, and his head was paraded about the streets of the town on a pole to the sound of drums and other music.

At the village of Ruitcha the Turks carried off about 250 cwt. of grain, belonging to one Stojan Tovovich, and then burnt his house, and also the Orthodox church.

The town of Krupa has likewise been partially burnt, and a certain Mussulman resident, named Fahim Effendi, was beaten by his co-religionists for endeavouring to

protect the Christians.

So great is the panic at Priédor, that on the 11th instant twenty-seven of the chief Christian merchants fled with their families to Austria. Some five months ago six respectable merchants of Priédor were arrested and taken to Bihach, being accused of complicity with the insurgents. The authorities endeavoured to extort money from them, but without success; and in the hope of frightening the others into compliance with their demands, one of their number was subjected to a violent death in prison. The remaining five were then sent here, where they have been retained ever since. I urged on Ibrahim Pasha the advisability of releasing them; but he said he had referred the matter to Server Pasha, and that this latter had refused to interfere, and had told him to ask instructions from Constantinople. Pending an answer from the capital Ibrahim Pasha consented, at the instigation of myself and my Russian colleague, to let these men out of prison, but not to allow them to quit Serajevo. Haidar Effendi has now granted them complete freedom, but they hardly dare return to Prisdor, and are probably ruined men as regards their commercial affairs.

As long as such acts of violence as the above are perpetrated with impunity by the soldiery and native Mussulmans, and such arbitrary conduct permitted on the part of the authorities, it is hopeless to expect a pacification of these provinces; and I much

fear that Haidar Effendi, with the best intentions, will find himself utterly powerless to strive, almost single-handed, against such a state of corrupt administration and unbridled licentiousness and crime.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 2.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received December 4.)

ON the 3rd of April last I instructed Mr. Sandison, in communicating to Raschid Pasha a translation of Mr. Freeman's despatch to your Lordship of the 17th of March, to assure his Excellency "of the regret with which I communicated to him the contents of this despatch.

"When authentic accounts of such abominations were received in Europe they must excite the indignation of the whole civilized world, and no surprise need be felt if public sympathy were on the side of those who struggled to free themselves from a Government under which they were exposed to treatment such as described.

"The massacre at Popopovitza, which, although denied, was an undoubted fact, remained unpunished, and now these fresh horrors were committed, which would go far to estrange from Turkey the goodwill of her last friends."

I have now received from the Porte a note, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, giving an unqualified denial to Mr. Freeman's statements.

I shall forward this note to Mr. Freeman for his observations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Safvet Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

Sublime Porte, le 16 Novembre, 1876.

LA Sublime Porte vient de recevoir des renseignements positifs sur les faits relatés dans le Rapport de Mr. Freeman à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique en date du 17 Mars dernier. Les informations authentiques recueillies sur les lieux démentent de la manière la plus formelle, soit les nouvelles que cet Agent déclare avoir reçues de Novi et de Kostanitza, soit les actes de violence et de cruauté qui auraient été commis journellement sur la frontière nord-ouest de Bosnie. Voici, d'ailleurs, quelle est en substance la réponse des autorités Impériales aux allégations contenues dans le susdit rapport.

Il n'éxiste dans l'arrondissement de Behke aucun village répondant au nom de "Galina," et depuis le commencement de l'insurrection il ne s'est passé dans toute l'étendue de cette arrondissement aucun fait approchant de l'histoire des deux jeunes demoiselles Strojanovich.

Grâce aux mœurs et au caractère du peuple Bosniaque, tant Musulman que Chrétien, ce genre de crimes y est presque inconnu.

Les mêmes considérations peuvent être opposées au cas de la femme enceinte qui, emportée à un "koulé," sis près de Novi, aurait succombé à des outrages répétés; crime dont, du reste, on n'a pu trouver aucune trace, faute d'indications précises.

Vient ensuite le supplice de Rado Benjich, qui aurait été empalé le 10 Mars, et exposé près de quatre jours près de Novi. Mais cette histoire n'est pas nouvelle: les journaux de Vienne en ont parlé dès le mois de Février. Quoique Novi n'ait jamais eu à assister à un pareil acte de barbarie, le bruit qui s'est fait autour de cette affaire à cette époque a obligé les autorités Impériales d'aller aux informations. Or l'enquête ouverte sur les lieux a eu pour résultat de constater que Rado Bayovich n'était autre qu'un de ces insurgés qui étaient tombé dans une rencontre au Balkan de Jorim.

Telle est la réalité des choses en ce qui concerne cet individu.

Quant à l'affaire des quatre paysans elle n'a même pas l'avantage d'être connue dans le pays.

^{*} Already published in "Turkey No. 1, 1877," p. 745.

Celle du maître d'école Orthodoxe de Priédor n'est pas plus sérieuse. Cet homme vit si bien que sa signature figure entre autres au bas de la déclaration par laquelle les habitants notable de cette ville viennent d'opposer un démenti si formel à la nouvelle de l'assassinat qui y aurait été commis.

Dans un autre passage du rapport susmentionné, il est question de certains faits qui se seraient passés à Ruitcha. Or, il n'existe aucun village de ce nom; il

n'y a eu ni grain emporté ni maison ou église brûlée.

Il en est de même de la ville de Krupa, qui heureusement n'a eu à subir aucun incendie, et où il ne se trouve aucun fonctionnaire ni particulier répondant au nom de Fahim Effendi.

Les habitants Musulmans de Priédor n'ont rien fait pour causer la panique en cette ville. Au contraire ce sont les Chrétiens qui ont pris les armes contre leur Gouvernement et attaqué leurs compatriotes Musulmans, avec lesquels ils n'avaient jamais cessé cependant d'entretenir des rapports de liberté et de confiance mutuelle. Serait-il juste de rendre ces derniers responsables de la conduite de ceux qui ont abandonné leurs foyers pour se réfugier en Autriche sous prétexte d'insécurité?

La véritable cause de cette émigration réside ailleurs que dans l'attitude des populations Musulmanes; la masse du peuple, qui est ignorante et facile à tromper, cédant soit aux instigations des gens malintentionnés venus de l'étranger, soit aux lettres menaçantes reçues du territoire voisin, soit enfin aux violences des insurgés, a

pris le parti de se transporter en Autriche.

Peine inutile, car ceux qui sont restés dans leur pays continuent à jouir de la plus grande sécurité, sous les auspices des autorités Impériales, malgré les publications contraires qui se produisent périodiquement, et dont une déclaration signée par les

notables des populations Chrétiennes vient de faire justice.

Pour ce qui est des six commerçants qui ont été arrêtés à Priédor, ils ne sont pas aussi innocents qu'on a l'air de le croire; leur complicité résultant clairement d'un papier trouvé sur un individu portant le costume Serb et qui avait perdu la vie à Grahova, dans un engagement entre les troupes Impériales et une bande d'insurgés. Comme signataires de ce document les six commerçants en question ont été mis en état d'arrestation et conduits à Behké, où ils ont subi un interrogatoire. Leurs déclarations jointes à l'étendard révolutionnaire, qui a été retiré de l'Eglise de Priédor, établissaient suffisamment leur degré de culpabilité.

Malgré cela, ils n'ont été en butte à aucun mauvais traitement, encore moins les autorités ont-elles pu leur demander de l'argent ou employer des moyens d'intimidation à leur égard. Excepté le nommé Paro Vokich, qui a été tué par suite d'une résistance armée à la force publique, et non pour le motif allégué par l'auteur du rapport, tous les autres prisonniers ont été amnistiés et renvoyés à Priédor, après une

certaine détention.

Voila, dans toute leur simplicité, les faits constatés sur les lieux et corroborés par la déclaration unanime des membres Musulmans et Chrétiens du Conseil Administratif de Behké.

Après une démonstration si complète et si positive il ne reste qu'à faire à chacun sa part de responsabilité. Certes, il serait à désirer que l'œuvre de la pacification avançat plus rapidement; mais si cela n'a pas eu lieu il serait peu juste de l'attribuer à l'attitude des autorités ou des populations Musulmanes plutôt qu'aux instigations passionnées qui ont pour effet d'égarer l'opinion publique.

(Translation.)

Sublime Porte, November 16, 1876.

THE Sublime Porte has just received positive information as to the facts related in the report of Mr. Freeman to the Embassy of Her Britannic Majesty, dated the 17th March. Authentic information collected on the spot contradicts, in the most formal manner, both the intelligence which this Agent says he received from Novi and Kostanitza, and the acts of violence and cruelty which it was supposed had been of daily occurrence on the north-west frontier of Bosnia. The following is the substance of the reply of the Imperial authorities to the accusations contained in the above report.

In the district of Behke there is no village answering to the name of "Galina," and since the beginning of the insurrection nothing has taken place in the whole

extent of this district like the story about the two young ladies Strojanovich.

Thanks to the morals and character of the Bosnian people, Mussulman and Christian, this class of crime is nearly unknown there.

The same considerations may be offered in the case of the pregnant woman, who, carried off to a "koulé" near Novi, is said to have sunk under repeated outrages, of which crime, however, in the absence of precise information, no trace has been found.

Then there is the torture of Rado Benjich, said to have been impaled on the 10th March, and to have been exposed for nearly four days near Novi. But this story is not new. The Vienna papers spoke of it in February. Although such an act of barbarity never really took place at Novi, the excitement which this affair caused at the time forced the Imperial authorities to inquire into it. Now the inquiry opened on the spot resulted in proving that Rado Bayovich was one of the insurgents who had fallen in an encounter in the Balkan of Jorim.

Such is the true state of things as regards this individual.

As to the affair of the four peasants, it is not even known in the country.

That of the Orthodox schoolmaster of Priédor is equally unfounded. This man is so much alive that his signature figures amongst others beneath the declaration in which the prominent inhabitants of this very town have just formally contradicted the intelligence of the assassination said to have been committed there.

In another passage of the above-mentioned report mention is made of certain deeds that were committed at Ruitcha. Now, there is no village of this name; there

was no grain carried off there, nor any house or village burnt.

The same holds good about the town of Krupa, which, happily, suffered from no fire, and where there is no functionary or private individual answering to the name of Fahim Effendi.

The Mussulman inhabitants of Priédor did nothing to cause the panie in this town. On the contrary, it was the Christian who took up arms against their Government, and attacked their Mussulman compatriots, with whom, however, they had never ceased to entertain relations of mutual freedom and confidence. Would it be just to make these latter responsible for the conduct of those who have quitted their homes to seek shelter in Austria under pretext of insecurity?

The real cause of this emigration is to be found elsewhere than in the attitude of the Mussulman populations. The mass of the people, ignorant and easily deceived, yielding either to the instigations of evilly-disposed persons come from abroad, or to threatening letters received from the adjacent territory, or to the violence of the

insurgents, has taken the course of emigrating to Austria.

A useless precaution, for those who remained in their native country continue to enjoy the greatest security under the auspices of the Imperial authorities, in spite of assertions to the contrary, which make their appearance periodically, and which a declaration signed by the men of note among the Christian populations has just exposed

in their true light.

As regards the six merchants who were arrested at Priédor, they are not so innocent as is believed, since their complicity is clearly shown by a paper found on an individual wearing the Servian costume, who was killed at Grahovo, in an engagement between the Imperial troops and a band of insurgents. The six merchants in question were arrested and taken to Behké, where they underwent an examination as subscribers of this document. Their declarations, together with the revolutionary flag taken from the Church at Priédor, established sufficiently their degree of guilt.

Notwithstanding this, they were exposed to no ill-treatment, still less did the authorities demand money from them. or employ means of intimidation towards them. With the exception of one Paro Vokich, who was slain while offering armed resistance to the public authorities, and not for the motive alleged by the author of the report, all the other prisoners were amnestied and sent back to Priédor after some

detention.

These are the simple facts as ascertained on the spot, and confirmed by the unanimous declaration of the Mussulman and Christian members of the Administrative Council of Behké.

After such a complete and positive demonstration it only remains to allot to each his share of the responsibility. Certainly it would be desirable that the work of pacification should advance more rapidly; but if this rapid advance has not been effected, it would not be just to attribute it so much to the attitude of the authorities or the Mussulman populations as to the desperate intrigues which mislead public opinion.

TURKEY. No. 5 (1877).

FURTHER COKRESPONDENCE respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 6 (1877).

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HABRISON AND SONS.

Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, August 29, 1876, 11:55 P.M.

I THINK it right to mention, for your guidance, that the impression produced here by events in Bulgaria has completely destroyed sympathy with Turkey. The feeling is universal and so strong that even if Russia were to declare war against the Porte, Her

Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere.

Any such event would place England in a most unsatisfactory situation. Peace is therefore urgently necessary. Use your discretion as to the language which you shall hold; but you will see how essential it is that the Turkish Ministers should be alive to the situation, and that you cannot be too strong in urging upon the Porte a conciliatory disposition.

TURKEY. No. 6 (1877).

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

tondon:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 7 (1877).

RETURN

STATING THE

NAMES AND POSTS OF ALL BRITISH CONSULS AND VICE-CONSULS

IN

BULGARIA

AND THE

BALKAN DISTRICT OF TURKEY.

1870-76.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address of February 28, 1877.

LONDON.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 28th February, 1877;

for

"A RETURN stating the Names and Posts of all British Consuls and Vice-Consuls in Bulgaria, and the Balkan district of Turkey, on the 1st day of January, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, and 1876."

•	January 1, 1870.	January 1, 1871.	January 1, 1872.	January 1, 1873.	January 1, 1874.	January 1, 1875.	January 1, 1876.
Rustchuk (C.)	Rustchuk (C.) Sir R. A. O. Dalyell, Bart. Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Richard Reade	Unaltered.
Varna (V.C.)	S. Mayers	Unaltered	Unaltered	E. Reiser (Acting)	E. Reiser (Acting) A. Bergner (Acting) Unaltered	· Unaltered	. Unaltered.*
Kustendjie (V.C.)	Kustendjie (V.C.) Lieutenant-Colonel Sankey Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered.
Adrianople (V.C.) John E. Blunt	John E. Blunt	Unaltered	Unaltered	J. Hutton Dupuis	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered.
Soulina (V.C.) J. Hutton Dupuis	J. Hutton Dupuis	Unaltered	Unaltered	Octavus Stokes	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered.
Bourgas (V.C.) None	:	C. A. Brophy	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered	Unaltered.

In addition to the above an Acting Vice-Consul was stationed at Philippopolis in August 1876.

* Filled up April 24, 1876. Mr. W. H. Dalziel appointed.

TURKEY, No. 7 (1877).

RETURN stating the Names and Posts of all British Consuls and Vice-Consuls in Bulgaria and the Balkan district of Turkey: 1876-76.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Hev Majesty, in pursuance of their Address of February 28, 1877.

LONDON

PHINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 8 (1877).

CIRCULAR

 \mathbf{OF}

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW,

AND

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE PROTOCOL

ON THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:

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Circular of Prince Gortchakow and Correspondence respecting the Protocol on the Affairs of Turkey.

No. 1.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Schouvaloff, February 5.)

(Circulaire.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

St. Pétersbourg, le 19 Janvier, 1877.

LE refus opposé par la Porte aux vœux de l'Europe fait entrer la crise d'Orient dans

une phase nouvelle.

Le Cabinet Impérial l'a considérée dès l'origine comme une question Européenne qui ne devait et ne pouvait être résolue que par l'accord unanime des Grandes Puissances. En effet, toute arrière-pensée exclusive et personnelle était répudiée par tous les Cabinets, la difficulté se réduisait à amener le Gouvernement Turc à gouverner les sujets Chrétiens du Sultan d'une manière juste et humaine, afin de ne point exposer l'Europe à des crises permanentes qui révoltent sa conscience et troublent son repos.

C'était donc une question d'unanimité et d'intérêt général.

Le Cabinet Impérial s'est en conséquence efforcé d'amener un concert de l'Europe pour apaiser cette crise et en prévenir le retour. Il s'est mis d'accord avec le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois, comme le plus immédiatement intéressé, afin de soumettre aux Cabinets Européens des propositions pouvant servir de base à une entente générale et à une action commune. Ces propositions consignées dans la dépêche de M. le Comte Andrassy du $\frac{18}{30}$ Décembre, 1875, avaient obtenu l'adhésion de toutes les Grandes Puissances et celle de la Porte. Le défaut de sanction exécutoire ayant toutefois rendu cette entente stérile, les Cabinets ont été mis, par le Memorandum de Berlin, en demeure de se prononcer sur le principe d'un concert éventuel en vue de moyens plus efficaces pour la réalisation de leur but commun.

L'accord n'ayant pas été unanime et l'action diplomatique ayant ainsi été interrompue, les Cabinets se réunirent de nouveau en vue de l'aggravation de la crise par suite des massacres en Bulgarie, de la révolution à Constantinople et de la guerre avec la

Serbie et le Monténégro.

Sur l'initiative du Gouvernement Anglais, ils convinrent des bases et des garanties de pacification à discuter dans une Conférence convoquée à Constantinople. Cette Conférence est arrivée dans ces travaux préliminaires à une entente complète, tant sur les conditions de la paix que sur les réformes à introduire. Elle en a communiqué le résultat à la Porte comme un vœu ferme et unanime de l'Europe, et a rencontré de sa part un refus obstiné.

Ainsi, après plus d'une année d'efforts diplomatiques constatant le prix que les Grandes Puissances attachent à la pacification de l'Orient, le droit qu'elles ont de l'assurer en vue des intérêts généraux et leur ferme volonté d'y arriver par une entente Européenne, les Cabinets se retrouvent dans la même situation qu'au début de cette crise, encore aggravée par le sang versé, les passions surexcitées, les ruines accumulées et la perspective d'une prolongation indéfinie du déplorable état de choses qui pèse sur l'Europe et préoccupe à juste titre l'opinion publique et les Gouvernements. La Porte ne tient aucun compte ni de ses engagements antérieurs, ni de ses devoirs comme membre du concert Européen, ni des vœux unanimes des Grandes Puissances. Loin d'avoir fait un pas vers une solution satsafaisante, la situation de l'Orient a empiré et reste une menace permanente

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pour le repos de l'Europe, les sentiments d'humanité, et la conscience des peuples Chrétiens.

Dans ces conjonctures, avant de fixer la marche qu'il lui convient de suivre, Sa Majesté l'Empereur tient à connaître celle à laquelle s'arrêteront les Cabinets avec lesquels nous nous sommes efforcés jusqu'à présent et désirons autant qu'il sera possible continuer de marcher en commun.

Le but que les Grandes Puissances ont en vue a été clairement définie par les actes

de la Conférence.

Le refus du Gouvernement Turc atteint l'Europe dans sa dignité et dans son repos. Il nous importe de savoir ce que les Cabinets avec lesquels nous nous sommes concertés jusqu'ici comptent faire pour répondre à ce refus et assurer l'exécution de leurs volontés.

Vous êtes invité à vous en enquérir en donnant lecture et copie de la présente

dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Recevez, &c. (Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

(Circular.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, St. Petersburgh, January 19, 1877.

THE refusal opposed by the Porte to the wishes of Europe involves the Eastern crisis in a new phase. The Imperial Cabinet has from the outset considered this question as an European one, which should not and cannot be solved but by the unanimous agreement of the Great Powers. As a matter of fact all exclusive and personal considerations were disclaimed by all the Cabinets, and the difficulty resolved itself into inducing the Government of Turkey to govern the Christian subjects of the Sultan in a just and humane manner, so as not to expose Europe to permanent crises which are revolting to its conscience, and endanger its tranquillity.

It was, therefore, a question of common unanimity and interest. The Imperial Cabinet has accordingly endeavoured to bring about an European concert to appease this crisis and prevent its return. It has come to an agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, so the one most immediately interested, in order to submit to the European Cabinets propositions which might serve as a basis for a general understanding and common action.

These propositions, set forth in Count Andrassy's despatch of the $\frac{18}{30}$ th December, 1875, had obtained the adhesion of all the Great Powers, and also of the Porte. The want of executive sanction having, however, rendered this agreement abortive, the Cabinets were placed, by the Berlin Memorandum, in a position to pronounce on the principle of an eventual concert, having in view more effectual measures for realizing their mutual aim.

The agreement not having proved unanimous, and diplomatic action being thus interrupted, the Cabinets recommenced negotiations in consequence of the aggravation of the crisis by the massacres in Bulgaria, the revolution in Constantinople, and the war with Servia and Montenegro.

On the initiative of the English Government they agreed upon a basis and guarantees of pacification to be discussed at a Conference to be held at Constantinople. This Conference arrived during its preliminary meetings at a complete understanding, both as to the conditions of peace and as to the reforms to be introduced. The result was communicated to the Porte as the fixed and unanimous wish of Europe, and met with an obstinate refusal.

Thus after more than a year of diplomatic efforts attesting the importance attached by the Great Powers to the pacification of the East, the right which they have, in view of the common welfare, to assure that pacification, and their firm determination to bring it about, the Cabinets again find themselves in the same position as at the commencement of this crisis, which has been moreover aggravated by bloodshed, heated passions, accumulated ruin, and the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the deplorable state of things which hangs over Europe, and justly preoccupies the attention of both peoples and Governments.

The Porte makes light of her former engagements, of her duty as a member of the European system, and of the unanimous wishes of the Great Powers. Far from having advanced one step towards a satisfactory solution, the Eastern question has become aggravated, and is at the present moment a standing menace to the peace of Europe, the sentiments of humanity, and the conscience of Christian nations.

Under these circumstances, before determining on the steps which it may be proper

to take, His Majesty the Emperor is desirous of knowing the limits within which the Cabinets with whom we have till now endeavoured, and still desire so far as may be possible to proceed in common, are willing to act.

The object held in view by the Great Powers was clearly defined by the proceedings

of the Conference.

The refusal of the Turkish Government threatens both the dignity and the tranquillity

of Europe.

It is necessary for us to know what the Cabinets, with whom we have hitherto acted in common, propose to do with a view of meeting this refusal, and insuring the execution of their wishes.

You are requested to seek information in this respect, after reading, and leaving a copy of the present despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Accept, &c.

(Signed)

GORTCHAKOW.

No. 2.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

THE Russian Ambassador having called upon me on the 14th ultimo, I took the opportunity of speaking to his Excellency respecting the Circular despatch from Prince Gortchakow of the 19th ultimo, of which he had been good enough to communicate a copy to me on the 5th instant. I said that since that Circular was written, circumstances had changed, and that Her Majesty's Government, after giving it their best consideration, with an earnest desire to meet the views of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, had determined that it would be better to defer their reply to it until events should have developed themselves, and it was seen what was the effect of the recent change of Government at Constantinople, both in reference to the administrative reforms which had been promised, and the negotiations for peace now pending between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 3.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 19.)

(Extract.)

AT an interview with Prince Gortchakow on the 11th instant, his Highness, in reply to my inquiry, stated that he had not yet received any reply to his Circular despatch, nor did he appear to expect that an immediate answer would, or could, be given by the several Governments to whom it had been addressed.

No. 4.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 3, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me to-day and said that he was authorized by his Government to request Her Majesty's Government to delay their reply to Prince Gortchakow's Circular of the 19th of January until they received certain further explanations which the Russian Government had to offer.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 5.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

Foreign Office, March 13, 1877. My Lord,

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me on the 11th instant on his return from Paris, where he had been to meet General Ignatiew.

His Excellency placed in my hands a draft Protocol, which his Government propose for signature by the Six Powers.

I told Count Schouvaloff that I would take the earliest opportunity of submitting this proposal to my colleagues, and would acquaint his Excellency with the view taken of

I accordingly saw his Excellency again this afternoon after a Cabinet Council had been held, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government were ready to agree in principle to such a Protocol, provided he could come to an understanding as to its

I then proceeded to discuss the wording of the Protocol with his Excellency, who promised to report my observations to his Government.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 6.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 13, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador, when handing to me the draft Protocol inclosed in my despatch of this day's date, accompanied it by a statement of the views and wishes of his Government to the following effect:—

The object of General Ignatiew's journey, Count Schouvaloff stated, had been to furnish explanations as to the real views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, and to facilitate a pacific solution.

After the sacrifices which Russia had imposed upon herself, the stagnation of her industry and of her commerce, and the enormous expenditure incurred by the mobilisation of 500,000 men, she could not retire nor send back her troops without having obtained some tangible result as regards the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey. The Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not of peace at any price.

The Governments of the other Powers were at this moment preparing their answers to the Russian Circular. The Russian Government would not express any opinion by anticipation on these replies, but they foresaw in them the possibility of a great danger. For if the replies were not identical, what would be the position of the Imperial Cabinet? The agreement of the Powers, so fortunately established at the Conference, might be broken up in consequence of the shades of opinion manifested in the replies of the several Cabinets; would not that be a determining cause to induce Russia to seek for a solution, either by means of a direct understanding with the Porte, or by force of arms?

Under these circumstances it appears to the Russian Government that the most practical solution, and the one best fitted to secure the maintenance of general peace, would be the signature by the Powers of a Protocol which should, so to speak, terminate the incident.

This Protocol might be signed in London by the Representatives of the Great Powers, and under the direct inspiration of the Cabinet of St. James.

The Protocol would contain no more than the principles upon which the several Governments would have based their reply to the Russian Circular. It would be desirable that it should affirm that the present state of affairs was one which concerned the whole of Europe, and should place on record that the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey will continue to be an object of interest to all the Powers.

The Porte having repeatedly declared that it engaged to introduce reforms, it

would be desirable to enumerate them on the basis of Safvet Pasha's Circular. In this way there could be no subsequent misunderstanding as to the promises made by Turkey.

As a period of some months would not be sufficient to accomplish these reforms, it would be preferable not to fix any precise limit of time. It would rest with all the Powers to determine by general agreement whether Turkey was progressing in a satisfactory nner in her work of regeneration.

The Protocol should mention that Europe will continue to watch the progressive

execution of the reforms by means of their Diplomatic Representatives.

If the hopes of the Powers should once more be disappointed, and the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved, the Powers would reserve to themselves to consider in common the action which they would deem indispensable to secure the well-being of the Christian population of Turkey, and the interests of the general peace.

Count Schouvaloff hoped that I should appreciate the moderate and conciliatory spirit which actuated his Government in this expression of their views. They seemed to him to contain nothing incompatible with the principles on which the policy of England was based, and their application would secure the maintenance of general peace.

I made a suitable acknowledgment of his Excellency's communication, reserving any

expression of opinion until I had had an opportunity of consulting my colleagues.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 7.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of the Protocol signed by me and by the Ambassadors of Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia this day, together with a proces-verbal of the declarations made by me and by the Russian and Italian Ambassadors before signature.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 7.

Protocole.

LES Puissances qui ont entrepris en commun la pacification de l'Orient et ont participé dans cette vue à la Conférence de Constantinople, reconnaissent que le moyen le plus sûr d'atteindre le but qu'elles se sont proposé, est de maintenir avant tout l'entente si heureusement établi entre elles et d'affirmer de nouveau ensemble l'intérêt commun qu'elles prennent à l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie, et aux réformes à introduire en Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie que la Porte a acceptées sauf à les appliquer elle-même.

Elles prennent acte de la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie.

Quant au Monténégro les Puissances considèrent comme désirable, dans l'intérêt d'un arrangement solide et durable, la rectification des frontières et la libre navigation de la Boïana.

Les Puissances considèrent les arrangements intervenus ou à intervenir entre la Porte et les deux Principautés comme un pas accompli vers l'apaisement qui est l'objet de leurs

communs désirs.

Elles invitent la Porte à le consolider en replaçant ses armées sur le pied de paix, sauf le nombre de troupes indispensable pour le maintien de l'ordre, et en mettent en œuvre, dans le plus court délai possible, les réformes nécessaires pour la tranquillité et le bien-être des provinces, de l'état desquelles la Conférence s'est préoccupée. Elles reconnaissent que la Porte s'est déclarée prête à en réaliser une partie importante.

Elles prennent acte spécialement de la Circulaire de la Porte du 23 Février, 1876, et

* Identic despatches were addressed to Lord Lyons, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Paget, Sir A. Buchanan, and

des déclarations faites par le Gouvernement Ottoman pendant la Conférence et depuis par l'entremise de ses Représentants.

En présence de ces bonnes dispositions de la Porte et de son intérêt évident à y donner immédiatement suite, les Puissances se croient fondées à espérer que celle-ci profitera de l'apaisement actuel pour appliquer avec énergie les mesures destinées à apporter à la condition des populations Chrétiennes l'amélioration effective unanimement réclamée comme indispensable à la tranquillité de l'Europe, et, qu'une fois entrée dans cette voie, elle comprendra qu'il est de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement

Les Puissances se proposent de veiller avec soin, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Représentants à Constantinople et de leurs Agents locaux, à la façon dont les promesses du Gouvernement Ottoman seront exécutées.

Si leur espoir se trouvait encore une fois déçu et si la condition des sujets Chrétiens du Sultan n'était pas améliorée de manière à prévenir le retour des complications qui troublent périodiquement le repos de l'Orient, elles croient devoir déclarer qu'un tel état de choses serait incompatible avec leurs intérêts et ceux de l'Europe en général. En pareil cas elles se réservent d'aviser en commun aux moyens qu'elles jugeront les plus propres à assurer le bien-être des populations Chrétiennes et les intérêts de la paix générale.

Fait à Londres, le 31 Mars, 1877.

(Signé)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Protocol.

THE Powers who have undertaken in common the pacification of the East, and have with that view taken part in the Conference of Constantinople, recognize that the surest means of attaining the object, which they have proposed to themselves, is before all to maintain the agreement so happily established between them, and jointly to affirm afresh the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, and in the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted on condition of itself carrying them into execution.

They take cognizance of the conclusion of peace with Servia.

As regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Boïana to be desirable in the interest of a solid and durable arrangement.

The Powers consider the arrangements concluded, or to be concluded, between the Porte and the two Principalities, as a step accomplished towards the pacification which is

the object of their common wishes.

They invite the Porte to consolidate it by replacing its armies on a peace footing, excepting the number of troops indispensable for the maintenance of order, and by putting in hand with the least possible delay the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces, the condition of which was discussed at the Conference. They recognize that the Porte has declared itself ready to realize an important portion of

They take cognizance specially of the Circular of the Porte of the 13th of February, 1876, and of the declarations made by the Ottoman Government during the Conference and since, through its Representatives.

In view of these good intentions on the part of the Porte, and of its evident interest to carry them immediately into effect, the Powers believe that they have grounds for hoping that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian populations which is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe, and that having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honour as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously.

The Powers propose to watch carefully by means of their Representatives at Constantinople and their local Agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman

If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace.

Done at London, March 31, 1877.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

Procès-Verbal d'une Réunion tenue au Foreign Office, le 31 Mars, 1877.

M. LE COMTE DE MÜNSTER, Ambassadeur de l'Allemagne, M. le Comte de Beust, Ambassadeur de l'Autriche-Hongrie, M. le Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassadeur de la France, M. le Comte de Derby, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, M. le Général Comte de Menabrea, Ambassadeur de l'Italie, et M. le Comte de Schouvaloff, Ambassadeur de la Russie, se sont réunis aujourd'hui au Foreign Office pour signer le Protocole proposé par la Russie, relatif aux affaires de l'Orient.

M. le Comte de Schouvaloff a fait la déclaration suivante en en remettant un pro-

memorid entre les mains du Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique:-

"Si la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix et à entreprendre sérieusement les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Pétersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement, auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

"Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela

arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation.'

M. le Comte de Derby a lu et remis à chacun des autres Plénipotentiaires une

déclaration, dont copie est annexée au présent procès-verbal.

M. le Général Comte de Menabrea a déclaré que l'Italie n'est engagée par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

Il a été ensuite procédé à la signature du Protocole.

(Signé)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Minutes of a Meeting held at the Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

COUNT MÜNSTER, Ambassador of Germany, Count Beust, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary, the Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassador of France, the Earl of Derby, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, General Count de Menabrea, Ambassador of Italy, and Count Schouvaloff, Ambassador of Russia, met together this day at the Foreign Office, for the purpose of signing the Protocol proposed by Russia, relative to the affairs of the East.

Count Schouvaloff made the following declaration, placing, at the same time, a pro-

memorid of it in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State:-

"If peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburgh a Special Envoy to [409]

treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also on his part consent.

"If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization."

The Earl of Derby read and delivered to each of the other Plenipotentiaries a declara-

tion, copy of which is annexed to the present procès-verbal.

General Count de Menabrea declared that Italy is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date, so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

The signature of the Protocol was then proceeded with.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

Annexe au Procès-Verbal du 31 Mars, 1877.

Declaration made by the Earl of Derby before the signature of the Protocol.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, makes the following declaration in regard to the Protocol signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and Russia:—

Inasmuch as it is solely in the interests of European peace that Her Britannic Majesty's Government have consented to sign the Protocol proposed by that of Russia, it is understood beforehand that, in the event of the object proposed not being attained—namely, reciprocal disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them—the Protocol in question shall be regarded as null and void.

London, March 31, 1877.

(Signed)

DERBY.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur de Russie avant la signature du Protocole.

SI la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe, et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix, et à entreprendre sérieusement les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Petersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement, auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Ambassador of Russia before the signature of the Protocol.

IF peace with Montenegro is concluded and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburgh a Special Envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also, on his part, consent.

If massacres similar to those which have occurred in Bulgaria take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur d'Italie avant la signature du Protocole.

L'ITALIE n'est engagée par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Italian Ambassador before the signature of the Protocol.

ITALY is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

No. 8.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 2, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch dated to-day, asking whether you were to communicate the Protocol to the Porte, and informing me that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has received instructions to do so, when a similar permission had been given to his colleagues by their respective Governments.

In reply to your inquiry, I have this day informed you by telegraph that I have already communicated confidentially to Musurus Pasha a copy of the Protocol, and of the declarations made on its signature, with a view to his telegraphing them to the

I added that you should also communicate them to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and point out that the Protocol, as now signed, contains nothing to which the Porte could reasonably object.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

TURKEY. No. 8 (1877).

CIRCULAR of Prince Gortchakow, and Correspondence respecting the Protocol on the Affairs of Turkey.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON: PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

PROTOCOL

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Signed at London, March 31, 1877.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

1877.

LONDON: PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Protocol relative to the Affairs of Turkey.

Signed at London, March 31, 1877.

No. 1.

Protocole.

LES Puissances qui ont entrepris en commun la pacification de l'Orient et ont participé dans cette vue à la Conférence de Constantinople, reconnaissent que le moyen le plus sûr d'atteindre le but qu'elles se sont proposé, est de maintenir avant tout l'entente si heureusement établie entre elles et d'affirmer de nouveau ensemble l'intérêt commun qu'elles prennent à l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie, et aux réformes à introduire en Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie que la Porte a acceptées sauf à les appliquer elle-même.

Elles prennent acte de la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie.

Quant au Monténégro les Puissances considèrent comme désirable, dans l'intérêt d'un arrangement solide et durable, la rectification des frontières et la libre navigation de la Boïana.

Les Puissances considèrent les arrangements intervenus ou à intervenir entre la Porte et les deux Principautés comme un pas accompli vers l'apaisement qui est l'objet de leurs communs désirs.

Elles invitent la Porte à le consolider en replaçant ses armées sur le pied de paix, sauf le nombre de troupes indispensable pour le maintien de l'ordre, et en mettant en œuvre, dans le plus court délai possible, les réformes nécessaires pour la tranquillité et le bien-être des provinces, de l'état desquelles la Conférence s'est préoccupée. Elles reconnaissent que la Porte s'est déclarée prête à en réaliser une partie importante.

Elles prennent acte spécialement de la circulaire de la Porte du 13 Février, 1876, et des déclarations faites par le Gouvernement Ottoman pendant la Conférence et depuis

par l'entremise de ses Représentants.

En présence de ces bonnes dispositions de la Porte et de son intérêt évident à y donner immédiatement suite, les Puissances se croient fondées à espérer que celle-ci profitera de l'apaisement actuel pour appliquer avec énergie les mesures destinées à apporter à la condition des populations Chrétiennes l'amélioration effective unanimement réclamée comme indispensable à la tranquillité de l'Europe, et, qu'une fois entrée dans cette voie, elle comprendra qu'il est de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement et efficacement.

Les Puissances se proposent de veiller avec soin, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Représentants à Constantinople et de leurs Agents locaux, à la façon dont les promesses du

Gouvernement Ottoman seront exécutées.

Si leur espoir se trouvait encore une fois déçu et si la condition des sujets Chrétiens du Sultan n'était pas améliorée de manière à prévenir le retour des complications qui troublent périodiquement le repos de l'Orient, elles croient devoir déclarer qu'un tel état de choses serait incompatible avec leurs intérêts et ceux de l'Europe en général. En pareil cas elles se réservent d'aviser en commun aux moyens qu'elles jugeront es plus propres à assurer le bien-être des populations Chrétiennes et les intérêts de la paix générale.

Fait à Londres, le 31 Mars, 1877

(Signé)

MÜNSTER.
BEUST.
L. D'HARCOUR'T.
DERBY.
L. F. MENABREA.
SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Protocol.

THE Powers who have undertaken in common the pacification of the East, and have with that view taken part in the Conference of Constantinople, recognize that the surest means of attaining the object, which they have proposed to themselves, is before all to maintain the agreement so happily established between them, and jointly to affirm afresh the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, and in the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted on condition of itself carrying them into execution.

They take cognizance of the conclusion of peace with Servia.

As regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Boïana to be desirable in the interest of a solid and durable arrangement.

The Powers consider the arrangements concluded, or to be concluded, between the Porte and the two Principalities, as a step accomplished towards the pacification which is

the object of their common wishes.

They invite the Porte to consolidate it, by replacing its armies on a peace footing, excepting the number of troops indispensable for the maintenance of order, and by putting in hand with the least possible delay the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces, the condition of which was discussed at the Conference. They recognize that the Porte has declared itself ready to realize an important portion of them.

They take cognizance specially of the Circular of the Porte of the 13th of February, 1876, and of the declarations made by the Ottoman Government during the Conference

and since through its Representatives.

In view of these good intentions on the part of the Porte, and of its evident interest to carry them immediately into effect, the Powers believe that they have grounds for hoping that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian populations which is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe, and that having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honour as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously.

The Powers propose to watch carefully by means of their Representatives at Constantinople and their local Agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman

Government are carried into effect.

If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace.

Done at London, March 31, 1877.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER.
BEUST.
L. D'HARCOURT.
DERBY.
L. F. MENABREA.
SCHOUVALOFF.

No. 2.

Procès-Verbal d'une Réunion tenue au Foreign Office, le 31 Mars, 1877.

M. LE COMTE DE MÜNSTER, Ambassadeur de l'Allemagne, M. le Comte de Beust, Ambassadeur de l'Autriche-Hongrie, M. le Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassadeur de la France, M. le Comte de Derby, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, M. le Général Comte de Menabrea, Ambassadeur de l'Italie, et M. le Comte de Schouvaloff, Ambassadeur de la Russie, se sont réunis aujourd'hui au

Foreign Office pour signer le Protocole proposé par la Russie, relatif aux affaires de l'Orient.

M. le Comte de Schouvaloff a fait la déclaration suivante en en remettant un pro-

memoria entre les mains du Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique:-

"Si la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix et à entreprendre sérieuscment les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Pétersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement, auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

"Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela

arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation."

M. le Comte de Derby a lu et remis à chacun des autres Plénipotentiaires une

déclaration, dont copie est annexée au présent procès-verbal.

M. le Général Comte de Menabrea a déclaré que l'Italie n'est engagée par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

Il a été ensuite procédé à la signature du Protocole.

(Signé)

MÜNSTER.
BEUST.
L. D'HARCOURT.
DERBY.
L. F. MENABREA.
SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Minutes of a Meeting held at the Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

COUNT MÜNSTER, Ambassador of Germany, Count Beust, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary, the Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassador of France, the Earl of Derby, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, General Count de Menabrea, Ambassador of Italy, and Count Schouvaloff, Ambassador of Russia, met together this day at the Foreign Office, for the purpose of signing the Protocol proposed by Russia, relative to the affairs of the East.

Count Schouvaloff made the following declaration, placing, at the same time, a

pro-memoria of it in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State.

"If peace with Montenegro is concluded and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Pertersburgh a Special Envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also on his part consent.

"If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this

would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization."

The Earl of Derby read and delivered to each of the other Plenipotentiaries a declara-

tion, copy of which is annexed to the present proces-verbal.

General Count de Menabrea declared that Italy is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date, so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

The signature of the Protocol was then proceeded with.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER.
BEUST.
L. D'HARCOURT.
DERBY.
L. F. MENABREA.
SCHOUVALOFF.

Annexe au Procès-Verbal du 31 Mars, 1877.

Declaration made by the Earl of Derby before the signature of the Protocol.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, makes the following declaration in regard to the Protocol signed this day by the

Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and Russia:—

Inasmuch as it is solely in the interests of European peace that Her Britannic Majesty's Government have consented to sign the Protocol proposed by that of Russia, it is understood beforehand that, in the event of the object proposed not being attained—namely, reciprocal disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them—the Protocol in question shall be regarded as null and void.

London, March 31, 1877.

(Signed)

DERBY.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur de Russie avant la signature du Protocole.

SI la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe, et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix, et à entreprendre sérieusement les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Pétersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement, auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Ambassador of Russia before the signature of the Protocol.

IF peace with Montenegro is concluded and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace-footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburgh a Special Envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also, on his part, consent.

If massacres similar to those which have occurred in Bulgaria take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur d'Italie avant la signature du Protocole.

L'ITALIE n'est engagée par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Italian Ambassador before the signature of the Protocol.

ITALY is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

TURKEY. No. 9 (1877).

PROTOCOL relative to the Affairs of Turkey.

Signed at London, March 31, 1877.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

: NODDNO

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 10 (1877).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

REMOVAL FROM HER MAJESTY'S NAVY

OF

CAPTAIN HOBART,

AND HIS SUBSEQUENT

REINSTATEMENT.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address dated February 20, 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS

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RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated February 20, 1877;

for---

"Copy of the Correspondence between Captain Hobart, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office, with reference to that Officer's removal from and restoration to the Navy, and to any intermediate applications from him."

No. 1.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

THE Greek Minister has stated to Lord Stanley that an officer, supposed to be named Hobart, in Her Majesty's service, has taken service in the Turkish navy to direct the Cretan blockade. I am to request that you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint Lord Stanley whether they have any such information.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 2.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter of this day, requesting to be informed whether my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have any information of an officer, supposed to be named Hobart, in Her Majesty's service, having taken service in the Turkish navy to direct the Cretan blockade, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to state, for the information of Lord Stanley, that my Lords have no such intelligence, but will cause the necessary inquiries to be made.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY G. LENNOX.

No. 3.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

WITH reference to your letter of the 26th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of Lord Stanley, that Captain the Honourable Augustus C. Hobart is at present on leave of absence on the Continent, but my Lords have no further information respecting him.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 4.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Captain Hobart, R.N.

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to signify their direction to you to report whether, during the period of your leave of absence, you have been acting in any naval or military capacity under any foreign Government, or taken any part in directing the Cretan blockade by the Turkish forces, or entered into any engagement to do so.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 5.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

WITH reference to your letter of the 26th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of Lord Stanley, that it has been ascertained that the address of Captain the Honourable Augustus Hobart is at present "Messeri's Hotel, Constantinople," and that he has been called upon to state whether, during the period he has been on leave of absence, he has been acting in any naval or military capacity under any foreign Government, or taken any part in directing the Cretan blockade by the Turkish forces, or entered into any engagement to do so.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 6.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 30th ultimo, respecting Commander the Honourable Augustus Hobart, I am directed by Lord Stanley to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in a letter from Consul Dickson to Mr. Erskine, dated Canea, December 17, of which a copy has this morning been received from the latter, the following passage occurs:—

"The 'Julia' (or 'Tulia'), one of the Imperial steam yachts, arrived this morning from Constantinople with supplies, specie, &c., for the army. One of the passengers arrived is Captain Hobart, R.N. He has left for Candia to see the Grand Vizier.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 7.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 3rd instant, I am commanded by my Lords
Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of Lord Stanley,
that Captain the Honourable Augustus Hobart has been informed he cannot be
allowed to take service under a foreign Government, and he has been desired at once
to report whether he has made any engagement with the Turkish Government.

My Lords request the accompanying letter for Captain Hobart may be forwarded to the care of the Consul at Crete, with instructions to him to send it to Captain Hobart.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 8.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Captain Hobart, R.N.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that they have been informed that you have taken service with the Turkish navy, or under the Turkish Government, for the purpose of directing the Cretan blockade. As an officer in Her Majesty's service you cannot be allowed to take service under a foreign Government; and I am to desire you will at once report whether you have made any engagement with the Turkish Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 9.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Stanley.

(Extract.) Constantinople, January 4, 1868. I HAVE seen Captain Hobart since he returned from Crete a few days ago.

He assures me that a reported agreement between himself and the Turkish Government, with a view to the interception of the blockade runners is entirely without foundation, and that he is under no engagement whatever with them.

without foundation, and that he is under no engagement whatever with them.

Captain Hobart states himself to be fully aware of the professional risk he would run by taking employment at present under the Turkish Government, and not to be disposed to encounter it.

His brother, Lord Hobart, is about to come to Constantinople to manage the Ottoman Bank; and when the Cretan insurrection is over it is not impossible that Captain Hobart may apply for the permission of Her Majesty's Government to take employment in the Turkish service, but at present he has no intention of doing so.

No. 10.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 7th instant, I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople relative to Captain Hobart's alleged employment under the Turkish Government.*

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 11.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Captain Hobart, dated 13th January last, respecting the statement made concerning him that he was about to take service under the Turkish Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Captain Hobart, R.N., to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Constantinople, January 13, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated January 7th, to which I beg to reply that I have not taken service with the Turkish navy or under the Turkish Government for the purpose of directing the blockade of Crete.

My visit to Crete, of which so much has been said out here, was entirely of a

private nature and only lasted ten days.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 12.

Mr. Elliot to the Lord Stanley.

My Lord, Constantinople, January 19, 1868.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, stating that I had ascertained from Captain Hobart that he had not entered into an engagement with the Turkish Government, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that that officer has since received from them such an advantageous offer that he tells me that it is his intention to accept it.

I observed to him that if he did so without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, which he was not likely to obtain, he must not be surprised if his name were struck off the list of Her Majesty's navy, a contingency for which he now seems prepared, although when he had spoken to me on the subject before he had expressed himself unwilling to risk it.

Fuad Pasha having mentioned to me unofficially the wish of the Porte to take Captain Hobart into their service, I told him I was convinced Her Majesty's Government would not now sanction his entering it, and would very probably dismiss him from the navy if he took such a step without leave.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 13.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

WITH reference to my letter of the 18th ultimo, I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Elliot,* from which the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will perceive that Captain Hobart has announced to Mr. Elliot his intention to take service under the Turkish Government, and I am to request that in laying the same before the Lords Commissioners of the

Admiralty, you will state to their Lordships that Lord Stanley is of opinion that while the war in Crete lasts Captain Hobart should not be permitted to enter the Turkish service.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 14.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 4th instant, relative to Captain the Honourable A. Hobart's intention of taking service under the Turkish Government, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that that officer's intention to enter the Turkish service in a civil capacity connected with the navy has been confirmed by a private letter received from Captain Hobart at the Admiralty, and I am to request that you will cause their Lordships to be informed whether it is Lord Stanley's wish that notice should be given to him that his name will be struck off the list of Her Majesty's navy should he persist in his present intention.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 15.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, February 8, 1868.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to request that you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with reference to your letter of the 6th instant, that he is of opinion that an official communication should be made by their Lordships to Captain Hobart, apprising him that if he enter the Turkish naval service without their sanction, his name will be struck off the list of Her Majesty's navy, and if he persists in doing so, that his name should be struck off.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

E. HAMMOND.

No. 16.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, in reference to former correspondence, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Captain the Honourable A. Hobart, dated 24th ultimo, announcing that he had accepted the office of "Member of the Board of Admiralty and Director-General of Naval Schools" under the Turkish Government; and I am to request that you will draw Lord Stanley's attention to the fact that the appointment accepted is of a civil character.

Under these circumstances my Lords would be glad to be informed what course Lord Stanley is of opinion they should adopt with reference to Captain Hobart.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Captain Hobart, R.N., to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir. Messeri's Hotel, Constantinople, January 24, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I have this day accepted the nomination of "Member of the Board of Admiralty, and Director-General of Naval Schools" in the Ottoman Empire.

Under these circumstances it is, I fear, only left to me to place my commission in Her Majesty's service at the disposal of their Lordships, which I have the honour

herewith to do.

May I be allowed, at the same time, to express a hope that their Lordships, should they deem it necessary to remove my name from the list of officers on active service, will be pleased to place me on the reserved list, so that, in case of war, I shall be able to serve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 17.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to request that you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with reference to your letter of the 8th instant, that looking to what passed in Parliament last year, when it was announced that the permission to Sir William Wiseman to enter into the Turkish service would remain in abeyance pending the continuance of the insurrection in Crete, his Lordship is of opinion that, as Captain Hobart has voluntarily entered that service without previously obtaining permission from the Lords of the Admiralty, their Lordships have no other course open to them than that of accepting his resignation of his Commission in Her Majesty's Naval Service.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 18.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Captain Hobart, R.N.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 24th instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that your request to be placed on the Reserved List cannot be complied with; and should you adhere to your determination of taking service under the Ottoman Government, your name will be struck off the list of Her Majesty's Navy.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 19.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

WITH reference to former correspondence relative to Captain the Honourable
A. Hobart having accepted service under the Ottoman Government, I am commanded
by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information
of Secretary Lord Stanley, a copy of a letter from that officer requesting time to
consider his line of conduct before my Lords decide on his case; and I am to request

that you will inform their Lordships whether Lord Stanley is still of opinion that Captain Hobart's name should be struck off the list of officers of Her Majesty's Navy, observing that the proposed appointment is a civil one.

(Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

Inclosure in No. 19.

Captain Hobart, R.N., to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th of February, in which you convey to me their Lordships' decision on my proceedings out here

I regret exceedingly having incurred their Lordships' displeasure, and have the honour to request that I may be allowed a short period to consider the line of conduct I should pursue.

I am at present placed in a most difficult position, as I have already accepted the nomination of "Civil member of the administration for the management and

re-organization of the Naval Schools."

French military officers are already appointed by their Government to superintend the military schools. I have already drawn out several rules and regulations for the organization of the Naval College.

Moreover, I am, as it were, pledged to serve the Ottoman Government in the manner above stated for a term of five years.

manner above stated for a term of five years.

I have quite accidentally fallen into this position, and sincerely trust that their Lordships will reconsider their decision, the more so, as my being here will in no way interfere with the appointment of Sir William Wiseman when peace is restored in the Turkish Empire.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 20.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Stanley.

My Lord, Constantinople, March 3, 1868. I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 20th February, inclosing correspondence with the Admiralty upon the subject of Captain Hobart's engagement with the Turkish Government.

A few days ago Fuad Pasha spoke to me of the intention of the Turkish Government to grant Captain Hobart the rank of a Rear-Admiral if Her Majesty's Govern-

ment had no objection to it.

I replied that the whole arrangement with regard to Captain Hobart having taken place without Her Majesty's Government being in any way parties to it, I had no opinion to express upon any of the details connected with it.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 21.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, March 16, 1868.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the accompanying copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,* respecting Captain Hobart's engage-

ment with the Turkish Government. I am also to request you will acquaint their Lordships that Lord Stanley has approved the reply which Mr. Elliot returned to Fuad Pasha on that subject.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 22.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I HAVE laid before Lord Stanley your letter of the 16th instant, inclosing a copy of one from Captain Hon. A. C. Hobart, and I am to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that his Lordship is at a loss to discover any material difference whatever, in the position to be held by Captain Hobart at Constantinople, and that which it was contemplated that Sir William Wiseman should hold, and which, on a question being raised in the House of Commons, Lord Stanley stated should not be held by him during the continuance of the Cretan insurrection.

Captain Hobart, though he could hardly have been ignorant of the objection felt to the employment of Sir William Wiseman, agreed without previous leave from the Admiralty to undertake similar employment, and in announcing to the Admiralty that he had done so, he placed his commission at their disposal, and Lord Stanley, under all the circumstances of the case, sees no other course than that of accepting Captain Hobart's resignation of his commission.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 23.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to the Hon. A. Hobart.

Sir,

WITH reference to previous correspondence respecting your having accepted employment under the Turkish Government without having obtained the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that your name has this day been removed from the list of officers of Her Majesty's Navy.

I am, &c. (Signed) HENRY G. LENNOX.

No. 24.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 18th instant, respecting Captain Hobart having accepted employment under the Turkish Government, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that Captain Hobart's name has this day been removed from the list of officers of Her Majesty's Navy, and I am to request you will inform Lord Stanley accordingly.

I am, &c. (Signed) HENRY G. LENNOX.

No. 25.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of Secretary Lord Stanley, a copy of a letter received from the Honourable A. Hobart, late Captain in Her Majesty's Navy, dated Constantinople, 26th May, relative to his having been removed from the list of Her Majesty's naval officers in consequence of his having accepted an appointment under the Turkish Government without my Lords' sanction, and I am to request that you will move Lord Stanley to favour my Lords with his opinion on the request made for restoring this officer to his former position in the navy.

I am, &c

(Signed)

HENRY G. LENNOX.

Inclosure in No. 25.

The Hon. A. Hobart to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

TRUSTING that their Lordships will consider that I have been sufficiently punished for my temerity in having accepted the tempting offer accidentally made to me by the Turkish Government without having received the sanction of their Lordships to do so, and as the Cretan revolution is now merely a chronic revolt kept up by a band of Greeks on the Sphakia mountains, I have the honour earnestly to request that their Lordships will be kind enough to reinstate me.

May I respectfully remark that Captain McKillop has received permission to serve in Egypt in a similar capacity to that I hold, and that Egypt is virtually a portion of the Turkish Empire which took an active part in the suppression of the Cretan revolution.

Several naval officers having held the same post that I now hold in Turkey, I trust will in some degree palliate my offence of having taken office without permission, the more so as during those officers' period of service Turkey was generally in a state of internal war.

I have, &c. (Signed) AU

igned) AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 26.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, June 16, 1868.

IN reply to your letter of the 12th instant respecting the case of the Honourable A. Hobart, and his application to be reinstated in Her Majesty's naval service, I am directed by Lord Stanley to request you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that his Lordship considers that it would be better that the question should stand over until the final settlement of the Cretan question.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

E. HAMMOND.

No. 27.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to the Hon. A. Hobart.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 26th ultimo, praying to be reinstated in Her Majesty's service, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty [379]

C 2

to acquaint you that they cannot take your case into consideration until after the final settlement of the Cretan question.

I am, &c. (Signed)

HENRY G. LENNOX.

No. 28.

Admiral Hobart Pasha to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Constantinople, November Sir, MAY I be allowed to have the honour of making the following statement for the favourable consideration of their Lordships, its object being that I may induce their Lordships to reinstate me in Her Majesty's Navy. It is true that I did wrong in accepting the splendid offers made to me by the Sultan, but being a poor man I could not resist the temptation, and I trust that their Lordships will consider that I have been sufficiently punished. The Cretan insurrection is now virtually at an end, the families who left are returning to their country, and a few brigands in the end, the families who left are returning to their country, and a few brigands in the mountains is all that remains of the revolution.

My brother officer, Captain McKillop, is employed, with the permission of their

Lordships, to reorganize the Egyptian navy.

I have important duties here, in which I think I may say the interests of my country are concerned, such as the entire charge of the naval schools, which, had I not undertaken, would have fallen (as the military schools have done) into the hands of the French.

I have also the entire organization of the Turkish navy in my hands, and am otherwise employed in important positions. I do not wish to trouble their Lordships more than in conclusion to state that holding, as I do, a high post in the navy of a friendly Power, I am naturally in a most painful position as having been dismissed from Her Majesty's service, for an offence that, although I must admit justly offended their Lordships, was, at all events, venial. Perhaps I might also be allowed to remark on the fact that, in addition to a Captain in the English navy being allowed to serve in the Egyptian navy, French officers are at present in Constantinople, educating the Turks in military affairs.

I am, &c. AUGUSTUS HOBART. (Signed)

No. 29.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Hobart Pasha.

Admiralty, November 24, 1868. Sir, I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acknowledge instant, requesting your reinstatement in the the receipt of your letter of the position you formerly held in Her Majesty's Navy.

I am, &c. W. G. ROMAINE. (Signed)

No. 30.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Stanley.

My Lord, Constantinople, December 6, 1868. THE fear of provoking a collision which has hitherto restrained the Turkish Government from taking effective measures for putting a stop to the running of the Cretan blockade, has at length given way before the accounts which have been received of the preparations for the conveyance of a large corps of Hellenic volunteers to Crete in steamers "Enossis," "Panhellenion," and "Crete," the last-named being the vessel which the Minister of Finance of the Administration of M. Comoundouros lately boasted of in the Chambers as having been purchased by the Government.

Admiral Hobart has consequently been despatched to Crete with a sufficient

force, as is believed, to render the future operations of these vessels highly hazardous to them.

Learning that he was about to start, I last night made a point of seeing him for the purpose of impressing upon him how much depended upon the prudence of his conduct in avoiding every act not strictly justified by international law, and I believe he is duly impressed with the responsibility that will rest upon him in this respect.

In dealing with simple unarmed blockade runners, Admiral Hobart conceives himself only authorized to capture them when endeavouring to elude the cruizers, but armed vessels, not provided with papers, he believes to be liable to be treated as

pirates according to the recognized law of nations.

He is an energetic officer, appears determined that the blockade running shall not continue with its former impunity so long as he is entrusted with the naval command.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 31.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, December 19, 1868.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the accompanying copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, stating that Admiral Hobart has been appointed by the Porte to command the blocading squadron on the coast of Crete.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 32.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

WITH reference to former correspondence and to the inclosed letter from the Honourable Augustus Hobart, requesting his case might be reconsidered with a view to his being reinstated as a Captain in Her Majesty's Navy, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Clarendon, that their Lordships are indisposed to comply with this request unless Lord Clarendon should consider that the public interests render it desirable.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

Inclosure in No. 32.

Admiral Hobart Pasha to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

AS the Cretan war is now over and perfect tranquillity restored in the Turkish Empire, I venture respectfully to request that their Lordships will be pleased, in accordance with their promise, to take my case into consideration.

I fully admit the grave error I was guilty of in taking foreign service without their Lordships' permission, but I hope a faithful service of thirty-five years will not

be forfeited for ever.

I have (as is generally admitted) been fortunate in having been the cause of preventing a war from breaking out in Europe, the dimensions of which it is impossible to conceive, and I hope that my having been so will count in my favour when their Lordships consider my case.

Sincerely hoping that their Lordships will view my request to be reinstated in the navy in a favourable light,

> I have, &c. (Signed)

AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 33.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, April 24, 1869. I HAVE laid before the Earl of Clarendon your letter of the 19th instant, and, in reply, I am to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that his Lordship cannot say that the reinstatement of Captain Hobart on the list of Her Majesty's naval officers is in any way required by the public interests. He thinks, however, that it is for the Board of Admiralty to judge whether the promise to reconsider Captain Hobart's case, to which he refers, gives him now any claim to their Lordships' favourable consideration.

I am, &c. E. HAMMOND. (Signed)

No. 34.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Admiral Hobart Pasha.

Sir, Admiralty, April 28, 1869. WITH reference to you letter of the 7th instant, praying to be reinstated as a Captain in Her Majesty's Navy, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that, after taking the whole circumstances of the case into their Lordships' cousideration, they regret they cannot comply with your request to be reinstated in your former position.

> I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 35.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir. Admiralty, May 28, 1869. I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of the Earl of Clarendon, a copy of a letter from Hobart Pasha, of the Turkish service, relative to his request to be reinstated in Her Majesty's Navy having been refused, and I am to acquaint you that should Lord Clarendon consider that it requires any answer, my Lords propose to inform the Pasha that they regret the tone of his letter can only confirm their previous decision. For their part, they have no desire to give any answer.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 36.

Admiral Hobart Pasha to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, Admiralty, Constantinople, May 7, 1869. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated April 28th, 1869, in which you inform me that their Lordships cannot comply with my request to be reinstated as a Captain in Her Majesty's Navy.

In reply I would beg to be allowed to remark that I am satisfied to leave to the public to form an opinion as to the fairness or liberality of this decision of their Lordships.

It has been universally admitted throughout Europe that while I was in command of the Turkish fleet off Syra during the late political crisis, for the moment the question of general peace or war rested with me, and I have had the satisfaction of being congratulated by personages of the highest position on the line of conduct I

pursued under circumstances of great difficulty.

I cannot bring myself to think that the offence for which my name was removed from the navy list, namely, that of taking foreign service without the permission of their Lordships, is unpardonable, the more so as there are many precedents to prove the contrary to be the case, excepting inasmuch as it may have interfered with some pet scheme of persons in high authority which I was in entire ignorance of.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 37.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to request you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in reply to your letter of the 28th instant, that his Lordship would recommend that no answer should be returned to the letter from Hobart Pasha, of which a copy is therein inclosed.

I am, &c. (Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 38.

Admiral Hobart Pasha to the Earl of Derby.

My Lord, Army and Navy Club, London, October 16, 1874. WITH your Lordship's permission I beg to lay before you a statement of my case, and to urge your Lordship's kind consideration thereof.

Some years since I committed (I am perfectly prepared to admit) a breach of naval discipline by accepting service with the Turkish Government without permission,

for which offence my name was removed from the navy list.

During seven years that have elapsed since that time I have endeavoured to maintain the character of an Englishman for zeal, activity, and sagacity, and I have been fortunate enough to obtain a certain European reputation, of which I hope I may be justly proud. I prevented, by my conduct during a very critical period at the end of the Cretan revolution (while I was in command of a large Turkish fleet) much bloodshed, and many people think a European war. I have organized the Turkish navy in a way which has led to high encomiums as to its state from all the Commandersin-chief of the English fleets who have lately visited Constantinople. I have established naval schools, training and gunnery ships (and here I have been ably assisted by English naval officers). While doing all this towards strengthening the navy of our ally, I naturally have made many enemies. * * * * All that they can find to say is (and it is bitter enough) "He has been dismissed the English service," without of course explaining the cause. This is most painful to me, and is very detrimental to my already difficult position.

An English officer of high rank for many years held the position I now hold. All I ask, my Lord, is that the cloud which I am under as regards my own country (a cloud that tends to paralyze my efforts at every step), may be removed, and that I may no longer remain under the ban of disgrace, which is the interpretation put by many regarding my position. I am proud to say that the English Ambassador at

Constantinople gives his strong support and approval of my conduct.

I have received from the Governments of France, Austria, Germany, and Italy high orders for what they are pleased to call my firm and conciliatory conduct in the Cretan affair, but they are nothing to me in comparison to the approval of my own countrymen, and I venture to suggest that such approval can only be shown by their overlooking my offence and by their allowing me again to call myself a

naval officer of England, thereby strengthening my position and preventing my

enemies from sneering at me.

I have not hesitated in asking your Lordship's assistance in this matter, because I feel the importance of my position politically and otherwise, while at the same moment I feel the utter falseness of it as things now are.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

HOBART PASHA.

No. 39.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, November 3, 1874. Sir, I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter which his Lordship has received from Admiral Hobart Pasha,* soliciting to be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for reinstatement in the British Navy; and I am to request that, in laying the same before the Board of Admiralty, you will state to their Lordships that, in Lord Derby's opinion, the re-instatement of Admiral Hobart Pasha would be of material advantage in supporting him in the position which he occupies at the Porte, and might properly be accorded as a matter of Imperial policy without affording a precedent detrimental to the discipline of the service.

> I am, &c. (Signed)

TENTERDEN.

No. 40.

Lord Tenterden to Admiral Hobart Pasha.

Foreign Office, November 3, 1874. Sir, I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, soliciting his Lordship to recommend you to the Board of Admiralty for reinstatement in Her Majesty's Navy; and I am to state to you in reply that, after a full consideration of all the circumstances of your position at the Porte, his Lordship has had much pleasure in complying with your request, and has suggested that your reinstatement might be accorded as an exceptional case, without affording a precedent detrimental to the discipline of the service.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

TENTERDEN.

No. 41.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.

Sir. Admiralty, November 24, 1874. IN reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Derby, that, in accordance with his recommendation, my Lords have submitted to Her Majesty the Queen in Council that the Honourable Augustus Hobart be reinstated in his former position as a captain in the Royal Navy, and placed on the retired list.

> I am, &c. (Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 41.

May it please your Majesty.

WHEREAS we have had under our consideration the case of the Honourable Augustus Charles Hobart, late a captain in your Majesty's navy, whose name was removed from the list on the 19th March, 1868, in consequence of his having entered the service of the Turkish Empire during a period of war without our sanction, contrary to the regulations of the service; and whereas your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in forwarding an application from the said Mr. Hobart for reinstatement, has recommended that such application might properly be granted as a matter of Imperial policy, without affording a precedent detrimental to the discipline of your Majesty's service,—we would therefore most humbly submit to your Majesty that Mr. Hobart be reinstated accordingly in his former rank as captain with seniority of 25th March, 1863, and placed on the retired list under the provisions of your Majesty's Orders in Council of 1st August, 1860, 9th July, 1864, and 24th March, 1866, the period, however, during which he has been out of the service not to reckon in any way towards increase of retired pay, or as giving him any claim to arrears of half-pay.

Which is, nevertheless, most humbly submitted.

(Signed)

J. W. TARLETON. GILFORD.

Admiralty, November 24, 1874.

No. 42.

Lord Tenterden to Admiral Hobart Pasha.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter of the 3rd instant, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to inform you that he has learnt with much pleasure from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, in accordance with his recommendation, their Lordships have submitted to the Queen that you be reinstated in your former position as a captain in the Royal Navy and placed on the retired list.

I am, &c. (Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 43.

Order in Council, dated November 28, 1874.

At the Court at Windsor, the 28th day of November, 1874.

Present:

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

WHEREAS there was this day read at the Board a Memorial from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty dated the 24th of November,

1874, in the words following, viz.:-

Whereas we have had under our consideration the case of the Houourable Augustus Charles Hobart, late a captain in your Majesty's Navy, whose name was removed from the list on the 19th March, 1868, in consequence of his having entered the service of the Turkish Empire during a period of war without our sanction contrary to the regulations of the service; and whereas your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, forwarding an application from the said Mr. Hobart for reinstatement, has recommended that such application might properly be granted as a matter of Imperial policy without affording a precedent detrimental to the discipline of your Majesty's service,—we would therefore most humbly submit to your Majesty that Mr. Hobart be reinstated accordingly in his former rank as Captain with seniority of 25th March, 1863, and placed on the retired list under the provisions of your Majesty's Orders in Council of 1st August, 1860, 9th July, 1864, and 24th March, 1866, the period, however, during which he has been out of the service not to reckon

in any way towards increase of retired pay, or as giving him any claim to arrears of

half-pay."

Her Majesty having taken the said Memorial into consideration, was pleased by and with the advice of Her Privy Council to approve of what is therein proposed. And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

(Signed)

ARTHUR HELPS.

No. 44.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, and I am to request that you will express to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the satisfaction with which his Lordship has learnt that they have submitted to the Queen that the Honourable Augustus Hobart be reinstated in his former position as a Captain in the Royal Navy.

I am, &c. (Signed) T

TENTERDEN.

No. 45.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Captain Hobart, R.N.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been pleased by Order in Council to approve of your being reinstated in your former rank as Captain in the Royal Navy with seniority of 25th March, 1863, and that, in accordance with the provisions of the Order in Council of 22nd February, 1870, you have been placed on the retired list from the 28th November last, the date of your restoration.

The period during which you were out of the service is not in any way to reckon towards increase of retired pay nor as giving you any claim to arrears of half-pay.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT HALL.

No. 46.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your letter of 3rd ultimo, I am commanded by my Lords
Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of
Derby, that Her Majesty has been pleased to approve, by Order in Council, of the
Honourable Augustus Charles Hobart being reinstated in his former rank as Captain
in the Royal Navy with seniority of 25th March, 1863, and in accordance with the
provisions of Her Majesty's Order in Council of 22nd February, 1870, Captain Hobart
has been placed on the retired list from the 28th November, the date of his
restoration.

I am, &c. (Signed) ROBERT HALL.

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No. 47.

Lord Tenterden to Admiral Hobart Pasha.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 5, 1874. WITH reference to my letter of the 30th ultimo, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to acquaint you that his Lordship has been informed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty has been pleased to approve by Order in Council of your being reinstated in your former rank as Captain in the Royal Navy, with seniority of 25th March, 1863, and that in accordance with the provisions of Her Majesty's Order in Council of 22nd February, 1870, you have been placed on the retired list from the 28th November, the date of your restoration.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

TENTERDEN.

No. 48.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.

Therapia, December 1, 1874. My Lord, THE restoration of the name of Hobart Pasha to the list of the officers of the Royal Navy appears likely to be followed by an increase of his influence and usefulness

in the marine department of this country.

The Minister of Marine, after showing some anxiety lest it indicated an intention on the Pasha's part of retiring from the Sultan's service, almost immediately communicated to him His Majesty's intention of conferring upon him the second class of the Order of the Osmanieh, which ranks with the first class of the Medjidiah, the second decoration of the Empire. I presume that the request for the permission to accept it will be made through Musurus Pasha.

I have, &c. (Signed)

HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 49.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, December 14, 1874. Sir, WITH reference to my letter of the 1st instant, I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to transmit to you, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople* respecting the reinstatement of Hobart Pasha in Her Majesty's Navy, and the intention of the Sultan to confer on that officer the Order of the Osmanieh.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

TENTERDEN.

No. 50.

Captain Hobart, R.N., to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Constantinople, January 6, 1875. Sir, I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 2nd December, 1874, in which you inform me that their Lordships have been pleased to restore me to my former rank in the Royal Navy and to place me on the retired list, in accordance with the Order in Council of 1870, I beg to express my thanks to their Lordships for having reinstated me, whereby they have greatly strengthened the important position I hold as Inspector-General of the Imperial Ottoman navy—a position of now still more importance than that held by my predecessors, Sir Baldwin Walker, and Sir Adolphus Slade, a position in which the support of Her Majesty's Government is of the greatest importance.

I presume that I shall in due course attain the rank of Retired Admiral in Her Majesty's Service, and that I can commence to draw my retired pay, 1l. per diem, from 28th November, 1874, the date on which their Lordships have been so good as to reinstate me.

I am, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS HOBART.

No. 51.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Captain Hobart, R.N.

Sir,

Admiralty, January 25, 1875.

IN reply to your letter of the 6th instant, I am commanded by my Lords

Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that, by the terms of your retirement
you will be entitled to rise by seniority to the rank of Retired Admiral.

I am further to acquaint you that directions have been given for you to be allowed to draw your retired pay while holding your present appointment from the

date of your reinstatement in the Royal Navy.

I am, &c. (Signed) ROBERT HALL.

CORRESPONDENCE respecting the Removal from Her Majesty's Navy of Captain Hobart, and his subsequent Reinstatement.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address dated February 20, 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 11 (1877).

DESPATCHES

FROM

MR. CONSUL HOLMES

RESPECTING

REPORTS OF OUTRAGES

IN THE

NORTH OF BOSNIA.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Despatches from Mr. Consul Holmes respecting Reports of Outrages in the North of Bosnia.

No. 1.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have to-day addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, regarding the report that murders and outrages were on the increase in the north of Bosnia.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Consul Holmes to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Bosna-Seraï, March 14, 1877. WITH reference to your telegram of the 13th March, to which I have just briefly replied, regarding the statement that murders and outrages are on the increase in the north of Bosnia, I can only say that I have heard nothing to confirm this, nor, as far as I can learn by inquiry to-day, has anyone else. It is well known that bands of insurgents with Despotovich at their head have passed the whole winter unmolested at Grahovo, in Bihké, and that there are roving bands all along the frontier; also, that the desultory fighting between these bands and the Turks, which has been going on for many months, has long since had the effect of driving away most of the inhabitants, and no doubt murders and other outrages occur on both sides. I have lately been informed on good authority, not Turkish, that twelve Mussulman cattle-dealers of Prnjavor and Derbent, returning from Banialuka with the proceeds of their sales, were attacked at Zlatina by a band of insurgents and eleven of them killed. Probably this will lead to acts of retaliation, and I fully expect, now that peace has been made with Servia and the spring advances, that all the unemployed and needy Slav patriots, aided and encouraged by Slav committees, will find their way into Bosnia and cause a renewal of the brigandage on a large scale, which, ruinous to, and deplored by both native Turks and Christians, it has pleased Slav sympathizers to call "insurrection." It is no wonder, then, that with these prospects those Christians who still remain should be anxious to quit the country, and I think that the unavoidable dilemma in which they are placed between their enraged Mussulman neighbours and their filibustering friends from without, has much more effect in determining their action than alleged atrocities on the part of the Turks, which it has become the fashion to take for granted.

A considerable emigration of Christians from the district of Brchka has lately occurred, and the commandant of Belina has been endeavouring to stop it. A certain Pop Marko, of Zhabor, has also been imprisoned at Svornik for encouraging this emigration, the reason of which is vaguely assigned to be the exactions of the troops and the authorities, but which, I think, may be more fairly attributed to the above-mentioned prospects of an approaching revival of disturbances in Turkish Croatia.

I am at present confined to my room by indisposition, but I intend to take an early opportunity of urging the Vali to take steps at once if possible to sweep these bands of brigands under Despotovich out of Bosnia. My Austrian colleague has already urged him to do so, and promised that, if he would indicate the point at which they should be driven

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across the frontier into Austria, troops should be assembled to disarm and disperse them. I fear, however, that nothing efficient will be done without vigorous action from Constantinople, and I would respectfully suggest that if you would represent to the Porte the absolute necessity of immediate action much future expense and bloodshed may be spared.

I have, &c. W. R. HOLMES.

No. 2.

Mr. Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

Bosna-Seraï, March 16, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to call your Lordship's particular attention to the inclosed copy of a letter from the Austrian correspondent of the "Times," which appeared in that paper of March 6. It gives an admirable description of the state of affairs in the north-west of Bosnia, and agrees with all my own information.

In contrast with this statement I will quote and criticise a few extracts from a letter of an occasional correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," who writes from Knin, on the Dalmatian frontier, to show how incorrectly what passes in Bosnia is represented by Slavophiles, who, from their vicinity and facility for correspondence, ought to be better informed if they desired to be so:-

"The refugees driven forth from Bosnia by deeds of savagery (which, though unreported by English newspapers, almost surpass the horrors of Bulgaria), are dying by tens and hundreds, starved and frozen in the inhospitable gorges of the Dinaric Alps, but they will not return."

This of course means solely in consequence of the atrocities of the Turks, but in sober reality because of the state of affairs truly described by the Austrian correspondent of the "Times":-

"The Bosnian insurgents hold already in their possession mountain strongholds embracing nearly 2,000 square miles, are fairly armed, and, as 1 believe, capable not only of holding their own without foreign assistance, but of definitely forming a new free State a Bosnian Montenegro—in the north-west angle of the province."

These so-called insurgents are chiefly the brigands under Despotovich, there being, as is declared most correctly by the "Times'" correspondent, and as is well known, very few, if any, real Bosnian insurgents among them. The manifest exaggeration of this

paragraph scarcely requires to be pointed out:-

"Even in Serajevo, the capital of the province, and where, if anywhere, the Osmanli ought to have some control over the native fanatics, the situation is deplorable. I have the authority of a European resident for saying that the whole male Mahommedan population has been armed to the teeth; that the Christian inhabitants of the city are daily insulted, and that gangs of fanatics patrol the streets at night, firing off pistols and defying the authorities."

All this is utterly false, and the "European Resident," in giving this information to the writer to the "Manchester Guardian," must have wilfully deceived him, simply saying what, as a Slavophile, he thought it would be most agreeable to him to hear. It is true that the Mussulmans are armed, but scarcely any one is to be found wearing arms in the town, which is strictly forbidden. Christians are not daily insulted; a few cases may naturally occur, but not to be spoken of as the writer evidently intends, as an intolerable persecution; and gangs of fanatics do not patrol the streets at night, firing off pistols and defying the authorities. Since I have returned here, and Mr. Freeman assures me that while I was absent, nothing of the kind has ever occurred. The streets at night are undisturbed, and Serajevo is, and has been, throughout these events perfectly quiet and

The writer gives many other cases of murders by "these ruffians" (the Turks) "from a source on which you may absolutely rely"—probably quite as truthful as that of the "European Resident" at Serajevo.

These cases may or may not be true, though, like everything else said to take place in this land of lies, they would, I imagine, be very difficult to substantiate. Nothing whatever, I may remark, is ever said or written about the murders and outrages committed by the Christian party, which, according to opportunity, have been, I believe, as hideous as those perpetrated by the Mussulmans, but which, as the Turks for the most part have thought it more dignified to revenge than to complain have had no chroniclers.

I am quite aware that I am represented as a "passionate Turcophile," but I trust that your Lordship and my superiors in general give me credit for speaking the truth to the best of my knowledge and ability, and that being the case I can afford to pass over the disadvantage under which I labour, in common with the few who have any knowledge of affairs in Bosnia, in having to contend against the great majority of uninformed and prejudiced speakers and writers on the state of affairs in these countries.

> I have, &c. W. R. HOLMES. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 2.

Letter in the "Times" of March 6, from its Austrian Correspondent, dated March 5, 1877.

IN spite of the peace now concluded with Servia, it is very problematic whether things in Bosnia will settle down quite so soon. Although there are proofs that the disturbances there must in a great measure be attributed to Servian agency, yet in the course of events this agency has been almost entirely superseded by that of the Slave Committees. Servia, after she had begun war with Turkey, had more on hand than she could manage, and had little time or means to give to Bosnia. Besides this, by that time it had become tolerably apparent that there was not the least chance of giving to the insurrectionary movement in Bosnia such proportions as to make it into a factor in the issue which Servia had provoked. In the whole country along the Servian frontier, not even the actual crossing of the Servian army could induce the people there to take up arms, so that only in the north-west corner of Bosnia, towards the Austrian frontier, where the insurrectionary movement had begun shortly after the outbreak of the insurrection in Herzegovina, had it maintained itself up to a certain point

Colonel Despotovics, who had been for some time with the Servian Drina army, was sent there, and claimed a sort of command over a number of small bands, ranging from 50 to 100 men, who had established themselves in the mountains of Kosarac and Germee, both close to the frontier, going and coming, assembling and dispersing again, and confining their activity to raids on the country all round.

The Turks, on their side, went in pursuit of them without plan or device, and thus a sort of desultory warfare ensued, which, though harmless enough so far as the combatants were concerned, has almost depopulated the Kraina, or Turkish Croatia, as that district is called.

What between the Turks and the insurgents, the people were between hammer and anvil—plundered by both sides. Scared and terrified, they have fled across the frontier, where nearly 80,000 of them have now to be maintained. Even since the armistice began several thousands of them have come across.

Of all the many crimes committed since this Eastern complication began, there has been no greater and unscrupulous one than this so-called insurrectionary movement, which is but a brigandage on a large scale, being kept up, not by the people themselves, but for the most part by adventurers from other Slave districts. Unlike the refugees from Herzegovina, among whom scarcely an able-bodied man can be found, all of them being in arms; among the Bosnian refugees able-bodied men are found in the usual proportion with women and children.

In spite of all this, news comes from various sides which shows that an effort will be made to revive the disturbances in Bosnia as soon as the weather allows the activity of all these elements which, having lost their ground in Servia, are beginning to be directed on Bosnia.

The Russian, and other Committees, are collecting money sufficient to organize larger bands, and are engaging the volunteers who have served in the Servian army to go over into Bosnia, where, in consequence of the withdrawal of the regular Turkish troops, the field of action is free. Hitherto, however, these efforts do not seem to have had much result.

No. 3.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Bosna Seraï, March 29, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to state, as I have already telegraphed, that no arms have been lately distributed to the Turkish population. A few of the Mustafiz have been drilled in infantry and artillery exercises, but their arms are always deposited in the barracks when they are not being used. The carrying of arms in town or country is strictly prohibited, but when travelling it is allowed on obtaining a teskereh, costing, I think, 2 piastres.

I have continued most diligently my inquiries as to whether there has been any increase of murders or other atrocities, both from the authorities and well-informed private individuals, Turks and Christians, and I am always assured that there is no truth what-

ever in the assertion, and I myself am of this opinion.

I hear that at Banialuka, and at other places along the Save frontier, the Christians neglect to commence agricultural operations. The reasons given are various. Some say they have no means. Others that they are afraid of insurgent bands destroying their crops, and feel it useless to sow where they may never reap. Also that they are constantly assured that war will take place, and their status be completely changed, and that they will be cared for without working. Others again declare that they will not work, in order to ruin the Mussulman proprietors. But whatever may be the truth, there is no doubt that the peasants are so idle, ignorant, and credulous, that, in the first place, they are glad of any excuse not to work, and, in the next, it is easy to persuade them to believe anything. They have been also so utterly ruined, impoverished, and deluded, by both friends and foes, that they seem to have lost what energy or sense they ever possessed, and are entirely inclined to trust their future to mere chance. Altogether, I do not think this is much to be wondered at.

I have, &c. (Signrd) W. R. HOLMES

TURKEY. No. 11 (1877).

DESPATCHES from Mr. Consul Holmes respecting Reports of Outrages in the North of Bosnia.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

, LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 12 (1877).

DESPATCH

FROM THE

TURKISH GOVERNMENT

ON THE

PROTOCOL OF MARCH 31, 1877.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

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Despatch from the Turkish Government on the Protocol of March 31, 1877.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha,

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 9 Avril, 1877. LA Sublime Porte a reçu communication du Protocole signé à Londres le 31 Mars, 1877, par le Principal Sécrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et par les Ambassadeurs d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, d'Italie, et de Russie, ainsi que des déclarations y annexées du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et des Ambassadeurs d'Italie et de Russie.

En prenant connaissance de ces actes, la Sublime Porte a éprouvé le regret très vif de voir que les Grandes Puissances amies n'ont pas cru devoir faire participer le Gouvernement Impérial à des délibérations dans lesquelles on a pourtant agité des questions ayant trait aux intérêts les plus vitaux de l'Empire. L'entière déférence dont le Gouvernement Impérial a fait preuve en toute circonstance aux conseils et aux vœux des Grandes Puissances, l'intime solidarité qui unit si heureusement les intérêts de l'Empire à ceux du reste de l'Europe, les principes d'équité les plus incontestables, enfin, des engagements solennels autorisaient la Sublime Porte à croire qu'elle serait appelée, elle aussi, à concourir à l'œuvre destinée à rendre la paix à l'Orient et à établir l'entente entre les Grandes Puissances à ce sujet, sur une base juste et

Mais, du moment qu'il n'en a pas été ainsi, la Sublime Porte se voit dans l'obligation impérieuse de réclamer contre l'autorité d'un tel précédent et de signaler les funestes conséquences qui pourraient en résulter dans l'avenir aussi, pour les

principes tutélaires de la sécurité des relations entre Etats.

Passant à l'examen de ces actes, la Sublime Porte a acquis la conviction que, si les Puissances Signataires avaient tenu un meilleur compte de l'échange de vues qui s'était établi lors des Conférences de Constantinople, des résultats obtenus dans l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé depuis, et de la nature des dangers nouveaux qui menacent la paix, il eut été peut-être facile d'arriver par une pondération équitable des grands intérêts en cause à un accord définitif qui ne fût subordonné ni à de graves lésions de droit ni à des conditions irréalisables.

Pendant les Conférences de Constantinople la Sublime Porte, s'appuyant sur la Constitution que Sa Majesté Impériale venait d'octroyer spontanément, et qui réalisait la réforme la plus large qui ait été vue dans cet Empire depuis son établissement, s'était efforcée de démontrer l'injustice de toute mesure qui, sous l'apparence de réforme, prendrait son développement dans des distinctions de provinces, de croyances ou de classes de sujets, ainsi que l'impossibilité pour elle de rien accepter de contraire ou de classes de sujets, amisi que i impossibilité pour ene de rien accepter de contraire à l'intégrité ou à l'indépendance de l'Empire. Ce double point de vue répond pleinement aux conditions du programme Anglais accepté par les Puissances. Ce programme posait en principe le maintien de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance de l'Empire, et demandait pour certaines provinces un système d'institutions offrant des gages contre la mauvaise administration et des actes d'autorité arbitraire. Or, le système d'institutions réclamées se trouvait naturellement réalisé en droit comme en fait par la nature même de la nouvelle organisation politique donnée à l'Empire sans distinction de langues, de croyances ou de provinces. Depuis lors, le

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Parlement Ottoman a été convoqué, et une Assemblée, issue d'un système d'élections libérales, et qui sera prochainement arrêté de manière à ne laisser prise à aucune critique fondée, siége actuellement à Constantinople et discute en pleine liberté les affaires les plus importantes de l'Etat. Si l'on a objecté contre ce système de réformes qu'il était encore trop nouveau pour porter immédiatement ses fruits, on peut faire remarquer en réponse que c'est là une objection qui aurait pu être tout aussi bien soulevée contre les réformes recommandées par les Plénipotentiaires étrangers et en général contre toute réforme qui, par cela même qu'elle constitue une innovation, ne saurait posséder dès le principe l'efficacité que la consécration du temps fait seule acquérir.

D'un autre côté, la sécurité intérieure était solidement rétablie. La Servie était rendue à la tranquillité, et des négociations, dans lesquelles la Sublime Porte continue de faire preuve de la plus grande modération, ont été entamées avec le

Monténégro.

Malheureusement un fait nouveau se produisait dans l'intervalle, et les armements extraordinaires qui ont lieu depuis quelques mois dans toute l'étendue de la Russie, en obligeant la Sublime Porte à pourvoir à des mesures de défense, non seulement n'ont pas permis d'arriver à un apaisement complet des esprits, mais ont même fini par amener une situation pleine de dangers. La Sublime Porte se rendra la justice de constater qu'elle n'a rien négligé de ce qui était de nature à dissiper les doutes, à

calmer les inquiétudes, et à ménager les susceptibilités les plus délicates.

A peine sortie des longs et dures épreuves que les menées révolutionnaires avaient cherché à déchaîner sur toutes les provinces de l'Empire, il était naturel qu'elle n'aspirât qu'au repos, et qu'elle n'eût d'autre désir que de se consacrer un moment plus tôt au travail fécond de sa régénération intérieure. Elle n'a pu, dès lors, que plus vivement déplorer de voir cet objet constant de ses vœux s'éloigner tous les jours davantage, au fur et à mesure que les nécessités majeures qu'on cherchait à lui imposer ne lui laissaient d'autre alternative que d'exiger de ses populations des sacrifices onéreux, d'épuiser ses finances par de grands dépenses improductives, et de s'occuper avant tout de la manière dont elle parviendrait à détourner un conflit de nature à troubler profondément la paix du monde.

Il est naturel que les Grandes Puissances se soient préoccupées de cette situation. La Sublime Porte, pour des raisons qui ne demandent pas à être développées, avait évité jusqu'à présent d'appeler officiellement l'attention des Puissances sur cette nouvelle phase de la question, la plus grave de toutes assurément. Mais les déclarations dont leurs Excellences Lord Derby et le Comte Schouvaloff ont fait précéder la signature du Protocole lui fournissent à elle aussi, aujourd'hui, occasion de saisirl es Cabinets amis de l'urgence qu'il y a de mettre un terme à cette complication si dangereuse, et dont il n'est pas au pouvoir de la Sublime Porte de retarder le denoûment longtemps encore.

En conséquence, et en réponse à la déclaration de Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie, la Sublime Porte, de son côté, notifie aux Puissances Signataires du Protocole la déclaration suivante:—

1. Adoptant envers le Monténégro la même ligne de conduite qui a amené la pacification de la Servie, la Sublime Porte avait fait connaître spontanément au Prince, il y a déjà deux mois, qu'elle ne s'épargnerait aucun effort pour arriver à une entente avec lui, même au prix de certains sacrifices; considérant le Monténégro comme faisant partie intégrante du territoire Ottoman, elle a proposé une rectification de la ligne de démarcation qui assure au Monténégro des avantages, et il dépend désormais entièrement des conseils de modération qui prévaudront, la Sublime Porte aime à l'espérer, à Cettigné que cette affaire soit considérée comme terminée.

2. Le Gouvernement Impérial est prêt à mettre en application toutes les réformes promises; mais ces réformes, conformément aux dispositions fondamentales de notre Constitution, ne sauraient avoir un caractère spécial et exclusif; et c'est dans cet esprit que le Gouvernement Impérial persévérera dans sa pleine et entière liberté à la

mise en application de ses institutions.

3. Le Gouvernement Impérial est prêt à remettre ses armées sur le pied de paix, aussitôt qu'il verra que le Gouvernement Russe prend des mesures dans le même but; les armements de la Turquie ont un caractère exclusivement défensif, et les relations d'amitié et d'estime qui unissent les deux Empires font espérer que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne persistera pas seul en Europe dans la pensée que les populations Chrétiennes en Turquie soient exposées de la part de leur propre Gouvernement à des dangers tels qu'il soit nécessaire d'accumuler contre un Etat ami et voisin tous les moyens d'invasion et de destruction.

4. Pour ce qui est des désordres qui pourraient éclater en Turquie et arrêter la démobilisation de l'armée Russe, le Gouvernement Impérial, qui repousse les termes blessants dans lesquels cette pensée a été exprimée, croit que l'Europe est convaincue que les désordres qui ont troublé le repos des provinces étaient dus à des excitations venues du dehors, que le Gouvernement Impérial n'en saurait être tenu responsable, et que, dès lors, le Gouvernement Russe aussi ne serait pas justifié à faire dépendre la démobilisation de ses armées de pareilles éventualités.
5. Quant à l'envoi à St. Pétersbourg d'un Envoyé Spécial chargé de traiter du

désarmement, le Gouvernement Impérial, qui n'aurait aucune raison de se refuser à un acte de courtoisie que les convenances diplomatiques imposent à charge de réciprocité, ne voit aucune connexité entre cet acte de courtoisie internationale et le désarmement, qui ne saurait être retardé pour aucun motif plausible, et qui pourrait être effectué sur un simple ordre par télégraphe.

En faisant parvenir les déclarations qui précèdent aux Cabinets Signataires, la Sublime Porte les prie d'en prendre acte, d'apprécier l'esprit qui les a dictées, et de vouloir bien y attacher l'importance à laquelle elles ont droit dans la situation présente, situation dont le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait trop proclamer les dangers, et dont il décline formellement la responsabilité.

A la suite de ce qui vient d'être exposé plus haut sur les efforts que le Gouvernement Impérial a consacrés au rétablissement de la tranquillité, aussi bien que sur les causes qui en ont réellement prévenu les effets, les Cabinets Signataires du Protocole du 31 Mars n'auront pas de peine à se rendre compte du sentiment pénible que ce

document ne pouvait manquer de produire sur le Gouvernement Impérial.

Il serait inutile de revenir ici sur les passages du Protocole relatifs aux deux Principautés et à la question du désarmement.

Mais ce qu'on ne saurait réellement assez regretter, c'est le peu de cas que les Puissances semblent avoir fait aussi bien des grands principes d'égalité et de justice que le Gouvernement Impérial cherche à faire prévaloir dans l'administration

intérieure, que de ses droits d'indépendance et de souveraineté.

Il y a lieu de s'étonner en effet que dans ce Protocole les Puissances amies aient jugé nécessaire d'affirmer de nouveau "l'intérêt commun qu'elles prennent aux réformes à introduire en Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie, que la Porte a acceptées sauf à les appliquer elle-même;" d'inviter la Porte à mettre en "œuvre dans le plus court délai possible les réformes à l'état des provinces dont la Conférence s'est préoccupée; d'exprimer l'espoir que la Porte prendra avec énergie les mesures destinées à apporter à la condition des populations Chrétiennes l'amélioration effective unanimement réclamée, et qu'une fois entrée dans cette voie elle comprendra qu'il est de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement et efficacement."

La Sublime Porte n'a pas accepté de réformes spéciales à la Bosnie, à l'Herzé-

govine, et aux localités habitées par des Bulgares.

Elle n'en est pas à douter qu'il est bien de son intérêt et de son devoir de satisfaire aux droits légitimes de ses sujets Chrétiens; elle ne saurait admettre que les améliorations qui lui sont recommandées doivent s'adresser exclusivement à l'élément Au lendemain des preuves de loyauté et de dévoûment que tous les sujets de Sa Majesté ont données, et en présence de réformes qui tendent à unir toutes les populations de l'Empire en un seul corps politique, la Sublime Porte se doit à ellemême de repousser la suspicion que les expressions du Protocole voudraient jeter sur la sincérité de ses sentiments envers ses sujets Chrétiens, et, en outre, de réclamer contre l'indifférence, tout au moins, dont ces mêmes expressions témoignent à l'égard de ses sujets Musulmans et autres. Il n'est pas admissible que les améliorations tendant à assurer aux Musulmans aussi la tranquillité et le bien-être soient, aux yeux de l'Europe éclairée, tolérante et juste, dépourvues de toute importance. Des mesures ou plutôt des institutions propres à assurer à tous et partout également le libre développement moral et matériel des droits de chacun, c'est là le but que la Turquie se propose aujourd'hui; elle tiendra à honneur de persévérer dans cette voie; la Constitution en est la meilleure et plus sûre garantie.

Mais, si le Gouvernement Impérial se voit réduit à repousser toute idée par laquelle on essaierait de semer des germes d'antagonisme entre les divers éléments de ses populations et d'inspirer la méfiance de quelques unes d'entre elles vis-à-vis de leurs autorités légitimes, il ne saurait non plus souscrire, à aucun titre, à la sanction que le Protocole a entendu donner à l'application des amélierations ci-dessus énoncées. Ainsi, lorsque le Protocole dit que "les Puissances se proposent de veiller avec soin et par l'intermédiaire de leurs Représentants à Constantinople et de leurs Agents locaux à la façon dont les promesses du Gouvernement Ottoman seront exécutée, ' lorsqu'il

ajoute "que, si cet espoir se trouvait encore une fois déçu, elles se réservent d'aviser en commun aux moyens qu'elles jugeront les plus propres à assurer le bien-être des Chrétiens et les intérêts de la paix générale," il est évident qu'il doit provoquer les protestations les plus légitimes du Gouvernement Impérial et son opposition la plus formelle. La Turquie, en sa qualité d'Etat indépendant, ne saurait se reconnaître comme placée sous aucune surveillance collective ou non. Entretenant avec les autres Etats amis des relations réglées par le droit des gens et les Traités, elle ne peut reconnaître aux Agents ou Représentants étrangers, chargés de protéger les intérêts de leurs nationaux, la mission de surveillance officielle. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne voit pas enfin en quoi il aurait démérité de la justice et de la civilisation au point de se voir faire une position humiliante et sans exemple dans le monde.

Le Traité de Paris a explicitement consacré le principe de non-intervention. Traité, qui lie les Puissances qui y ont pris part aussi bien que la Turquie, ne saurait

être aboli par un Protocole auquel la Turquie n'a pas co-opéré.

Et, si la Turquie en appelle aux stipulations du Traité de Paris, ce n'est pas parce que ce Traité aurait créé en sa faveur quelques droits qu'elle n'aurait pas sans ce Traité, mais bien pour rappeler les graves raisons qui dans l'intérêt de la paix générale de l'Europe avaient améné les Puissances, il y a vingt ans, à placer sous la garantie d'une promesse collective la reconnaissance de l'inviolabilité du droit de souveraineté de cet Empire. Quant à la clause qui, en cas d'inexécution des réformes promises, voudrait attribuer aux Puissances le droit d'aviser aux mesures ultérieures, le Gouvernement Impérial y voit une atteinte de plus à sa dignité et à ses droits, un procédé d'intimidation destiné à priver de toute mérite de spontanéité ses propres actes, et la source de graves complications pour le présent aussi bien que pour l'avenir.

Aucune considération ne saurait donc arrêter le Gouvernement Impérial dans sa résolution de protester contre les énonciations du Protocole du 31 Mars et de le considérer, pour ce qui concerne la Turquie, comme dépourvu de toute équité et par consé-

quent aussi de tout caractère obligatoire.

En butte à des suggestions hostiles, à des soupçons immérités, et à des violations manifestes de ses droits qui sont en même temps des violations du droit des gens, la

Turquie sent qu'elle lutte aujourd'hui pour son existence.

Forte de la justice de sa cause et confiante en Dieu, elle déclare ignorer ce qui a pu être décidé sans elle et contre elle : décidée à conserver dans le monde la place que la Providence lui a destinée à cet égard, elle ne cessera d'opposer aux attaques qui sont dirigées contre elle les principes généraux du droit public et l'autorité d'un grand acte Européen qui engage l'honneur des Puissances Signataires du Protocole du 31 Mars, lequel n'a pas d'exigibilité légale à ses yeux; elle en appelle à la conscience des Cabinets qu'elle est en droit de croire animés envers elle des mêmes sentiments de haute équité et d'amitié que par le passé. Le désarmement immédiat et simultané serait le seul moyen efficace de conjurer les dangers dont on menace la paix géné-

La réponse que le Gouvernement Impérial vient de faire plus haut à la déclaration de M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie offre aux Puissances les éléments propres à amener ce résultat, que bien certainement elles ne voudront pas chercher à obtenir en persistant à imposer à l'Empire Ottoman des sacrifices de droit et d'honneur auxquels il ne consentira pas.

Vous êtes chargé de donner lecture de ce Mémoire à M. le Ministre des Affaires

Etrangères et d'en laisser copie à son Excellence.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, April 9, 1877. THE Protocol signed at London on March 31, 1877, has been communicated to the Sublime Porte by the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty, and by the German, Austro-Hungarian, French, Italian, and Russian Ambassadors, as also the declarations of the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty, and of the Italian and Russian Ambassadors which are annexed

Whilst taking note of these documents, the Sublime Porte has experienced deep regret at perceiving that the Great Friendly Powers did not consider it their duty to admit the Imperial Government to participate in deliberations in which, nevertheless, questions affecting the most vital interests of the Empire were treated. The complete deference which the Imperial Government has, under all circumstances, evinced for the advice and wishes of the Great Powers, the close connection which so happily unites the interests of the Empire to those of the rest of Europe, the most incontestable principles of equity, and, lastly, solemn engagements, authorized the Sublime Porte to believe that it, too, would be called to take part in the work destined to restore peace to the East and to establish the agreement on this subject amongst the Great Powers on a just and legitimate basis.

But, from the moment that this has not been the case, the Sublime Porte sees itself imperiously obliged to assert itself against the authority of such a precedent, and to call attention to the fatal consequences which might also result in the future to the

guiding principles of the security of international relations.

Passing to the examination of these documents, the Sublime Porte has come to the conclusion that if the Signatory Powers had taken better account of the exchange of views which took place at the time of the Constantinople Conferences, of the results obtained in the interval which has elapsed since then, and of the nature of the new dangers which threaten peace, it would perhaps have been easy to have arrived, by a just consideration of the great interests in question, at a definitive agreement, which would not have been dependent either on serious infractions of law or on conditions

which were impossible of realization.

During the Constantinople Conferences the Sublime Porte, relying on the Constitution which His Imperial Majesty had just spontaneously granted, and which realized the most comprehensive reform which had been seen in this Empire since its establishment, had taken care to point out the injustice of any measure which, under the appearance of reform, might be developed by the division of provinces, creeds, or classes; as well as the impossibility of accepting anything contrary to the integrity or independence of the Empire. This double point of view answers fully to the conditions of the English programme which was accepted by the Powers. This programme laid down in principle the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Empire, and demanded for certain provinces a system of institutions which should afford guarantees against bad administration and acts of arbitrary authority. Thus, the system of institutions demanded was naturally realised in law, as well as in fact, by the very nature of the new political organization given to the Empire, without distinction of language, creeds, or provinces. Since then the Ottoman Parliament has been convoked, and an Assembly, founded on a system of free election, which will shortly be arranged in a manner which will give no ground for any wellfounded criticism, is actually in session at Constantinople, and discusses with perfect freedom the most important State affairs. If the objection be made that this system of reforms is too new to bear fruit immediately, it may be remarked in reply that that is an objection which could just as well have been made to the reforms recommended by the foreign Plenipotentiaries, and in general against every reform which, from the very fact that it is an innovation, cannot possess at its birth the efficacy that time alone can impart.

Again, internal security was solidly restablished. Tranquillity was restored to Servia, and negotiations, in which the Sublime Porte continues to give proof of the

greatest moderation, have been commenced with Montenegro.

Unfortunately a new incident arose in the interval, and the extraordinary armaments which have been going on for some months through the length and breadth of Russia, while compelling the Sublime Porte to provide for measures of defence, have not only prevented a complete tranquillisation of feeling being arrived at, but have, in the end, brought about a situation fraught with danger. The Sublime Porte will do itself the justice of declaring that it has neglected nothing which was calculated to dissipate doubts, to calm disquietudes, and to soothe the most delicate susceptibilities.

Seeing that the Porte was hardly freed from the long and difficult trials which the revolutionary plots had sought to let loose on all the provinces of the Empire, it was natural that it should only long for repose, and should have no other desire than to devote itself at the first moment possible to the faithful work of internal regeneration. It could only, from that time, the more keenly deplore the sight of the further removal every day of this constant object of its wishes, in proportion as the restraint which it was sought to impose on it, left it no other alternative than to demand weighty sacrifices from its people, to exhaust its finances by large and unproductive expenditure, and above all to devote its attention to the way in which it could succeed in averting a conflict which was calculated to disturb deeply the peace of the world.

It is natural that the Great Powers interested themselves in this situation. The Sublime Porte, for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain, had up to the present time avoided drawing officially the attention of the Powers to this new phase of the

question, assuredly the gravest of all. But the declarations which their Excellencies Lord Derby and Count Schouvaloff prefixed to the signature of the Protocol give it also, at the present moment, an opportunity of conveying to the friendly Cabinets the urgent need there is to put an end to a complication so dangerous, and of which it is not in the power of the Sublime Porte much longer to delay the result.

Consequently, and in reply to the declaration of his Excellency the Ambassador of Russia, the Sublime Porte, on its side, notifies the following declaration to the

Powers who signed the Protocol:-

1. The Sublime Porte, following as regards Montenegro the same course which had brought about peace with Servia, spontaneously informed the Prince, two months ago, that no effort, even at the price of certain sacrifices, would be spared to come to an understanding with him; viewing Montenegro as an integral portion of Ottoman territory, the Porte proposed a rectification of the line of boundary, which would ensure certain advantages to Montenegro, and henceforth it depends entirely on the counsels of moderation, which the Sublime Porte trusts will prevail at Cettigné, whether this affair may be considered as terminated.

2. The Imperial Government is ready to carry out immediately all the promised reforms; but these reforms, in conformity with the fundamental dispositions of our Constitution, must not bear a special and exclusive character; and in this spirit the Imperial Government will, while reserving its full and complete liberty of action,

persevere in establishing these institutions.

3. The Imperial Government is prepared to replace its armies upon a peace footing as soon as it sees that the Russian Government is taking measures with a similar object; the Turkish armaments are essentially of a defensive character, and the bonds of friendship and esteem which unite the two Empires give reason to hope that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh will not isolate itself in Europe by clinging to the belief that the Christian populations of Turkey are exposed to such dangers from their own Government that it is necessary to prepare against a friendly neighbour and State every possible means of invasion and destruction.

4. As regards the disorders which might break out in Turkey and arrest the demobilization of the Russian army, the Imperial Government, which rejects the offensive terms in which this idea has been expressed, believes that Europe is convinced that the disorders which have disturbed the tranquillity of the provinces were due to external agitation; that the Imperial Government cannot be held responsible for them; and that, consequently, the Russian Government would not be justified in making

the demobilization of its armies depend on such contingencies.

5. As to the despatch of a Special Envoy to St. Petersburgh charged with treating of the disarmament, the Imperial Government, which would have no reason to refuse an act of courtesy which is imposed by diplomatic etiquette on condition of reciprocity, sees no connection between this act of international courtesy and the disarmament, for delaying which there is no plausible motive, and which could be carried into effect by a simple telegraphic order.

In placing the preceding declarations before the Cabinets of the Signatory Powers, the Sublime Porte asks them to take note of them, to appreciate the spirit which has dictated them, and to be so good as to give them the importance to which they are entitled in the present situation—a situation to the dangers of which the Imperial Government cannot too plainly call attention, and for which it formally repudiates the

responsibility.

In connection with what has just been set forth above respecting the efforts which the Imperial Government has devoted to the restoration of tranquillity, as well as respecting the causes which have really baffled them, the Cabinets who have signed the Protocol of March 31st can easily comprehend the painful feeling which this document could not fail to produce on the Imperial Government.

It would be useless to recall here the passages of the Protocol relating to the two

Principalities and to the question of the disarmament.

But what cannot in truth be sufficiently regretted is the small account which the Powers seem to have taken, both of the great principles of equality and justice which the Imperial Government seeks to introduce into the internal administration, and of

its rights of independence and sovereignty.

There is, in fact, cause for surprise that in this Protocol the friendly Powers have thought fit to affirm afresh "the common interest which they take in the reforms to be introduced into Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted, reserving to herself their application;" to invite the Porte to carry into "operation with the shortest possible delay the reforms in the condition of the provinces with

which the Conference was concerned; to express the hope that the Porte will energetically take the measures destined to produce in the condition of the Christian population the effectual improvement which is unanimously demanded, and that once entered on this path it will understand that its honour, as well as its interest, is at stake, in persevering loyally and effectually therein.

The Sublime Forte has not accepted reforms exclusively for Bosnia, Herzegovina,

and for localities inhabited by Bulgarians.

It is not a matter of doubt that it is very much to its interest and part of its duty to satisfy the legitimate rights of its Christian subjects; it cannot admit that the improvements which are recommended to its notice should be devoted exclusively to the Christian element. On the morrow of the receipt of the proofs of loyalty and devotion which all His Majesty's subjects have shown, and in presence of reforms which tend to unite all the populations of the Empire into one single body politic, the Sublime Porte owes it to itself to repel the suspicion which the expressions of the Protocol would wish to throw on the sincerity of its sentiments towards its Christian subjects, and to protest, moreover, against the indifference, to say the least, which these same expressions bear witness to, with reference to its Mussulman subjects and others. It is not to be supposed that improvements which tend to insure also to the Mussulmans tranquillity and well-being are devoid of importance in the eyes of Europe, enlightened, tolerant, Measures, or rather, institutions, calculated to secure to all, and just as she is. equally, the liberal developement, both moral and material, of the rights of each individual, such is the object which Turkey is now aiming at; she will make it a point of honour to persevere in this course; and for this the Constitution is the best and surest guarantee.

But if the Imperial Government sees itself compelled to reject every idea by which attempts might be made to sow germs of antagonism between the different elements of its population, and to inspire certain persons amongst them with mistrust of their legitimate authorities, neither would it see its way on any account to subscribe to the sanction which the Protocol has in view to give to the application of the

improvements above set forth.

Thus when the Protocol declares that "the Powers propose to watch with care, and through the medium of their Representatives at Constantinople and of their local Agents, over the way in which the promises of the Ottoman Government shall be executed," and when it adds that "if this hope should once more prove unfounded they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may think best calculated to ensure the welfare of the Christians and the general interests of peace," it is evident that it must provoke the legitimate protestations of the Imperial Government, and encounter its most formal opposition. Turkey, as an independent State, cannot submit to be placed under any surveillance, whether collective or not.

Although she maintains with other friendly Powers relations which are governed by international law and by Treaty, she cannot agree to recognize the foreign Agents or Representatives, whose duty it is to protect the interests of their respective countries, as holding any mission of official surveillance. The Imperial Government cannot either see in what manner they have so far deviated from the path of justice and civilization as to see themselves placed in a position both humiliating and without

example in the world.

The Treaty of Paris explicitly declared the principle of non-intervention. That Treaty, which binds the other High Contracting Parties as well as Turkey, cannot

be abolished by a Protocol in which Turkey has taken no part.

And if Turkey appeals to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, it is not because that Treaty created in her favour any rights which she did not possess without that Treaty, but only to recall attention to the grave reasons which twenty years ago led the Powers, in the interest of the general peace of Europe, to place under the guarantee of a joint promise the recognition of the inviolable right of sovereignty of that Empire.

As for the clause which, in case of the non-execution of the promised reforms, would give to the Powers the right of concerting ulterior measures, the Imperial Government regards it in the light of a further attack on its dignity and on its rights, a proceeding of intimidation calculated to deprive their action of all merit of spontaneity, and a source of grave complication for the present as well as for the future.

No consideration can arrest the Imperial Government in their determination to protest against the Protocol of the 31st of March, and to consider it, as regards Turkey, as devoid of all equity, and consequently of all binding character.

In face of hostile suggestions, unmerited suspicions, and manifest violations
[4.4]

of her rights-violations which are at the same time violations of international law-

Turkey feels that she struggles at the present moment for her very existence.

Strong in the justice of her cause, and with confidence in God, she declares that she ignores what may have been decided without her and against her; determined to keep the place which Providence has thus destined to her, she will not cease to oppose to those attacks which are directed against her, the general principles of international right, and the authority of a great European compact which binds the honour of the Signatory Powers of the Protocol of the 31st of March, which last has no legal validity in her eyes. She appeals to the conscience of the Cabinets which she is justified in considering as animated towards her with the same sentiments of equity and friendship as in the past. Immediate and simultaneous disarmament will be the only efficacious means of obviating the dangers with which the general peace is menaced.

The answer which the Imperial Government has just made to the declaration of the Ambassador of Russia gives the Powers a fitting opportunity to bring about this result, which surely they would not seek to obtain by persistently imposing on the Ottoman Empire sacrifices of right and of honour to which she will not consent.

You are instructed to read this Memorandum to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

and to leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

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Return of the Sentences pronounced and executed upon Persons concerned in the Bulgarian Rising, and in the Suppression of the same.

No. 1.

Mr. Joselyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith lists giving the dates and nature of the sentences pronounced by the Special Commissions which sat at Philippopolis and Sofia

last summer to try the persons implicated in the Bulgarian insurrection.

Other Special Commissions sat at Adrianople and Tirnova, but, though every effort has been made to obtain detailed statements respecting the sentences they passed, and though the required information has been promised, it has not been possible, as yet, to procure it.

As soon as it reaches me, I shall not fail to forward it to your Lordship without

delay.

It would have been impossible for Mr. Baring to have drawn up a detailed statement, such as is now called for by your Lordship, from the data he had in his possession, and it has been, consequently, necessary to apply to other quarters before carrying out your Lordship's instructions.

Your Lordship will observe that the Tribunal of Philippopolis, under the presidency of Salim Effendi, pronounced eighty-six sentences, while the one which sat a Sofia, under

the presidency of Lehib Effendi, pronounced sixty-eight.

Since the end of August no political prisoners have been sentenced, and those who are still in prison, and whose cases have not been concluded, are mostly accused of murder.

At the end of October Pertev Effendi went to Philippopolis to dispose of the remaining cases, but he has been proceeding but slowly, and though he has not pronounced any sentences, he had only ordered the release of six prisoners up to the 10th ultimo, the date of Mr. Baring's departure.

No Special Commissioner has been sent to Sofia, and the cases of the prisoners still unsentenced are being tried before the ordinary Tribunal, which, I regret to say, does not

bear a very spotless reputation.

Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert has just reported to me, by telegraph, that two men of the village of Tchirpan, who had been released from prison on bail, have been re-arrested; the motive of this action on the part of the authorities is not known.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Sentences passed on Bulgarians by Special Commission at Philippopolis.

Date	•		Description and Persons so	d num entence	ber of ed.	V	Vhence.		Senten	ce.
June 19, 18	76		2 priests			Tcheumle	k Yenike	ui	Death.	
,, ,		٠.	1 schoolmast	er		Ditto		• •	Ditto.	
,, ,	,	••	11 villagers	• •	••	Ditto	• •	• •	Ditto.	
,, ,	,	••	4 "	• •	••	Ditto		••	10 years' hard	labour.
,, ,	,	••	8 ,,	• •	••	Ditto	• •	• •	$7\frac{1}{2}$ do.	
,, ,	,	••	10 ,,	• •	••	Ditto	• •	• •	5 do.	
, ,, ,	,	••	1 priest	• •	••	Ditto	• •	••	3 do.	
June 28,	,	••	3 villagers	••	••	Guelvéré Zdrebitchi	••	• •	Death.	
July 5 ,	,	••	1 villager	• •	••	D:	ko	• •	Ditto. Ditto.	
" ,	,	•••	1 priest	•	••	Ditto	• •	• •	$7\frac{1}{2}$ years' hard	lahaur
",		•••	3 villagers	••	••	T	••	• •	$\frac{7}{2}$ years nard do.	iaoour.
,, ,		••	e "	• •	••	Ditto	••	• •	3 do.	
"		•	0 ,, 1 priest	• •	••	Ditto	• •	• •	3 do.	
Tul- 17	,		2 villagers	••	••	Guelvéré	• • •	• • •	15 do.	
<u> </u>	,		1 priest	••		Ditto	••	••	15 do.	
" ,			4 villagers	• •		Ditto	••	•••	.3 do.	
" ,			1 villager		,	Lesitchovo	• • •	••	$7\frac{1}{2}$ do.	
,, ,	-		1 "	• •	·	Ditto		• •	7 ² do.	
,, ,	,		1 "	• •	••	Ditto			3 do.	
July 19,	,		2 villagers	• •		Ditto		••	Death.	
,, ,	,	•••	2 "	• •	••	Guelvéré			Ditto.	
July 25 ,	,	••	2 ,,	• •	••	Avrad Ala	ın	• •	Ditt .	
,, ,	,		1 priest	••	•• .	(i) Ditto	• •	• •	Ditto.	_
,, ,	,	••	1 villager	• •	••	Ditto	••	• •	15 years' hard l	abour.
",	,	••	1 ,,	• •	••	Ditto	• •	••	10 do.	
" ,	,	••	4 sehoolmast	ers	•••	Ditto	• •	• •	10 do.	
	•	••	1 villager 1	••	••	Ditto Peroustitza	••	• •	5 do.	
July 26 ,		••	1 "	• •	••	Moussaf (S		• •	Death. Ditto.	
T.,1- 2A	,	•	1 ,,	• •		Tcheumlek			Hard labour fo	n 1:60
August 5,	•		ī "	•••		Kozarsko	LICHIAC		7 years' hard l	
,, ,			2 villagers	••		Ditto	• • •	••	3 do.	about.
,, ,			1 villager	••		Bratzigovo		• •	12 do.	
,, ,			1 monk	• •		Kozarsko	• •		15 do.	
		- 1			1				(Died in pr	ison.
		!							\ r	
		Sor	ntenced to death	,					243	
		PCI	L.a.d	labour	••	• •	• •	••	28	
			" naru	-400 UI	••	••	••	••	58	
				1	Total of	Sentences	••		86	
					-		••	••	•• 00	
	Nun	abei	of persons orig	ginally	impriso	ned at Philip	popolis.	1,956:		
		Ser	itenced .	•	• •	••	••	• •	86	
			ll unsentenced		••	• •	••	••	46	
			t to Adrianople	e or oth	er town	ıs	••	• •	153	
			d in prison	•	••	••	• •	• •	25	
		Ke	leased .	•	• •	••	••	• •	1,646	
									1,956	

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Sentences passed on Bulgarians by Special Commission at Sofia.

June 27, 1876 July 29 ,, Aug. 11 ,, "" , Aug. 15 ,, "" ,	1 ", 1 ", 1 ", 1 ", 2 ", 3 ",		Avrad Alan Berkovecha Poilrend Guelvéré Petrich Fafona Belitza Dervend Ditto Ditto Fafona Dervend Keustendil Belitza Avrad Alan Fafona Avrad Alan Fafona Dervend		::	15 15 13 10 9 8 6 5	> to h	ommuted nard labour for life. our.
	1 "	••	Avrad Alan Fafona Tchorlou	••	•••	4 4 4 4	do. do. do.	
Number Ex Cor Co Re Un	1 ,,	mpriso	Tchorlou Fafona oned at Sofia, 5	35 :	1			

No. 2.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—Received March 17.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 17, 1877.

A PORTION of the information required respecting sentences has been obtained, but it is not complete yet. No effort has been spared to obtain it, but the greatest difficulties have been encountered.

I hope to conclude Adrianople returns next week, but cannot speak with certainty about those from Tirnova.

No. 3.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 29.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 21, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a list of sentences passed by the Adrianople Tribunals, which I have this day received from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis, and which, he says, may be looked upon as accurate.

It shows that seven persons were sentenced to death for complicity in the Eski Zagra revolt by the ordinary Adrianople Tribunal, and that eleven were sentenced to death and six to different terms of imprisonment by the Special Commissioner sent to Adrianople to try the persons connected with the rising last spring.

The fifty-three political prisoners mentioned in Mr. Dupuis' list as being now in the prison of Adrianople were sentenced by the Special Commission which sat at Philippopoli, and in my despatch of the 1st of March, your Lordship will find the necessary information respecting the duration of their sentences.

Mr. Dupuis has explained to me that the delay which has unfortunately taken place in obtaining the information, and the contradictory statements that have been made, arise from the officials at Adrianople having been changed since the trials took

place.

I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 3.

List of Persons Executed for Complicity in the Eski Zagra Revolt.

Names.			By what Tribunal Convicted.			Date of Conviction.		Remarks.		
Kunduradji Koleo Gospodin Michailowski Tzifont Giogio Stefan Stoyo Oglon Dimizio	••	•••	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Divani	Temiz of	Adrianopl	e .	May 1876 Ditto Ditto Ditto		Ditto. Was executed in Adrianople. Ditto.
Radi Oglon Kolio Tchirpanli Kristo Arg Oglon Rossi	••	••	Ditto	· ·	••	••	••	Ditto Ditto Ditto	••	Was executed in Philippopolis. Ditto. Ditto.

List of Persons Executed for Complicity in Bulgarian Insurrection.

Hadji Todor Oglon Elia	••				eok-el-ade. Adrianople	Special	Com-	July 1876	••	Was executed in Adrianople.
Zotzo Oglon Vassil .			Ditto		zau zanopie			Ditto		h
Dim Oglon Nicola			Ditto	• •	••		••	Ditto		
Dimitri Oglon Mihal	• •	••	Ditto	• •		• •		Ditto	• •	Were executed in different
Mentzi Oglon Stavri	• •	•••	Ditto	• •	••	• •	•••	Ditto	• •	places in the Vilavet.
Diratz Oglon Gorgui	••	•••	Ditto	• •	••	• •		Ditto	• •	places in the vilayet.
Kourd Oglon Andon		•••	Ditto	••	• •	• •	••	Ditto	••	
Pantalondji André Oglon Z		•••	Ditto	• •	• •	• •	•••	Ditto	••	ال <u></u>
Baltadji Oglon Athanas Koleo Oglon Gorgui	••	•••	Ditto Ditto	• •	• •	• •	••	Ditto	••	Was executed at Adrianople.
Veli Oglon Zahari	••	•••	Ditto	••	••	• •	•••	Ditto Ditto	•••	Was executed out of this district.
ven Ogion Zanari	••	••	DILLO	• •	• •	••	••	Ditto	••	Was executed in Adrianople.

List of Persons Sentenced to various Terms of Imprisonment by Mehkiemei Feok-el-ade (Special Commission) of Adrianople.

Name.		Nature of	f Offence.		Date of Conviction.	Nature of Sentence.	Remarks.
Deli Petro	••	Complicity in surrection	Bulgarian	in-	July 4, 1876 .	10 years' imprisonment	Confined at Adrianople.
Mukhtar Nino .		Ditto			Ditto	For life.	
Gordan		Ditto	••		Ditto	Ditto.	
Kouyumdji Dimitri	••	Ditto	• •		Aug. 6, 1876 .	3 years' imprisonment.	
Bakal Dimitri	••	Ditto	••		Ditto	Ditto.	
Pazayoti Petro .	••	Ditto	• •	••	July 9, 1876 .	15 years' imprisonment.	

There are also in the Adrianople prison fifty-three political prisoners sent from Philippopolis.

TURKEY. No. 13 (1877).

RETURN of the Sentences pronounced and executed upon Persons concerned in the Bulgarian Rising, and in the Suppression of the same.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

TURKEY. No. 14 (1877).

RETURN

OF THE

SENTENCES PRONOUNCED AND EXECUTED UPON PERSONS CONCERNED IN THE BULGARIAN RISING,

AND IN THE

SUPPRESSION OF THE SAME.

(In continuation of "Turkey No. 13, 1877.")

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON

Return of the Sentences pronounced and executed upon Persons concerned in the Bulgarian Rising, and in the Suppression of the same.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 25.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th ultimo, respecting the sentences passed on Bulgarians implicated in the late insurrection by the Special Commission which sat at Adrianople, I have now the honour to inclose a translation of a list of sentences passed by the Commission which had its seat at Tirnova, under the presidency of Ali Shefik Bey.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1.

List of Persons implicated in the Bulgarian Outbreak who were tried and sentenced by the Special Commission which sat at Tirnova.

Name.	Offence.	Penalty.	
Petro Niko, Stano Thodor Ghavril, Sighor, Stanko, Pertoo Thodor,	Killed the gendarme Ali at the beginning of the insurrection	Condemned to death.	
Rhagio Ghangio, Ghangio Boli Kiro of Griva, Sanko Dortianoglou, Bekim	Instigators of the revolt	Ditto.	
Yovan Banof, schoolmaster of Ba- hondjai Bala, and Ismirli Oglou Yonghi of Donidja	Exciting Bulgarians to revolt in the Sandjak of Tirnova	Ditto.	
Karaguenz Potko	Exciting the population to revolt, fighting against the Imperial troops, and raising fortifications on the approaches to Yenikeui	Ditto.	
Theodor Stoyano	Came from the Principalities to Tirnova with the rebel leaders, and personally took com- mand of the insurgents	Ditto.	
Stefan Becho Oglou	Excited the inhabitants of the Caza of Servi to rise, prepared arms and ammunition and everything necessary for the insurrection	Ditto.	
Yovan, priest of Gabrova	Commanded a detachment of armed insurgents	Ditto.	
Valdio	Killed a soldier named Ibrahim	Ditto.	
Pavlo Danko, Dascal Nicola, Pope Davon, Resto Kaplu Oglou	Leaders of the insurrection	Ditto.	
Bersenak Yovantcho	Explained the revolutionary proclamation to the people, and incited some of them to revolt	Ditto.	

Total number of persons condemned to death

Inclosure 2.

List of Persons condemned to Hard Labour by the Special Commission which sat at Tirnova.

Name.	Offence.	Duration of Sentence
Petro	Taking the rifle of the soldier Ibrahim, who had been killed	5 years.
Yorghi	Was a member of the Revolutionary Committee at Taravana	5 years.
Stefan and Raico	Ditto	3 years.
Manol, waggoner	Was one of the principal insurgents of Rahondja, and was entrusted with the care of the arms intended for the revolt	10 years.
Sterban Petko, Avram Diragam, Tenko Madjim, Velko Tonko, Dargano Stoitcho, and Bekdji Oglou Bitun	erected fortifications, and fought against the	15 years.
Bob Tanash	Wrote letters to Bulgarians in the name of the Chief Sanko, inciting them to revolt	5 years.
Yovan	[The also are at 1 at 1 at 2 a comment at 2 at 1 at 2 a comment at 2 at 1 at 2 a comment at 2 at 1 at 2 at 2 at 2 at 2 at 2 at	3 years.
Yorghi	Ditto	4 years.
Dascal Nicola	Ditto	5 years.
Kristo Paretko	Took part in the insurrection, and cut the tele- graph wires	9 years.
Vezaro Deldjo	1 TT7	5 years.
Kristo Mitto and Demetri Dentcho	Leaders of the insurrection	15 years.
Dascal Haranoff	Took part in the insurrection	3 years.

Total number of persons sentenced to hard labour

.. 20

RETURN of the Sentences pronounced and executed upon Persons concerned in the Bulgarian Rising, and in the Suppression of the same.

(In continuation of "Turkey No. 13, 1877.")

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

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TURKEY. No. 15 (1877).

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

No. 1.

Consul Barker to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 3, 1877.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, reporting details on the present working of the "Organic Law" in Crete, and describing the dissatisfaction manifested by the Christian inhabitants with the actual Government in the island, as so also in some measure by the Mahommedans.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Consul Barker to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Canea, Crete, December 16, 1876.

AT this moment that the Powers are in Conference at the capital, and about to decide the question of the Christian populations in the northern provinces of Turkey, your Excellency may perhaps wish to know how the Organic Laws have been working in Crete since their establishment.

The following is the actual state of things:-

All the inhabitants in this island, but more particularly the Christians, are much dissatisfied with the Tribunals, and with the acts of his Excellency the Governor-General, whose Government does not enforce payment of debts, and this causes a complete stagnation in trade and in business of every kind. But in reality his Excellency is not entirely to blame; the antagonism existing between the two rival creeds, and the violent hatred openly manifested to one another by both parties, prevent the proper working of the Tribunals and the impartial administration of justice, and the Organic Law has become a dead letter.

Without entering into the circumstances which during the last eight years have gradually led to this state of things, I may briefly say that the actual Government in this island is virtually that of the Sultan, independent of any other, administered at this moment by Réoup Pasha; but there is no union among the inhabitants, no wish to work together for general interests, no bearing and forbearing, and from one moment to another, at any time, an insurrection of the Christians may be expected if external political causes arise to ignite the sparks always ready to create a conflagration.

And yet there never could be better Regulations (upon paper) than those embodied in the Organic Law, none which would appear more calculated to ensure a just and impartial administration, or to satisfy every class and creed; but the animus to put them into execution is wanting. Violent religious fanaticism on both sides (whose only thought is how to crush one another) has shipwrecked the good intentions of the Powers who engaged the Porte to grant this concession to Crete. The Christians are still dissatisfied, and so also in some measure are the Mahommedans, which renders particularly necessary the garrisoning of the 150 block-houses which have been built in every part of the island

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during the last insurrection, and the maintenance in complete working order of the system of signals established, exclusive of the telegraph.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

P.S.—In proof of what I have said I have the honour to report that the British Consular Agent at Rettimo, M. Tréfelli, has had in hand three sentences from the Tribunal condemning three Turks to pay sums of money on regular bonds, and he has not been able for the last two years to obtain payment.

E. B. B. B.

No. 2.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 4, 1877.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of to-day's date to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting on recent disturbances in this Consular district, produced by the rigorous measures adopted by the Porte for the levying of troops.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Aleppo, December 14, 1876.

IT has just been reported to me that the Mussulman population of Tarsus is in a state of great excitement in consequence of a recruit belonging to that town having been

flogged to death.

It appears that the man was afflicted with epilepsy, and on his representing to his Colonel that he was thereby rendered incapable of serving in the army, he was flogged without medical inspection, an epileptic fit came on, and he died. A mob, headed by the Softas of the place, called upon all the inhabitants to take up arms against the Government.

I have telegraphed to the Governor-General of Adama for further information, and in the event of its not being satisfactory, I think I ought to request Captain Hammond, who is at Alexandretta, in command of Her Majesty's ship "Torch," to proceed to Mersina for the protection of British subjects in the Province of Adama. I shall have the honour of reporting again to your Excellency on the subject when I shall have learnt whether or not the excitement continues, and if it does what form it has taken.

There has been a conflict been the Christians and Mussulmans of Beylau, but it does

not seem to have been very serious.

A marriage was being celebrated in a Christian family when a numerous party of Mussulmans broke into the house by force. Blows were exchanged, and the Mussulmans were severely beaten. For two days bands of their friends paraded the streets, loudly vowing vengeance on all the Christians of the town. The Governor-General went in one day to Beylan, although the journey is usually made in three days, and he arrived in time to prevent further disorders by taking energetic steps for the punishment of the Mussulman offenders, and for the security of the Christian inhabitants.

During his Excellency's absence from Aleppo some Christian girls attending a day school at a French convent here have been repeatedly assailed by Mussulmans, who addressed gross language to them, and tried to pull off their veils in the streets. My French colleague has demanded their punishment, and as he has obtained ample evidence against them, there can be no doubt that a Governor-General, so impartial and efficient as Emin Pasha is proving himself to be, will not hesitate to do his duty.

When the reserve was called out from the different quarters of this town, the people of one of them openly declared in a body that they would not give any soldiers, and it was not until they had been persuaded by influential persons that they finally consented.

At Aintab the arming of the Reserve has been met by threats of violent resistance,

and at Killis a Christian was stabbed, not mortally, by a Mussulman, who cursed his

religion for having caused the war requiring soldiers.

The punishment of Mussulman offenders under such circumstances, necessary though it be, may exasperate the Mahometan population, and give rise to more general outbreaks of resentment on their part. It is therefore greatly to be regretted that the calling out of the Reserve should be effected with such extreme haste and rigour in these provinces before its necessity has become compulsory, for these disturbances have no other origin than the peremptory arming of the Reserve to fight in a war caused by Christians. The Governor-General endeavours to avert the evil consequences of the course enjoined, and on his speaking to me on the subject, I expressed my opinion freely to him, but the remedy can be found only at Constantinople, not here.

If the Porte were to moderate the impatience displayed in the preparation of means to carry on a war, which may possibly not take place, better results might be obtained in the event of its being inevitable. An equal if not a greater number of the Reserve might be forthcoming were no doubt to remain of troops being indispensable. A considerable outlay, not yet proved to be necessary, as the Reserve is composed of trained soldiers, ready to march at once, would be avoided, and less risk would be incurred of further pretexts being furnished to strengthen opposition against Turkey, and weaken efforts in

favour of peaceful reformation.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 3.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5, 1877.)

My Lord, Erzeroom, December 18, 1876. IT is with regret I have to report that the town of Van has just suffered much from a fire, which has destroyed upwards of 250 shops and magazines, all belonging to Christians.

The fire, it is stated, was the work of an incendiary; and the Christians believe it was done by the military for the sake of plunder—the soldiers and many of the Mussulman inhabitants having been very active in making off with goods out of the burning shops, and in breaking open many others that were not menaced, and clearing them out.

The sufferers petitioned the Porte by telegraph for a Commission of Inquiry.

The Governor of Van must be exculpated from all blame, as he was at the time ill of typhoid fever, and his life is despaired of.

> I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 4.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 5, 1877.)

Sir, Scuari, December 23, 1876. I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of a despatch and its inclosures, this day addressed to Sir Henry Elliot. I report to his Excellency the causes that have given rise to the discontent that now exists among the Mirdites, and certain observations made by me on the subject to the authorities here.

I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, December 23, 1876. I HAVE already several times had the honour of reporting to your Excellency that the Mirdites are dissatisfied at the conduct of the authorities here towards them, and that, consequently, the proceedings of emissaries sent to them from Montenegro to create difficulties for the Turkish Government have been greatly facilitated. 376

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The principal complaints of the Mirdites are, that they have not yet been paid for their military services during the Crimean war; that the recent promises made by the Porte to their Chieftain, Prenk Bib Doda, who was permitted to return from his exile at Constantinople, have not been fulfilled; that their Chieftain, whilst at Scutari, was treated with marked disrespect by the Governor-General, who violated the sacred Mirdite right of hospitality by seizing a Mirdite who had come to pay homage to the newly-arrived Prenk; that, instead of Prenk Bib Doda being named Mutesaref of Miridicia, as promised, Dervish Bey, a Mahommedan of Prisrend, has received the empty title of Kaïmakam, thus marking the intention of the Government to ignore the fact of the Mirdites being governed by their own Chieftain; that the small salaries that had been hitherto paid to the different Chiefs for the police of the high roads passing through their districts, have been discontinued; and that, finally, the markets of Scutari, Alesio, and Prisrend are no longer safe for the Mirdites, who are, consequently, prevented from purchasing the corn necessary for their existence.

Some further acts of the Vali and the Commander-in-chief towards the Mirdites having tended to increase the dissatisfaction of the mountaineers, I thought it advisable to remonstrate with their Excellencies on the imprudence of their conduct, at a time when the slightest disaffection among the Roman Catholic tribes of North Albania might endanger the very existence of the now comparatively small force on the Montenegrin frontier, and

plunge North Albania into the anarchy which exists in the Herzegovina.

My observations being unanswerable, the Pashas simply denied that they were acting as it was supposed, and declared that their sole object was to come to a satisfactory understanding with Prenk Bib Doda, whom they had invited for the purpose to Scutari. I told them that it was useless to expect that the Mirdite Chieftain would now act upon their promises; but that, if they really desired to conciliate him, I would, on their formal assurance that he would be permitted to come and leave Scutari in perfect safety, endeavour to induce him to comply with their request by adding my assurance for his personal security to theirs.

After two days of consideration over my proposal, the Pashas informed me that they had ascertained that the Mirdites were not discontented, and that they had determined

upon doing as heretofore, and not interfering with them.

I warned their Excellencies that facts were not to be got rid of by the mere process of denying their presence, as had been unfortunately demonstrated in some of the neighbouring provinces, where, for a whole year, the Turkish authorities persisted in declaring that no insurrection existed. I had been in hopes that, at a moment when nearly every Christian population in the Ottoman dominions was, more or less, inclined to create difficulties for the Imperial Government, the Vali of Scutari would avail himself of the exceptional condition of the Roman Catholic mountaineers in his province to strengthen their allegiance, but I regretted to observe that it had been determined instead to leave the ground open to the operations of foreign agitators.

It is said that, besides the Montenegrin emissaries, money and arms have been sent

to the Mirdites by the Slav Committees in Dalmatia, and by the Italian Albanians.

Yesterday I was shown by M. Wassich, the Austrian Consul-General, a letter he had just received from Prenk Bib Doda, in which he complains of the conduct of the Turkish authorities, and expresses a fear that the Mirdites will be forced into having recourse to

I understand that a similar letter has been addressed to the French Consul.

Through the courtesy of M. Wassich I am enabled to furnish your Excellency, herewith, with a translation of the letter in question.

> I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

Prenk Bib Doda to M. Wassich.

(Translation.) Sir,

Orosci, December 18, 1876.

THE Government of His Majesty the Sultan has ordered the markets to be closed to the Mirdite population. Already a great number of poor from this great tribe have been driven away from the town of Prisrend, being informed by the authorities of that place "that His Majesty the Sultan can no longer let them have the cereals that are necessary for them, and that they must return to their respective homes."

This ill-judged step of the Ottoman authority may lead this population, which is

exceedingly poor, to excesses which might bring about unfortunate consequences for both parties; especially as the Mirdite people have not yet given a serious motive for the

Ottoman Government to adopt such rigorous measures.

Further, I am being repeatedly summoned to Scutari by the authorities at a moment when these are aware that my extreme bodily weakness prevents my undertaking the shortest of journeys; and at the same time I am threatened, if I refuse, with serious (military) operations against this country. This appears to me to be to wish absolutely to force this people to strong acts of reprisal, which are entirely opposed to my views and ideas.

Owing to these proceedings, which I cannot qualify, I turn towards you, Sir, to ask for advice calculated to dissipate the terrible situation which is being made for this country, and sure that I shall find in you, and in the exalted Imperial and Royal Government, that support of which I have never doubted, I declare, &c.

(Signed)

PRENK BIB DODA.

No. 5.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 6, 1877.)

My Lord, Trebizond, December 11, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I addressed to-day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, on the subject of the outrages committed by the tax-collectors at the villages of Shana and Samarouksa.

I have, &c. (Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Trebizond, December 11, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that the inquest on the subject of the abuses committed by the tax-gatherers at Shana and Samarouksa has been completed some time since, but that it is only lately, after translation and perusal of numerous documents and verbal information from several sources, that I have been able to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion on the real state of things.

According to the Armenian version, the first part of the question, that is, the perpetration of outrages, has been fully proved. According to the Pasha, the most important heads of accusation, such as drenching, keeping the peasants in their wet clothes, bound up, for hours, &c., have not been substantiated. It would seem that in some cases the facts stated by the Armenians were denied by the Greeks and Mussulmans, whom they cited as witnesses. However, in my opinion, allowing for exaggeration, there is still sufficient ground for serious complaint.

With respect to what I consider to be the main question, that is, the refusal of justice on the part of the Pasha, the Armenians themselves seemed to be convinced that it cannot be entertained. The editors themselves have signed a declaration to the effect that "it appears from the documents presented that the Governor-General had taken the matter in

hand."

I cannot ascertain the date of the publication in the Armenian papers of the outrages at Shana, but I know that the news was received here through them on the 30th October last, that is, a week after the date on which it has been proved that the petition was handed to the Pasha. Taking into account that there are four days' voyage between this and Constantinople, it is evident that the correspondent of the Armenian newspapers at Trebizond, a schoolmaster, was complaining of the Pasha's refusal of justice at the time when, or even before, the petition had been presented to him.

In dismissing, therefore, this last head of accusation as ungrounded, the first must be

fully maintained.

The Pasha having told me that the final decision would be taken at Constantinople, I observed to him that this course might apply to the question between the Government and the editors, but that there was a distinct case between the tax-collectors and the

peasants, which, in my opinion, should be tried by the local Tribunals. Although admitting the culpability of the collectors, who are still in prison, he answered that he might continue to keep them in confinement for an undetermined period, but that he did not want to assume the responsibility of passing sentence on them. He then explained that the exaggerations to which the Armenians had resorted to, for selfish motives, in all parts of the Empire, in a moment when the Government was placed in so difficult circumstances, had incensed the Mussulmans here against them, and that, although willing to inflict adequate punishment on the culprits, he did not feel justified, under present circumstances, to do it in a way which might lead to regrettable complications.

The Governor-General may take an exaggerated view of the supposed danger, but I think that he is sincere in his opinion, although the advisability of subordinating the

course of justice to political considerations may be strongly objectionable.

I have, &c. (Signed) AL

ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 6.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 12, 1877.)

My Lord, Scutari, December 31, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch this day addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot, furnishing details regarding the emissaries in Miridicia and other revolutionary agitators alluded to in my despatch to his Excellency of the 23rd instant, of which copy was inclosed in my despatch to your Lordship of the same date.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 6.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) Scutari, December 31, 1876.

ALTHOUGH I am not disposed to think that any immediate serious consequences are likely to ensue from the proceedings in Miridicia of the emissaries and revolutionary agitators alluded to in the despatch I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 23rd instant, still I deem it necessary to inform your Excellency that it is reported here that a furtner sum of money, coming through Montenegro, has reached the Mirdite Chiefs, and that a young Mirdite Roman Catholic priest, who was brought up in Rome, and who is in correspondence with the Garibaldian Committees in Italy, and has formed projects of raising North Albania into an independent Principality, has recently left his parish, in Miridicia, and proceeded to Cettigné. I understand that when he first arrived there the Prince of Montenegro refused to see him, but on His Highness being informed by the Russian Consul here that he could be confided in, every attention has since been shown to him.

I am also told that an Albano-Italian who was formerly in Scutari, and who is well known as a revolutionary agitator in Italy, recently returned here, and that he is now in the Mirdite mountains.

I believe that a lawyer residing in Palermo, and who visited Scutari a few years ago, is the chief of the Committees formed in Italy for the purpose of bringing about a union between the North Albanians and the Albano-Italians, and that assurances have been given by these Committees to their partizans in this country that they hold 400 men, properly armed and equipped, ready to be thrown into the Albanian mountains on the first signal of a rising.

No. 7.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 13, 1877.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date, reporting to Sir Henry Elliot that all apprehension of further disturbances at Tarsus has been removed.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th instant, I have the honour to report to your Excellency that the excitement then existing at Tarsus has ceased without producing any further results than those I stated in that despatch, and that I have consequently not taken any steps for the security of British subjects in the Province of Adana.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 8.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 13, 1877.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date to Sir Henry Elliot, relative to incipient disturbances in different parts of this Consular district.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) Aleppo, December 28, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency of its having been reported to me from Caramania, in the Province of Adana, that the soldiers of the Reserve have plundered the shops of the Christians there to the value of about 1,000l.

Intelligence has just been received from Edlib, a small town near Aleppo, of a party of Mussulmans having entered the Greek church during divine service, and imitated the voice and gestures of the priest to turn them into ridicule. The service was curtailed, and the congregation dismissed. When the priest was leaving the church, he found the same Mussulmans waiting for him at the door, who beat him with a stick, wounding him severely on the forehead.

A few hours ago some soldiers of the Reserve went through the Christian quarter of Aleppo, loudly cursing the Cross, and calling out to the Christians in the streets that their wives would soon be violated. The police arrested them.

No. 9.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 16, 1877.)

I REGRET to state that in my despatch of the 18th instant I understated the loss suffered by the fire at Van. I have received further details, by which I learn that three-fourths of the business quarter of the town, estimated at from 800 to 1,000 buildings,

occupied entirely by Christian traders, have been destroyed, and while about one-quarter of the goods in the shops was burnt, three-quarters were stolen by the troops and by Koords.

I am told that the Christians of Van, feeling insecure in their houses, which are all outside the walls, were in the habit of keeping all their valuables in money, jewels, bonds, deeds, and books, in cellars under their shops; these valuables have all been either destroyed or carried away, and thus the owner or occupant of every building burnt has been utterly ruined.

The Christians complain bitterly of the conduct of the Government officials and soldiers, whom they accuse of having directed their efforts while the fire lasted to breaking open, carrying off, and concealing property, instead of endeavouring to arrest the

flames.

A Commission has been appointed to search for and collect lost property, but as nothing has as yet been recovered, the Christians do not believe that anything will be got back, even if the Government were desirous of finding the stolen property, as ample time has been given to the robbers to carry off their booty to the mountains.

I have, &c. JAS. ZOHRAB. (Signed)

No. 10.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 16, 1877.)

Erzeroom, December 26, 1876. THE condition of the agricultural classes and of traders in this province is daily becoming more critical, and if an immediate change is not made in the action of the

Government, and if the police of the country is not efficiently and honestly maintained, the

Christians will be left quite destitute.

The demands of the Government press with crushing weight on all classes. of taxes (the validity of which no Court of Justice could admit), current taxes, taxes in advance, aid in money for the war, contributions in kind for the army, means of transport for munitions of war and provisions, are exacted from the Christian and from the Mussulman peasants with pitiless severity, and already thousands of families have been so reduced that they live only by public charity. Unscrupulous employés take advantage of the pressing needs of the Government to augment their own exactions, and as there is no possibility of checking such corruption, seeing that the officers, who are supposed to watch over and protect the people, are the culprits, it is impossible to state what can be done, while Turkish officials have power, to put an end to this systematic spoliation of the people.

Thus far the strain falls equally upon the Christians and the Mussulman peasants. But the Christians seem now to have a new element of destruction brought against

them.

Incendiary fires are commencing which may, as the Administration appear to take no notice of them, become so frequent as to render property of no value whatever.

I have already reported the destructive fire at Van. A week since a large quantity of hav was set fire to by some Mussulmans at the village of Tchiflik, three miles from Erzeroom, and the next night the same crime was repeated at Guez, another village close Robberies, also, by bands of Mussulman peasants, are perpetrated daily in the Christian villages.

These crimes pass unnoticed by the authorities, who, when appealed to by the victims, reply that nothing can be done without these complaints being substantiated by

From the villages in the various districts which seem to be given entirely over to pillage by officers, soldiers, Koords, and bands of Mussulmans, most distressing accounts reach this.

Samih Pasha acknowledged to me to-day that much suffering existed, and he was endeavouring to alleviate the burden thrown on the villages on the highways, which had soldiers constantly quartered on them, by appointing officers to collect the required provisions from villages remote from the highways. And he has promised to write and instruct the Governor and district officials to keep a more strict watch over the various villages to prevent oppression, and directing them to accept in payment of taxes all obligations which may have been given for provisions supplied to the military.

This order may bring some slight relief, but I doubt it, and I said so; for, as I

frankly told his Excellency, the persons the villagers had to dread most were the officials and the lower grades of officers, who were the real oppressors and robbers.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 11.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 16, 1877.)

Erzeroom, December 26, 1876. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the province of Van has been separated from Erzeroom, and elevated into a vilayet, and the districts of Moosh and Hekiareh have been made dependent on it.

Hassan Bey, the Governor of Khartpoot, whose good conduct I have reported to your Lordship, has been promoted to the rank of Vizier, and appointed to this newly-

created province.

A suggestion made to-day by Samih Pasha, in regard to the Government of Van, which up to the present was under his jurisdiction, is worthy of attention. The majority of the population of the new province being Armenian, Samih Pasha suggests the appointment of a Christian Lieutenant-Governor (Mouavin) to assist the Valy. Such an appointment, he said, would not only secure fair treatment to the Christians, but, by habituating the Mussulmans, who are very fanatic in that region, to the presence of a Christian holding a high position, would gradually lead them to accept a Christian Governor later. He believes a Christian would prove a better administrator for that province than a Mussulman.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 12.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 18, 1877.)

Aleppo, December 30, 1876. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date to Sir Henry Elliot relative to disturbances in this province, and the probability of their not becoming more serious.

I have, &c. J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 12.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Aleppo, December 30, 1876. (Extract.)

ANOTHER incident has occurred to augment the apprehensions of the Christians at Aleppo. Two soldiers of the Reserve were passing the shop of an Armenian while he was in the act of counting the receipts of the week. They entered, seized the bag of money, and made off. He followed them, shouting, "Stop thief!" and one of them, turning upon him, stabbed him with a knife. The Armenian fell, but the wound has not

been pronounced mortal, and the soldiers are in custody for trial.

Notwithstanding the numerous similar acts which I have had the honour to report to your Excellency of late, I am still of opinion that no general conflict between Mussulmans and Christians will take place in this province. In individual cases there is abundant evidence of the same hostility which gave rise to the insurrection of the year 1850 at Aleppo; but the majority of the Mussulman population has not forgotten its severe retribution, upwards of 1,000 insurgents having then been bayoneted in the streets and mosques by troops under the energetic and skilful command of the late Polish General Bem.

There is now here another efficient Commandant of the Garrison, Omer Pasha. who was formerly a Colonel in the Russian army, and who succeeded in preventing an imminent outbreak at Aleppo in 1860; and there is a Governor-General, Emin Pasha.

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who evinces great activity and ability, with an earnest desire to do justice to all classes of the inhabitants.

No. 13.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.*

Foreign Office, January 23, 1877. Sir,

I GATHER from the language used by Musurus Pasha that there is a prospect of overtures being made by the Porte to Servia and Montenegro for the conclusion of a definitive peace. I have strongly urged upon him my opinion as to the expediency of

this course being adopted.

If such overtures should be made to the Prince of Montenegro, Mr. Monson should be prepared to press His Highness to show a conciliatory disposition and a readiness to come to terms; and I should wish your Excellency to give him at once instructions to this effect.

> I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 14.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.*

Sir, Foreign Office, January 23, 1877. I GATHER from the language which Musurus Pasha has held in conversation with

me that there is a prospect of the Porte making overtures for the conclusion of definitive

peace with Servia and Montenegro. I have strongly advised this course being pursued.

In the event of such overtures being made at Belgrade, it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that Mr. White or Mr. St. John should urge the Servian Government to show a conciliatory disposition and to come to an arrangement with the

I have, therefore, to request your Excellency to give Mr. White instructions to that effect, if he is still at Constantinople. If he is not, your Excellency will forward to him the substance of this despatch.

> l am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 15.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord. Aleppo, January 3, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting continued indications of hostile feelings towards the Christians and Jews on the part of the Mussulmans in this province.

> I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE,

Inclosure in No. 15.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Aleppo, January 3, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency of the non-Mussulman inhabitants of the town of Killis, in this province, being subjected to constant insults offered to them by the Mussulmans. Christians and Jews are openly accosted in the streets as accursed infidels, their wives and daughters have their veils violently pulled down, and the Chief Rabbi has had his turban knocked off his head, and trampled in the mud. I

have spoken on this subject to the Governor-General, as well as on that of the beating of a Greek priest at Edlib, reported to your Excellency in my despatch of the 28th ultimo, and he has assured me that he is taking effectual steps for the punishment and prevention of such offences.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 16.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch and its inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, further reporting on the present state of affairs in Syria.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a report and its inclosure which I have received from Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Blanche, respecting the disorders at Tripoli, and the action of the local authorities in the matter, which I consider most reprehensible and deserving a severe reprimand.

It is one of those cases of tergiversation that the Ottoman authorities are so frequently guilty of, in order to conceal and misrepresent facts which reflect discredit upon themselves, that destroy all confidence in their statements even when they happen to be truthful and therefore ought not to be suffered to pass without notice

to be truthful, and, therefore, ought not to be suffered to pass without notice.

The Governor-General, however, appears to have performed his duty, and conse-

quently no blame can attach to him.

I have just received the following telegram from Mr. Vice-Consul Tattarachi, dated Mersina, 7th instant, 1.30 p.m.:—

"3,000 arrived. Wali of Adana sends regulars presently. Tranquillity prevails. Man-of-war will restore confidence."

M. Tattarachi, who is also Greek Vice-Consul, has written to my Greek colleage on the subject of the disorders, and states that some of the Redifs invaded his premises, that he was compelled to give them 3 liras to get rid of them, and that the consternation was general, but gives no further details of importance.

As I have no information as to whether Her Majesty's ship "Torch" has proceeded to Mersina, I have again telegraphed to Alexandretta, suggesting that it would be advisable

that she should do so.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Acting Vice-Consul Blanche to Consul-General Eldridge.

M. le Consul-Général,

DANS la journée du Jeudi 4 courant, il est arrivé du vilayet un télégramme demandant à notre Gouverneur des informations sur les faits qui ont troublé le repos public, et annonçant l'intention d'envoyer au plus tôt de la force armée pour comprimer le désordre. Les deux grands tribunaux se réunirent aussitôt, et après délibérations, un mazbata fut rendu et télégraphié en réponse au Valy. Dans cette réponse, l'autorité de Tripoli oppose une dénégation absolue aux faits dénoncés à Son Excellence, et prétend qu'il n'y a pas même eu apparence de trouble; elle invoque à l'appui de cette assertion le témoignage de Monseigneur Sofronios, Evêque Orthodoxe de Tripoli, qui, appelé au [376]

serail pendant la délibération, aurait déclaré qu'il ne s'était rien passé contre les Chrétiens.

Le lendemain matin, Vendredi, Monseigneur l'Evêque eut connaissance de ce mazbata et du témoignage que l'autorité prétendait avoir reçu de lui; il protesta avec énergie et déclara qu'il n'avait en aucune façon témoigné dans le sens qu'on lui prétait. Sur le champ, il adressa au Valy un télégramme pour rétablir la vérité; il a bien voulu me donner le texte de ce télégramme. J'ai l'honneur de vous en transmettre la copie ciinclus.

Pour qui connaît l'honorabilité de Monseigneur Sofronios, il est bien évident qu'il n'a pu donner un témoignage aussi contraire à la conscience que celui qui lui est attribué dans le mazbata; au moment où Chaker Bey se disposait à partir pour les districts, l'Evêque, alarmé par l'attitude plus que menaçante des Musulmans, prit l'initiative d'une démarche auprès de lui pour tenter de le retenir, le déclarant responsable de tout le mal qui pourrait survenir en son absence. Pour donner un caractère plus officiel et plus solennel à cette démarche, il l'avait [faite] en commun avec la communauté Maronite.

Une autre fois Monseigneur était venu lui-même chez moi me prier d'agir de mon mieux auprès de l'autorité, de solliciter la présence d'un bâtiment de guerre, de venir en aide par tous les moyens à ma disposition aux Chrétiens maltraités et gravement menacés; il se conduisit, en un mot, dans toutes ces affaires avec l'activité et la sollicitude d'un pasteur justement inquiet pour son troupeau. Est-il admissible, après ces actes publics qu'il ait pu rendre contre lui-même et contre son troupeau le témoignage qu'on

lui prète?

C'est évidemment l'autorité de Tripoli qui se pourvoit en tout ceci; elle pouvait, sans encourir aucun blâme de qui que ce fut, reconnaître qu'il y avait eu effectivement une effervescence populaire et personne n'eût été tenté ni de l'en accuser, ni d'en exagérer la portée. Mais en niant ouvertement et absolument ce fait public, qui à eu pour témoin toute une grande ville, elle fait preuve d'un audace peu commun et peu honorable; et en même temps, elle trahit des préoccupations peu rassurantes pour les administrés; car il est difficile de ne pas voir dans une dénégation si contraire à la vérité, l'effet d'une solidarité contre les Gouvernements et les perturbateurs.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'effervescence semble être beaucoup tombé, mais il en reste toujours quelque chose, car il y a encore eu ces jours-ci plusieurs cas d'insulte et de brutalité. L'irritation subsiste quoique plus comprimée, et l'attitude des tribunaux n'est

parfaite pour achever de la calmer.

Néanmoins, la ville est plus tranquille, et il y a toute apparence que c'est une émotion passéc.

Je suis, &c. J. BLANCHE. (Signé)

(Translation.)

M. le Consul-Général,

Tripoli, January 6, 1877.

IN the course of Thursday, the 4th instant, there arrived from the vilayet a telegram asking our Governor for information regarding the acts that have disturbed the public tranquillity, and announcing the intention of sending, as soon as possible, an armed force to suppress the disorder. The two Grand Tribunals assembled at once, and after deliberation, a Mazbata was drawn up and telegraphed to the Vali in reply. In this reply the Tripoli authorities oppose an absolute denial to the facts denounced to his Excellency, and maintain that there has not been even a semblance of disturbance; they invoke in support of this assertion the testimony of Monsignor Sopronios, the orthodox Bishop of Tripoli, who, called to the Palace during the deliberations, is said to have declared that no movement had taken place against the Christians.

The following morning, Friday, the Bishop was made acquainted with this Mazbata, and with the testimony which the authorities pretended to have received from him; he made an energetic protest and declared that he had in no way testified in the sense attributed to him. He at once dispatched a telegram to the Vali to establish the truth; he had the kindness to give me the text of this telegram. I have the honour to

transmit the inclosed copy of it.

To those acquainted with the honourable character of Monsignor Sopronios, it is very clear that he could not have borne testimony so opposed to truth as that attributed to him in the Mazbata. At the moment when Chaker Bey was preparing to start for the districts concerned, the Bishop, alarmed at the more than threatening attitude of the Mussulmans, took the initiative of communicating with him to endeavour to restrain him, by holding him responsible for all the evil which might happen in his absence. To give this step a more official and solemn character, he took it conjointly with the Maronite community.

On another occasion Monsignor Sopronios came to me himself to beg me to do my best with the authorities, to solicit the presence of a man of war, and to come to the aid, by all the means at my disposal, of the ill-treated and seriously menaced Christians. He demeaned himself, in a word, in all these affairs with the activity and solicitude of a pastor justly anxious for his flock. After these public acts, is it admissible that he can

have borne against himself and his flock the testimony attributed to him?

Evidently the Tripoli authorities are providing for themselves in all this; they might, without incurring blame from any quarter, have admitted that, effectively, there had been an effervescence of the population, and no one would have been tempted to accuse them, or to exaggerate its importance. But by denying openly and absolutely this public fact, to which the whole of a large town was witness, they show an amount of audacity seldom met with, and not much to their credit; and, at the same time, they betray prejudices not reassuring for those under them; for it is difficult not to see in a denial so opposed to the truth the result of an understanding between the Government authorities and the agitators.

At all events the effervescence seems much allayed, but there is still something left of it, for within the last few days there have been several cases of insult and brutality. The irritation, though more suppressed, does still exist, and the attitude of the Tribunals

is not perfectly calculated to appease it.

Still the town is more quiet, and there is every appearance of its being a movement passed and done with.

I am, &c. (Signed) J. BLANCHE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Bishop Sofronios to the Governor-General of Syria.

(Translation.) (Telegraphic.)

Tripoli, December 24, 1876. v.s.

MY verbal reply yesterday to the Acting Governor was that no perturbation of a general nature by Moslems against the Christians ever took place, but that isolated cases were numerous. Since last week the spirit of the ignorant amongst the Moslems was changed, and consequently I could not perform this year the visits which I was in the habit of making on the occasion of the Baïram to some of their notables, and jointly with my Maronite colleague I requested the Governor to postpone his departure.

Now the Christians having been informed of your Excellency's kind attention feel

reassured, and beg to present their best thanks.

No. 17.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople reporting on the recent disturbances at Mersina and the state of Syria.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday evening I received from Captain Hamond, of Her Majesty's ship "Torch," the following telegram, dated Mersina, the 9th instant, at 1.30 p.m.:—

"Arrived yesterday; seen Governor; no disturbances now. Redifs being got under discipline; troops expected daily from Constantinople."

From which I conclude that no further danger is to be apprehended, and that the

"Torch" will probably remain at Mersina until the Redifs have embarked.

During the last ten days considerable excitement has prevailed, owing to the general impression that war is inevitable; and the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans is being raised to meet the emergency.

It is said that the conscripts for the years 1875 and 1876 had not been called out, and that they are now being enrolled to raise the battalions of the 5th Corps d'Armée

now in Syria to their full effective strength.

In Damascus, I believe, the number of volunteers who have entered the National

Guard is between 300 and 400, who are drilled three times a week.

The formation of a National Guard has been commenced at Beyrout, as well as, I believe, in other places in Syria.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 18.

M. Contostavlos to M. Gennadius.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gennadius, January 24.)

Monsieur,

Athènes, le 12 Janvier, 1876-

VOUS voudrez bien remarquer de la copie annexée d'un Rapport de M. Coundourioti,* l'état actuel de la question des Circassiens, dont la colonisation dans les provinces Grecques de la Turquie a dû inquiéter et inquiète encore à juste titre le Gouvernement Royal. Je m'abstiens de revenir sur les détails de la question, bien connus d'ailleurs aux Légations de Sa Majesté. Je reléverai seulement dans le Rapport du Ministre de Sa Majesté à Constantinople la persistance de la Sublime Porte qui, refusant de s'engager péremptoirement à ne pas coloniser des Tcherkesses en Macédoine, évite aussi de justifier son refus d'une manière satisfaisante et qui puisse au moins tranquilliser le Gouvernement Royal pour l'avenir.

Aussi me fais-je un devoir, Monsieur, d'attirer votre sérieuse attention sur la conclusion du Rapport de M. Coundourioti, et de vous prier de vouloir bien entretenir Lord Derby de l'état peu rassurant de la question des Circassiens, en lui faisant remarquer tous les dangers d'une situation qui pourrait d'un jour à l'autre faire péricliter sérieusement l'état des choses en Orient. Vous voudrez bien aussi prier M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Grande Bretagne de donner à M. le Représentant du Gouvernement Anglais à Constantinople des instructions nettes et catégoriques dans le sens que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous exposer dans mes dépêches précédentes sur la question afin de mettre un terme à une situation inquiétante pour l'avenir.

Veuillez, &c.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

YOU will take note from the annexed copy of a report of M. Coundourioti of the actual state of the question of the Circassians, whose colonization in the Greek provinces of Turkey has necessarily disquieted, and still justly disquiets, the Royal Government. I refrain from reverting to the details of the question again, especially as they are well known to His Majesty's Legations. I will only notice in the report of His Majesty's Minister at Constantinople the persistency of the Sublime Porte, which, while refusing to bind itself absolutely not to place colonies of Tcherkesscs in Macedonia, avoids also justifying its refusal in a satisfactory manner, and in one which might at least tranquillize the Royal Government as regards the future.

I likewise deem it my duty, Sir, to draw your serious attention to the conclusion of the Report of M. Coundourioti, and I beg you to have the goodness to communicate with Lord Derby on the discouraging state of the question of the Circassians, bringing to his notice all the dangers of a situation which might any day put in serious jeopardy the state of things in the East. You will also be good enough to beg the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain to give the Representative of the English Government at Constantinople distinct and categorical instructions in the sense which I have had the honour to explain to you in my preceding despatches on the question, so as to put an end to a situation which is disquieting for the future.

No. 19.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

Foreign Office, January 24, 1877.

THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires called upon me to-day, and left with me the despatch, of which I inclose a copy,* complaining of the conduct of the Porte with regard to the colonization of Circassians in the Greek provinces of Turkey.

I made no observation to M. Gennadius, in reply, beyond stating that I would ascer-

tain how the matter stood.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 20.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, January 24, 1877.

THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires called upon me to-day, and left with me the despatch, of which I inclose a copy,* complaining of the conduct of the Porte with regard to the colonization of Circassians in the Greek provinces of Turkey.

I made no observation to M. Gennadius, in reply, beyond stating that I would ascer-

tain how the matter stood.

I should wish to receive a Report from you on the subject, and I shall be obliged by your obtaining from Her Majesty's Consuls in the districts in question any particulars which may be necessary to complete the information which you are able to furnish.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 21.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 25, 5.52 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, January 25, 1877, 3.40 P.M. SIR HENRY ELLIOT left Constantinople to-day after having presented me as Chargé d'Affaires.

No. 22.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch addressed this day by me to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting that the Turkish authorities are alarmed at the agitation that is being created among the Mirdites, and pointing out the policy that ought to be observed by the Porte in North Albania.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAD the honour to inform your Excellency yesterday by telegraph that Dervish Pasha had become anxious concerning the insurrectionary agitation that is being carried on among the Mirdite mountaineers.

He told me that he had ascertained that 7,000l. had been recently sent into

Miridicia through my Russian colleague, M. Jastrébon, and that Marco Milan, the Montenegrin chief who had so successfully conducted the recent military operations around Medun, had proceeded to Orosci to confer with Prenk Bib Doda, taking with him 3,000 Montenegrin caps, which were to be distributed to mountaineers who would be embodied as a Montenegrin contingent in Miridicia.

He further informed me that notice had reached him of a projected landing of 500 Italians at Ismi, a place under Cape Rodom in the Gulf of Drino, and that he had consequently directed Brigadier-General Haki Pasha to proceed immediately with the only available man-of-war to that part of the coast, for the purpose of devising the best means of repelling the expected incursion, and he had telegraphed to the Porte suggesting that the naval force in these waters should be increased.

His Excellency understood that the Mirdites had been promised continued pecuniary

support and arms and men from abroad.

Although Dervish Pasha endeavoured to lead me to believe that his intelligence has been derived from secret and trustworthy sources, I am inclined to think that the Turkish authorities here have only now come to know, through the channels of public rumour, of the information conveyed to your Excellency by my despatches of the 23rd and 31st ultimo, and that they have been at last alarmed by the feeling of uneasiness which is being developed in the Mirdite mountains through their disregard of the pretensions of the Chieftain Prenk Bib Doda, and the return from Cettigné of the Rev. Don Primo, with the Mirdite Aide-de-camp of the Prince of Montenegro, who is the son of Captain Cola, the uncle of Prenk Bib Doda, and the avowed ally of the Montenegrins.

As I have already had the honour of explaining to your Excellency, I am not of opinion that the Mirdites or the other Roman Catholic mountaineers will do anything tending to permit of a Slav encroachment in North Albania. Their extreme penury, however, makes them eager for money coming from any source, and they are not sorry that they can acquire it by merely maintaining an attitude expressive of their determination not to tolerate the slightest attempt on the part of the Turkish Government to deprive

them of the autonomy they have always enjoyed.

If Italian Garibaldians should succeed in penetrating into the mountains of Miridicia they would soon find that the Mirdites are incapable of subsisting them, and they would be unable to induce their hosts to join them in seeking an enemy, and food at the same time, in the plains; whilst, on the other hand, it is not likely that the Turks would venture into the mountains, so that matters would remain very much the same as they

Still, there is no doubt that, if war should break out between Russia and Turkey, when probably the Turks would be unable to maintain a sufficient number of troops either in this province or in that of Prisrend (Old Servia), the North Albanian mountaineers would move down into the adjoining plains, and would endeavour to establish their right by priority of arrival, to the quasi-abandoned districts of Mahommedan rule, and they would thus necessarily become a hostile element for the Ottoman Government.

I have not failed to point out to Dervish Pasha, as well as to the Governor-General, Mustafa Pasha, on every favourable occasion, how easy it would be for them to keep North Albania perfectly contented and loyal, as the only possible way of withdrawing the mountaineers from their allegiance is by raising their fears that their privilege of self-Unfortunately it is exactly this privilege, existing ever since government is in danger. the Ottomans came into the country, which no Vali or Mouchir can contemplate without experiencing the desire for its destruction, and no arguments of inopportunity or inexpediency appear capable of influencing such functionaries.

By a judicious support of the Roman Catholic clergy, the Turkish authorities might obtain their warmest co-operation in continuing the administration of North Albania on its present basis, and making it utterly impossible for any foreign aspirations,—Italian, Austrian, or Russian,—to receive the slightest encouragement; but here, again, it seems beyond the power of a Turkish official to avail himself of efficient instruments, when they

happen not to be Mahommedan.

The following occurrence illustrates my meaning.

Two Albanian peasants, belonging to a village close to the Montenegrin frontier, a man and a woman, were recently arrested on suspicion that they were in communication with the enemy. They were, however, innocent, and the parish priest called on the Pasha to intercede for their release. Failing in his prayer, he sent to beg me to use my influence with his Excellency, and the two prisoners were immediately set at liberty, the Pasha assuring me that this would have been done days before had not a Roman Catholic priest been to him to speak on their behalf.

I trust that in the foregoing remarks I have not conveyed to your Excellency an impression that Dervish and Mustafa Pashas are considered by me especially responsible for the misgovernment of the province, for I am convinced it is the traditional policy of the Turks, and not merely the men, that is most in fault. No Pasha, who is not sent here with the most positive orders to conciliate the Roman Catholic clergy, and consequently also their flocks, and not to aim at destroying an autonomy which centuries of nibbling have failed to diminish, is ever likely to comprehend that his duty is other than that of affirming the supremacy of Islam over Christianity, and the chance of checking the advance of the Orthodox Slavs by another equally powerful Christian element will be lost.

Three weeks ago the local authorities chose to disregard my warnings, and to decline my suggestions for averting threatened complications; now they have rushed from a pretended sense of security into an extreme of alarm, and which may ultimately be justified if war breaks out, and if the Porte leaves the Pashas here to follow their own inspirations and ideas of government.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 23.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received January 26, 5 p.m.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE been informed by the Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs that Prince Milan has received a communication from Grand Vizier inviting him to treat for peace directly with the Porte.

No. 24.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and read to me a telegram from the Duc Decazes stating that the Turkish Ambassador had applied to the French Government to recommend to the Porte a Financier who should superintend reforms in the Ottoman Treasury, and also to furnish officers and sub-officers for the reorganization of the zaptiehs or police force. The French Government were informed that the Porte was also addressing a request to Her Majesty's Government for an English Financier, but they were not aware whether English officers were to be asked for to take part in the reform of the gendarmerie.

The Duc Decazes went on to say that the first point in question is not directly connected with those touched upon by the Conference, and that France has special interests which make it advisable for him to consider the request, and at least not to reject it without discussion. The second request, however, touches an essential point of the programme which was arrived at in common by the Powers, and to which the French Government wishes to adhere. They are not, therefore, prepared to entertain it without knowing what view is taken of the matter by other Governments. His Excellency inquired, in conclusion, whether Her Majesty's Government had received any similar communication from the Porte, and what answer we should be prepared to return to it.

I told M. d'Harcourt, in reply, that no such application had as yet been addressed to me, and that I was therefore unable to give a definitive opinion on the subject. Speaking merely my personal views, I thought that if the Porte showed a disposition substantially to carry into effect the more material of the reforms which had been urged upon it in the Conference, it would not be our policy to discourage or hinder such a course.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

^{*} Repeated to Embassies except Paris.

No. 25.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby .- (Received January 27.)

Aleppo, January 9, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date reporting to Sir My Lord, Henry Elliot on the inefficiency of the Police Department and the Courts of Justice in this province.

I have, &c. J. H. SKENE. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 25.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Aleppo, January 9, 1877. (Extract.)

THÉ Governor-General of this province, having informed me of remonstrances made to him by several of my colleagues with respect to the inefficiency of the Police Department, I have the honour to report to your Excellency on the subject, as there is little doubt that it will be brought under the notice of the Porte by means of the reports of other Consuls here.

I told the Governor-General that I considered the complaints he had received to be fully borne out by the almost daily occurrence of robberies, and that it is universally

believed that the police connive at such crimes.

His Excellency answered that he could not do otherwise than employ the people of the country, and that, were he to dismiss the whole Police force, it would have to be replaced by men equally bad, if not worse. He added that he has not the means of paying them regularly, and that the temptation to take bribes from robbers is very strong when a man, possibly having a family to support, does not receive his pay.

In a recent case of housebreaking, the neighbours saw four men in the uniform of

the police escaping from the terraced roof.

Last week a Dragoman of the British Vice-Consulate of Alexandretta, Mr. Tajer, was robbed here at early dawn of 800l. in gold. A servant met and spoke to the robber when he was leaving the house; people in the street saw him running away; and the workmen of a mill, in which he was employed, gave evidence that he left it shortly before the robbery took place, and returned soon after it, apparently breathless from running; while he denied having been absent from the mill at all. He was arrested and identified by all these witnesses; yet he is favoured in every possible way by the police and by the tribunal trying him, and no exertion whatever is made to recover the money. obvious inference to be drawn from such facts is, that the Dragoman's gold is purchasing protection for the robber of it. I am using my utmost endeavours to obtain justice in this instance, and the Governor-General has evidently a strong feeling in favour of justice; but I am nevertheless convinced that the money is lost to its rightful owner, and that the prisoner will soon be free to enjoy what remains of it, after paying for impunity.

The housebreakers and thieves of Aleppo are in nearly all cases Mussulmans, and their victims Christians or Jews. The Jewish quarter of the town is closed at eight o'clock in the evening; and from sunset till that hour robbers prowl in its streets to stop all who pass, and take their money and watches from them. I have not heard of any one being arrested there by the police. No complaints are made, however, as it is the practice of the Jews to suffer loss rather than incur enmity by complaining. know the robber, they fear worse treatment by denouncing him; when they do not recognize him, they are aware of the uselessness of applying for assistance from the police to find him out; and, in both alternatives, they feel sure that he will not be punished, while they may. It once happened that a police officer, to whom it was reported that a Mussulman and a Jew were fighting, ordered that the Jew should be taken to prison, without listening to any particulars. They therefore prefer the lesser evil of silence on the subject of their losses when they cannot avoid them, as they did during the insurrection of the year 1850, by secretly presenting 2,000l. to the insurgents

in lieu of plunder.

The lamentable condition of the Police Department in this province gives rise to the apprehension that, should serious disturbances occur, no reliance can be placed on it. and that the only hope of being able to repress them and give protection to the nonMussulman population is based on the hypothetical fidelity of the regular troops, who are themselves beginning to show a hostile feeling towards the Christian and Jewish inhabitants. There is no reason to suspect the zeal and energy of the chief authorities, either civil or military, but it is certain that the Mussulmans of the town, both in office and in private life, are ill-disposed, and that discipline is no longer so perfect as it used to be in the Turkish army. It appears to me disturbed by the political agitation which has been rife during the year 1876 and still continues.

With regard to the Tribunal mentioned above, I can only report to your Excellency that nothing could be less satisfactory than the working of the Medjlis organization at Aleppo. The presence of Christian and Jewish members has no effect in counteracting the evils complained of. Their election is, in the first place, altogether illusory, for they are actually chosen by the influential Mussulmans; and, secondly, the equality of their number with that of the Mussulman members is a principle in theory which is defeated in practice.

In the Provincial Council (Idaret Medjlissi), for instance, two Christrian and two Mussulman members have been appointed by so-called election, and there are five official members, the Accountant-General (Defterdar), the Secretary-General (Mektubji), the Director of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Naziri), the Judge (Naïb), and the Expounder of Law (Mufti). There are thus seven Mussulman members and two non-Mussulman members of the Provincial Council.

The Court of Appeal (Divani-Temiz) is composed of three Mussulman and three non-Mussulman members with a Mussulman President, who is the Judge (Naïb), but the three non-Mussulman members have been carefully chosen as men who could not, and would not, offer any opposition to the opinion or wish of the Mussulman members.

The Ordinary Tribunal (Daavi Medjlissi) is similarly constituted and conducted, but as it has to judge new causes, the influence of the non-Mussulman members is still further neutralized in it by the Mussulman members, who, contrary to the rule laid down, insist on passing sentence according to the Coranic Law (Sheraï), in which the others are not versed, and which accepts neither circumstantial evidence nor Christian witnesses. This is the Tribunal which is trying the robbery case of the British Dragoman, the evidence in whose favour is all circumstantial, and the witnesses all Christian. The robber cannot be condemned without the deposition of two Mussulman witnesses, who declare that they saw him take the money, which complete reductio ad absurdum would be almost impossible in the house of a Christian.

The Municipal Council (Medjlis Beladich) has two non-Mussulman and three Mussulman members, with a Mussulman President, making a relative proportion of four to two

To illustrate the mode of proceeding of this Council, I may mention one of its recent acts, which was to close all the shops of the bakers of common bread in the town, and thus deprive the poorer classes of the population of bread for a week, until an arrangement was concluded with them by some means or other.

The Commercial Tribunal (Tidjaret Medjlissi) has an equal number of Mussulman and non-Mussulman members, with a Mussulman President, and an equal proportion of European to Ottoman members when European law suits with Ottoman subjects are brought before it.

Of this Tribunal little can be said beyond the fact that it never comes to any decision of any law suit whatsoever.

The Governor-General strives conscientiously and perseveringly to bring all these Councils and Tribunals to a more efficient state, but his well-meaning efforts are fruitless.

To correct their defects, a more independent control would be required, for no Governor-General, unaided by some such control, can ever escape from the baneful influence of the leading Mussulmans of the town, who have it in their power to procure his recall by a collective address to the Grand Vizier, while they can also maintain him in office by a laudatory Memorial. The Porte should not encourage this practice, which maims and cripples the energies of the best-intentioned provincial ruler.

I cannot, therefore, in common fairness attempt to hold responsible a Governor-

General for the many shortcomings of his provincial administration.

Although I try never to neglect my Consular duty of endeavouring to protect, to the best of my ability, all interests committed to my charge, still I must say that it is rarely with much confidence of being able to succeed under the existing circumstances of the Ottoman Empire, and I firmly believe that every other Consul here feels the same consciousness of the want of assistance from Constantinople when justice has to be obtained.

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Consular success might be greatly facilitated by a cordial understanding between the several Consuls to act together in extreme cases, so that their united strength might be brought to bear on unruly authorities by reporting in the same sense to the different Embassies and Legations, which might convince the Porte of the expediency of removing

them or reorganizing their Department.

If I might venture to offer a suggestion, I would respectfully point out that no measure could tend more effectually and rapidly to improve provincial administration in all its branches than a joint action on the part of the Representatives of the European Powers at Constantinople to make it one of the duties of their Consuls to co-operate collectively for the good of the country, and I take the liberty of expressing this opinion as a result of long experience in this and other provinces of Turkey.

No. 26.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

Paris, January 26, 1877. My Lord, THE Duc Decazes told me this morning that the Ottoman Ambassador, Sadik

Pasha, had made to him on the 23rd instant two pressing requests.

The first was that the French Government would send ten gendarmes of high character and efficiency to Constantinople to assist the Porte in organizing a military

police.

The second was that the French Government would appoint an able financial officer to act as controller of the Ottoman finances, in conjunction with an English colleague, whom Her Majesty's Government would be asked to appoint in the same manner.

With regard to the first request, the Duke had, he said, pointed out to Sadik Pasha that it intrenched upon a matter which had been treated in the Conference at Constantinople. He had, he told me, proceeded to observe that it had always been contemplated by the Conference that the new Turkish Gendarmerie should be recruited from neutral States, rather than from any or all of the six Guaranteeing Countries. He had added that he could not take the request into consideration until he had consulted the other Powers.

Having given me this account of what he had said to Sadik Pasha, the Duke informed me that he had sent orders by telegraph to the French Representatives in London, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburg and Vienna to enter into communication with the Governments to which they were accredited, upon the application from the Porte for French

gendarmes.

The Duke went on to say to me that the other request made by Sadik Pasha seemed to stand upon a different footing. France and England had, he observed, a special interest in the Turkish finances, which did not extend in at all the same degree to other Powers. In fact, almost the whole of the Turkish Stock was held in our two countries. and the interests of thousands of our countrymen were bound up with the credit of Turkev. Under these circumstances he should be loth to repel absolutely a proposal which might ultimately prove beneficial to large numbers of Frenchmen and Englishmen. It was true that in principle both the French and English Governments held that people who lent money to foreign States did so at their own risk, and were not entitled to call upon their Governments to interfere in their behalf. But if the Porte asked the Governments of England and France to give their aid in re-organizing its finances, it at the same time conferred upon those Governments the right of laying down the conditions on which that aid should be given. Now, on the one hand, in the interest of Turkey as well as in the interests of their own subjects, the first condition insisted upon by France and England would certainly be that a strenuous and honest endeavour should be made by the Porte to discharge its obligations to its creditors; while, on the other hand, it could hardly be doubted that the Porte would very much increase the means of providing for the interest of its debts, if it placed its finances under the control of able English and French

But although decidedly of opinion that this application from the Porte should not be hastily set aside, the Duke had not, he told me, thought it right to express assent to it in speaking to Sadik Pasha. He had suggested that the Porte had already at hand able financial councillors in the French and English Directors of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Constantinople, but Sadik Pasha had rejoined that the Porte wished for persons

of much more importance. Upon this the Duke had, he said, observed to Sadik Pasha that he must take time to reflect upon the matter.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 27.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 27.)

(Extract.)

THE Duc Decazes told me this morning that, in consequence of a report which he had received from the Marquis d'Harcourt of a conversation with your Lordship, he had advised the Porte, through Sadik Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador here, to lose no time in making peace with Servia and Montenegro.

No. 28.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.*

Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador has communicated to me a telegram addressed by the Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro and to the Prince of Servia, in which direct negotiations for peace are made on behalf of the Porte. I informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government felt great satisfaction at learning that this step had been taken

I should wish your Excellency to give this information to Mr. Monson, who has correctly interpreted my instructions by preparing to start at once for Cettigné, and is aware of the nature of the advice which he will give to Prince Nicholas on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 29.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 27, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador has this day communicated to me two telegrams which

he has received from his Government.

The first of these messages gives the text of a telegram addressed by the Grand Vizier to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, inviting them to come to an understanding with the Porte by means of direct negotiations as to the terms of a definitive peace

Safvet Pasha expresses a hope that the Guaranteeing Powers will appreciate this step, which gives evidence of the humane disposition of the Porte, and he adds that an official of the Turkish Government will at once leave for Belgrade to open negotiations

with Servia.

In the second telegram Safvet Pasha, after speaking of the aversion with which, on grounds of humanity, the Porte regards the prospect of a resumption of hostilities with Servia, remarks that this repugnance is increased by the consideration that, if the conclusion of peace on the basis of the status quo ante might still be accepted under present circumstances, such an arrangement would be rendered impossible by the excitement which would be roused in Turkey by fresh bloodshed. The Porte, therefore, encouraged by the advice of Her Majesty's Government, has decided on making overtures to Servia for the re-establishment of peace.

For this purpose Pertew Effendi has been charged to proceed to Belgrade. His

mission will be to induce the Servian Government, by a wise appreciation of its true interests, to conclude peace with the Sublime Porte on bases which can be accepted. Safvet Pasha requests that instructions may be forwarded to Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade to prepare the Servian Government to give this overture a favourable reception.

With regard to the Constitutional reforms, Musurus Pasha is authorized to assure me that the Turkish Government have set to work in earnest, and that Europe will

shortly recognize the result of their efforts.

I expressed to Musurus Pasha the great satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the step which the Porte has taken towards Servia and Montenegro, and I have sent instructions to Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade in the sense desired, on the understanding that the terms proposed by the Porte will be substantially based upon the status quo.

I have also informed Mr. Monson, through Her Majesty's Embassy at Vienna, of the telegram addressed by the Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro, referring him to the instructions already addressed to him as to the advice he is to give in such an

eventuality.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 30.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.) St. Petersburgh, January 22, 1877.

I WAITED on Prince Gortchakow this morning with a view to elicit, if possible, what views he entertained as to the future course to be pursued in regard to Eastern affairs on the failure of the Conference at Constantinople.

In reply to my inquiry as to the course which he should take, his Highness was not enabled to give any direct answer, but he declared that Russia would not separate from the European concert.

He was certainly of opinion that Europe had received an insult which she could not passively accept, and that she ought to defend her honour and have recourse to coercive measures.

His Highness referred to a report which had reached General Ignatiew, that the Porte would offer to negotiate directly with Russia; and he had replied to General Ignatiew that Russia was associated with the other Powers of Europe, and would enter into no negotiation with the Porte independently of Europe.

No. 31.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received January 29.)

Vienna, January 24, 1877. ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday I immediately forwarded to Mr. Monson a telegraphic instruction to press upon the Prince of Montenegro the

expediency of His Highness meeting any overtures of the Turkish Government for

peace in a conciliatory spirit, and of his coming to terms with the Porte.

I have also inquired of Baron Orczy whether he has any reason to believe that the Porte is disposed to make such overtures to Servia and Montenegro, but he assured me he was entirely without information on the subject. He said, however, that as the Turkish Ambassador had gone two days ago to Pesth, it was not improbable that he may have made some communication to Count Andrassy as to the wish of the Porte for the re-establishment of peace with the Principalities; but he expressed at the same time a personal opinion that Servia would not venture to make peace without having previously received the assent of Russia.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 32.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.) Vienna, January 25, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, respecting the alleged intention of the Porte to make overtures to Servia and Montenegro, with a view to a definitive peace, I have the honour to add, that the Turkish Ambassador, who returned yesterday from Pesth, informs me that he has spoken to Count Andrassy on the subject in the same sense as Musurus Pasha appears to have done to your Lordship.

I told Aleko Pasha what your Lordship had said as to the expediency of the Porte making peace with Servia and Montenegro, and I strongly advised him to impress upon his Government that the best way of preventing a Russian war was to offer liberal terms to these Principalities, and to carry out with the least possible delay in European Turkey the provisions of the new constitution, which refer to provincial administration and municipal institutions.

No. 33.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, January 29.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 27 Janvier, 1877.

CONFORMEMENT aux dispositions de l'Article 17 de la Constitution, qui établit l'égalité de tous les Ottomans devant la loi, et qui prescrit pour tous les sujets les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs envers le pays sans préjudice de ce qui concerne la religion, un Iradé de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan ordonne que les enfants non-Musulmans seront désormais admis dans toutes les Ecoles Militaires. Cette décision a été notifiée aux Chefs de toutes les communautés, et publiée dans les journaux, afin que tous ceux qui voudraient entrer dans nos Ecoles Militaires adressent leurs demandes au Ministère de la Guerre en se conformant aux règles établies pour l'admission des élèves Musulmans.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 27, 1877.

IN accordance with the dispositions of Article XVII of the Constitution, which establishes the equality of all Ottomans in the sight of the law, and which prescribes for all subjects the same rights and the same duties towards the country without prejudice of religion, an Iradé of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan orders that non-Mussulman children shall henceforth be admitted into all the military schools. This decision has been notified to the heads of all the different religious communities, and has been published in the papers, in order that all who wish to enter our military schools may address their request to the War Department, conforming themselves to the rules established for the admission of Mussulman pupils.

No. 34.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, January 29, 1877.
ODIAN EFFENDI called upon me to-day, and read to me a telegram from the Grand Vizier, expressing in general terms his desire to adopt as far as possible the reforms recommended by the Conference. Midhat Pasha hoped that in taking this course he should have the goodwill and friendship of Her Majesty's Government.

I replied that our object in bringing about the Conference which had lately held its sittings had been two-fold: first, to preserve the peace of Europe, which appeared to be in danger; and, next, to bring about a material improvement in the internal administration of the Turkish Empire. For my own part, and expressing my personal opinion only, I cared comparatively little for questions of form, provided the end for which we had laboured was attained. I thought that the more nearly the Government of the Sultan found itself able to conform to the general system of administration recommended by the Conference, the less opportunity could be afforded to those who might wish to take advantage of its failure as a pretext for war.

Odian Effendi then referred to the question of a general amnesty, which he under-

stood to be desired by the Powers, and he said that the Grand Vizier was anxious to adopt this measure, but that it must be an amnesty extending to Turks and Christians alike.

I asked, whether it was meant by this that the authors of the Bulgarian massacres should also be included in the amnesty?

He gave no direct answer to this inquiry, but dwelt at some length on the difficulty

of making exceptions.

I pointed out that in that case the measure proposed would do more harm than good, since it would not be thought consistent with justice that the authors of these outrages, which had caused so great a sensation in Europe, should be placed on the same footing as those who had merely been drawn into insurrection by the example of others.

Odian Effendi asked what advice I should give under the circumstances.

I said that I must decline to advise, but that, expressing, as before, my own personal opinion merely, it seemed to me that the great mass of prisoners might in any case be released at once; but that those against whom, whether Turks or Christians, there were charges of having been concerned in the massacres which had taken place, ought not to be exempted from punishment.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 35.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

COUNT BEUST informed me to-day that he had learnt by telegram from Vienna that no step had been taken there with the view of bringing about peace between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro, because the two opposing parties could not yet foresee what would be the attitude of Russia with regard to the question. The Servian Agent had, his Excellency said, inquired whether the Austro-Hungarian Government would encourage his Government in that direction, but, on being asked if he was acting in the name of his Government, had replied in the negative.

His Excellency added that M. Zukicz had already placed himself in communication

with the Ottoman Ambassador at Vienna.

No. 36.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 30, 6.4 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, January 30, 1877, 4 P.M. FOLLOWING from Consul at Erzeroom, dated this morning:—

"Panic in Bitlis district; several murders; many villages devastated and others deserted by inhabitants from dread of companies who threaten towns. Inhabitants, Mahomedan and Christian, watch armed in their barricaded houses."

I shall communicate this to the Porte.

No. 37.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Foreign Office, January 30, 1877.

I APPROVE the language in which, as reported in your despatch of the 25th instant, your Excellency impressed upon the Turkish Ambassador the importance of peace being concluded by the Porte with Servia and Montenegro, and of the provisions of the new Constitution, relating to provincial administration and municipal institutions, being at once carried out.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 38.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.*

Sir, Foreign Office, January 30, 1877.

I HAVE received to-day, through your Excellency, a telegram from Mr. Monson, in which he suggests that he should be informed by telegraph of the views of Her

Majesty's Government upon the subject of the rectification of the Montenegrin frontier, and specially upon the question of the cession of a seaport to the Principality, respecting which he thought that he would certainly be questioned by Prince Nicholas.

I have requested you by telegraph to reply to him that Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to lay down or to recommend the terms which should be accepted either by the Porte or by Montenegro; but that it is their sincere wish that the negotiations about to commence should result in the prompt conclusion of a fair and lasting arrangement; and I have authorized you to add that it is not probable, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that Montenegro will ever be able to obtain better terms than she can secure at the present moment; whereas, on the other hand, her interests would unquestionably be seriously injured by a renewal of the war.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 39.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and communicated to me a telegram from Safvet Pasha, stating that it was understood by the Porte that Prince Gortchakow had addressed a Circular to the Representatives of Russia with the view of bringing about some fresh concerted action of the Powers in regard to Turkey. Safvet Pasha expresses a hope that Her Majesty's Government will not join in any measures which may be calculated to embarrass the Turkish Government in the endeavours they are now making to institute real and effective reforms in the administration of the Empire.

I told Musurus Pasha that I did not believe that the Circular of Prince Gortchakow. had yet been sent. I had at all events no knowledge of it, and until I was aware of its contents it was, of course, impossible for me to say what answer Her Majesty's Government would return to it. His Excellency knew, however, the objects with which Her Majesty's Government had gone into the Conference, and the attitude they had taken in regard to the proposals put forward in it. They had declared, on the one hand, that they were not prepared to adopt coercive measures to enforce those proposals on the Porte; and, on the other, that they would not protect the Porte from the consequences of a refusal to accept them. I saw no present reason for departing from that position.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 40.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Government of Servia has applied to the Governments of France and Italy for their good offices.

They consider the question of guarantees to be inadmissible.

No. 41.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, January 31, 1877, 6:30 P.M.

I HAVE to instruct you to report what is the nature of the guarantees which are asked by the Porte from Servia.

Her Majesty's Government consider that the better course would be to propose the

status quo simply.

No. 42.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. St. John.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, January 31, 1877, 6.35 P.M.
I HAVE no information as to the character of the guarantees supposed to be required by the Porte from Servia, and cannot express an opinion till I know what they

But I have already stated my opinion that the basis of peace ought to be the status quo.

No. 43.

Consul-General Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received January 31, night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, January 31, 1877.

THE Miridites have assumed a hostile attitude by occupying the high roads passing

through the district, and by making prisoner an Envoy sent to them by the Governor.

I am endeavouring to induce the authorities to adopt a conciliatory policy in regard to this movement.

No. 44.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 2.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch addressed this day by me to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting to his Excellency the state of affairs in Miridicia and the neighbouring districts as observed by me during a visit to Alesïo, from which I returned the day before yesterday.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 44.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, finding the rumours concerning the agitation among the Mirdites and other neighbouring Christian tribes were daily increasing, I went last week for a few days to Alesio, the market town of the Mirdite district, in order to ascertain, by personal observation, the amount of foundation for them.

I have found that the uneasiness has been augmented by the so-called precautionary measures that are being adopted by the Turkish authorities in all the districts surrounding Miridicia, and that the activity of certain functionaries has had the effect of alarming both Christians and Mohammedans, who each believe that they are about to be attacked by the others. The danger, therefore, of some common brawl or quarrel, so frequent among these people, being mistaken for the commencement of a concerted onset is not small, and may lead to deplorable events.

There appears to be no doubt that the Mirdites have received from some foreign source about 2,000 Napoleons and, they say, they have promises of much larger sums being sent to them in March. I, however, am still of opinion that these mountaineers accept the money without any intention of doing anything else than maintaining their autonomy and that, therefore, as long as the Turkish Government does not attempt to encroach upon this right, or is not led, by panic, to adopt unnecessarily severe administrative measures, the Mirdites will remain as loyal as ever they have been.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 45.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 2.)

Constantinople, le 1 Février, 1877. (Télégraphique.)

LA Sublime Porte déploie une grande activité dans l'application des réformes qui doivent faire passer dans la pratique les principes de la Constitution. Déjà plus d'une mesure a été prise en vue de cette œuvre de réorganisation. L'Herzégovine est de nouveau réunie au Vilayet de Bosnie, et Constant Pacha, Arménien, a été nommé Mustéchar du Gouverneur-Général de ce vilayet. En Roumélie le Gouvernement Impérial vient de former un nouveau vilayet, qui s'appelera du nom historique de Kossova, et qui comprendra Nich, Charokeui, Pizerend et Usouch.

Vassa Effendi, Grec, est nommé Mustéchar de ce vilayet. Ces décisions nouvelles répondent à des besoins administratifs et sont combinées de façon à assurer la bonne gestion des affaires de ces provinces. Savas Pacha, Grec, élevé au rang de Muchir, est nommé Gouverneur-Général des Iles de l'Archipel Ottoman. Des commissions instituées à la Sublime Porte élaborent activement des lois qui découlent de la Constitution. Enfin, nous travaillons sans relâche à l'établissement d'un système qui doit assurer dans un avenir très prochain le bien-être et la prospérité de tous les peuples de

l'Empire.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 1, 1877. THE Sublime Porte displays great activity in the application of the reforms which are destined to carry into practice the principles of the Constitution. Already more than one measure has been taken with a view to this work of reorganization. govina is again annexed to the Vilayet of Bosnia, and Constant Pasha, an Armenian, has been named Mustechar of the Governor-General of this vilayet. In Roumelia the

Imperial Government has just formed a new vilayet, which will be known by the historical name of Kossova, and will comprise Nisch, Charokeui, Pizerend, and Usouch.

Vassa Effendi, a Greek, has beeen named Mustechar of this vilayet. These new decisions correspond to the administrative wants, and are combined so as to insure the affairs of the Province being well carried on. Savas Pasha, a Greek, raised to the rank of Muchir, has been named Governor-General of the islands of the Ottoman Archipelago. Commissions instituted at the Sublime Porte are actively elaborating laws which are necessitated by the Constitution. Finally, we are working incessantly at the establishment of a system which is calculated to insure almost immediately the welfare and prosperity of all the populations of the Empire.

No. 46.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 2.)

(Telegraphic.) Vienna, February 2, 1877. THE Prince received me this morning. I spoke to His Highness in the language of your Lordship's telegrams, and I urged upon him again the expediency of profiting by the present conjuncture.

He said that he had telegraphed yesterday to the Porte that he would enter into direct negotiations, but that he was not sanguine as to the result. He, however, assured me that he would not lightly reject the proposals of the Porte, and that he would consult me upon them as soon as received.

No. 47.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Erzeroom, January 6, 1877.

I CALLED on Samih Pasha to-day to learn what steps he intended to take for the protection of the Christians of Van. His Excellency informed me that he had received assurances from Nazim Bey that everything was quite tranquil at Van, that the panic had subsided, and the Christians were re-assured, but not being satisfied with

this he had telegraphed to the Armenian Bishop, and was awaiting his reply.

His Excellency read me a telegram received from Nazim Bey, in which that officer states that the fire was accidental, that the soldiers were not at all implicated, that there had been considerable pillaging, but the greater portion of the stolen property had been recovered, that the Christians had evidently been the most active in pillaging, as the greater part of the lost property was found in their possession, that the fire had destroyed about 500 shops and stores, about half belonging to the Mussulmans, who were

as great sufferers as the Christians.

I told his Excellency that Nazim Bey's report was contradicted in every statement not alone by current report, but by the information I had received from disinterested persons who had personally taken evidence, and who had visited the scene of the conflagration, and that I could not therefore take the report as a correct statement of facts. Nazim Bey, I added, had only just arrived in Van, that he had not had time even to make a preliminary examination, and yet he had not hesitated to send in a report contradicting in positive terms every statement of the Christians by officially declaring the fire to have been the result of pure accident, by making it appear that the Mussulmans were as great sufferers as the Christians, by stating that the thieves who gutted the shops were the Christians; and lastly, by asserting that the fears of the Christians of further mischief were quite unfounded. I said that if Nazim Bey considered the duty laid on him so light that a mere glance was sufficient for him to come to a decision, I feared his reports would be put aside, as those of the Commissioners sent into Bulgaria by the Porte had been, and probably other means would be adopted to arrive at the truth. His Excellency replied that he was very anxious to get to the truth, and he trusted that Hatchator Khan Effendi would prove an able colleague to Nazim Bey.

On my suggestion, Samih Pasha promised to replace the battalion now at Van by

one from Beyazio.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 48.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Erzeroom, January 8, 1877.

I WAS informed a short time since that General Ignatiew had instructed the Russian Consul here, M. Obermüller, to discourage the enrolment of Christians as volunteers for the Turkish service.

I did not at once report this, as I was not able to learn whether the statement was true or not. Yesterday, however, I was told that such an order had been received by him; that he had acted on it; and that after the first day's enrolment of eighty-four

Christians, not one more Christian had entered his name as a volunteer.

I believe that a word from the Russian Consul to the Armenian and Greek Bishops was quite sufficient to stop any movement on the part of the Christians, and I doubt not that word was given, and a movement has been checked which might have been of much benefit to the Christians, by habituating them to the use of arms, and by accustoming the Mussulmans to see Christians with arms and in the uniform of soldiers.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 49.

Vice-Consul Jago to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship the copy of a despatch
I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, upon public affairs in this district.

I have, &c. (Signed) THOS. S. JAGO.

Inclosure in No. 49.

Vice-Consul Jago to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that the private efforts of the civil and military authorities to form a National Guard having been aided by Proclamations calling on all Osmanlis to enrol themselves in defence of their country, between 400 and 500 men,

including a few Christians and Jews, the latter chiefly Government employés, inscribed

themselves.

These public appeals caused some ferment among the Moslem population, when, on the 11th instant, the Sublime Porte, in reply to a telegram from the authorities here reporting the enthusiasm with which the call to arms was met, telegraphed instructions to disband the corps, on the plea that it was not wanted for the present. This was at

once done, to the great general contentment.

Whether this instruction proceeded from a knowledge of the paucity of volunteers who came forward in a population said to be over 100,000 souls, or from an apprehension of local disorders resulting from too direct an appeal being made to the religious passions of a fanatical population, I know not; but the consternation among the people by the already heavy drain in men for foreign service, and the ruinous efforts which have been, and still are being, made to purchase exemption from such service, show clearly the futility of appealing to aught save the religious feelings,—a measure which up to now seems to have been carefully avoided.

The Iané (assistance) tax, or forced loan, to the value of 80,000*l*. for the whole of the vilayet, is now being levied on the people at the rate of 10 piastres for the poorer and 20 piastres for the richer classes. All males over fifteen years of age are liable.

Orders were received here last week to prepare for embarkment at the ports of Syria of five battalions of Redifs. One battalion leaves here to-morrow for Beyrout; the others follow from other parts of the vilayet. The news was met by a rush to purchase exemption by all who could scrape together the means, and over 20,000*l*. have been encashed by the military chest during the past five days.

Small bodies of artillerymen and cavalry left here for the coast last week; and the efforts of the authorities are still being directed to the capture of runaways from the

outlying districts.

The drain of horses from Syria for the Egyptian market, consequent on the sickness there, has resulted in the military authorities being only able to purchase 80 out of 400 animals required for Damascus.

Trade and commerce are at a standstill; public business may be said to be practically suspended; and the general gloom which has pervaded Damascus for some time daily deepens under the influence of reports tending to show that relief is still far off.

While public order in the city continues to be undisturbed, the attitude of the Moslems seems to be one of sullen resignation; that of the Christians and Jews is one of anxious expectation.

I have, &c. (Signed) THOS. S. JAGO.

No. 50.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Beyrout, January 22, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of three despatches and their inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting on the state of affairs at Mersina, Sidon, and Tripoli.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Beyrout, January 20, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, reporting on the recent troubles at Mersina, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Excellency, a copy of a report from Captain Hamond, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Torch," a copy of a report and its inclosures from Mr. Vice-Consul Tattarachi; also an extract from a letter which I have received from an English gentleman staying at Mersina.

From these it would appear that no serious acts of violence were committed by the Redifs, who do not appear to have been animated by any feeling of hostility towards the inhabitants of either Mersina or Tarsus, but rather to have followed a natural instinct in order to provide for themselves the first necessaries of nature (food and shelter) which were not prepared for them by the proper authorities, upon whom a grave responsibility must rest, since had these poor, hungry, half-naked, and shelterless Redifs met with resistance to their demands for food and shelter, for which they were ready to pay as far as their miserable pittance of caimés would go, bloodshed and other most serious consequences might have ensued.

I consider the conduct of the responsible authorities, both civil and military, of the Vilayet of Adana deserving the severest punishment, for having turned loose such large bodies of undisciplined men without officers, and without providing for them adequate food and shelter, and I cannot consider the conduct of the men blameable in endeavouring to save themselves from perishing by want and exposure when they were able to do so, even at the risk of censure, by the use of intimidation. I venture to think that their behaviour would contrast favourably with what might be expected from an equal number of English militiamen placed in similar circumstances.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Captain Hamond to Consul-General Eldridge.

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 8th January 13, 1877.

sequence of a telegram I received at Ayas Bay on the 7th from Mr. Skene stating that

disturbances had commenceed at Mersina, I proceeded to that place next day.

The circumstances were these: some 3,000 Redifs had been sent into the town without either officers or regular troops to control them. From the governor they received each man daily 1½ piasters, paper money, wherewith to feed themselves; there being no tents they were billeted about the town. The snopkeepers were very unwilling to receive the paper money, and naturally the troops insisted. Being half starved some of them went to different houses asking for food, and in some cases money; amongst other houses they visited that of M. Tattarachi, the British Consular Agent, who gave them some food, and presented them with three liras.

No violence was used or insult offered. I have spoken to M. Tattarachi, who does not wish to make any complaint about the matter.

The fault of the whole matter lies with whoever sent those ignorant and raw troops here without officers.

Some fifty regulars and a superior officer were sent from Adana, and there has been no more disturbances. In fact the Redifs are being drilled and got under discipline.

The Governor here has done his best to re-establish order.

Since my arrival all shops have been re-opened and confidence restored.

As far as British subjects are concerned there are only two or three in the place, the Christians being mostly all Greeks.

> I am, &c. PHIL. H. HAMOND. (Signed)

Inclosure 3 in No. 50.

Vice-Consul Tattarachi to Consul-General Eldridge.

Sir,

Mersina of Tarsus, January 15, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's ship "Torch" arrived here to the joy of the inhabitants of Mersina as well as those of Tarsus.

Captain Hamond paid a visit to the Governor, and by this mail he sends you his report; he found those poor soldiers left here unprovided, and no steamers to take

The Consular body visited the Captain at my house, and expressed their gratitude for his arrival here in such circumstances.

The European inhabitants of Mersina sent me also a letter of congratulation which

copy I beg to send you inclosed.

The "Torch" has left for Ayas on Saturday night, after taking some coal here. The Turkish officials were not pleased at the arrival of the "Torch," but last night the poor soldiers went armed to the Governor's house demanding from him an augmentation of salary, or, they said, we shall plunder the town; he was obliged to give them six thousand piastres, and two piastres per day; they have been contented, but in case the steamer does not come to take them, I am quite sure that they will do some violence.

Since the arrival of the "Torch" the stores have been opened, and confidence

restored, although always some disturbances occur, but of no consequence.

We pray that a man-of-war will come to take them soon.

I have, &c. N. TATTARACHI. (Signed)

Inclosure 4 in No. 50.

Letter from European Inhabitants of Mersina to Vice-Consul Tattarachi.

M. le Consul, Mersina, le 12 Janvier, 1877.

LES Soussignés Européens de diverses nations, habitants dans cette ville, estiment leur devoir de vous prier de vouloir être l'interprête de leurs sentiments dévoués et de reconnaissance auprès le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique pour le concours et protection que l'arrivée de la corvette royale a accordé à cette ville.

En effet, M. le Consul, la présence de ce navire aux eaux de Mersina a été un grand acte d'humanité dû à votre initiative, et pour lequel les Soussignés vous

expriment leurs remercîments et vous prient en même temps d'agréer, &c.

(Signatures of 36 European inhabitants follow.)

(Translation.)

M. le Consul, Messina, January 12, 1877.

THE Undersigned Europeans of different nations, inhabitants of this town, think it their duty to beg you to be the interpreter of their feelings of devotion and of gratitude to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty for the assistance and protection which the arrival of Her Majesty's corvette has bestowed upon this town.

In truth, M. le Consul, the presence of this ship in the waters of Messina has been a great act of humanity due to your action, and for which the Undersigned express to

you their thanks and beg you to accept, &c.

(Signatures of 36 European inhabitants follow.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 50.

Mr. Anketill to Consul-General Eldridge.

(Extract.) Mersina, January 10, 1877.

THE state of matters, both here and in Tarsus, is very unsatisfactory. About 2,000 armed recruits, mostly in rags, were brought to Tarsus, and left to do as they could in two large khans there, without covering of any kind, and, worse than all, with a pay of 60 paras per day in paper money, which none could or would change, so that the men could purchase no bread. In desperation they took change by force from several. I myself saw a body of these ragged creatures, armed with muskets and fixed bayonets, make a sortie from a large khan. They came on in a state of fury, but fortunately had to pass the gate of the khan, where the zaptiehs, with shouts, and prayers, and promises, persuaded them to turn back. One minute more, and the stores would have been forcibly entered and plundered. The Mohammedan population had become overbearing to the Christians, who were compelled to close their shops. The town, in fact, was for several days in the hands of an armed mob; and although no actual bloodshed took place, which is generally to their credit, considering that the Government had taken no proper precautions either to provide them with food or officers, yet the Christian population was greatly alarmed in consequence of the numerous petty outrages perpetrated to get change for the paper money or food. In Mersina matters have been very bad also, 2,500 of these recruits having been sent on through Tarsus, armed, but without any officers at all. The community here are unanimous in their gratitude to Vice-Consul Tattarachi, who took all precautions possible, and procured regulars by telegraph from Adana.

The arrival of the "Torch" has done great good by acting on the nerves of the Government, which is alone blameable for gross neglect, not to say misconduct, in this

matter.

Certainly both Tarsus and Mersina have passed through a period of danger to life and property. Fortunately these recruits had no cartridges.

Inclosure 6 in No 50.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Abela, reporting on the state

of public feeling at Sidon and in that district.

Although I consider Mr. Abela's fears for the future as somewhat exaggerated, still the state of affairs which he reports merits serious consideration, and I have frequently called the attention of the superior authorities of the vilayet to the impunity with which the Mussulmans of Sidon are permitted to insult and even illtreat their Christian neighbours, but without any other effect than promises that the matter should be seen to and rectified, which would appear not to have been done, either through apathy or fear; and it is time that a stop should be put to the present state of lawlessness which appears to exist at that place.

During the past summer and autumn, when the absence in Syria of any displays of Mussulman fanaticism was the subject of remark, Sidon formed an exception to the general rule, though to some degree the example of the people of Damascus and other places was not without a beneficial effect on the Sidonians, who, I hoped, would have been brought by moral pressure from without to imitate their more moderate co-religionists; but in this I appear to have been unfortunately mistaken, as the turn which has been taken by recent events seems to have revived the old spirit of fanaticism for which the people of Sidon have long been notorious.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 50.

Vice-Consul Abela to Consul-General Eldridge.

M. le Consul-Général.

Saïda, le 19 Janvier, 1877.

LES différents faits inquiétants qui ne cessent de se succéder, et qui s'augmentent d'un jour à l'autre, pouvant, faute de prudentes et énergiques précautions, amener des suites bien plus tristes que celles de l'année 1860, je me fais un devoir de venir les soumettre à votre connaissance.

Depuis que l'insurrection a éclatée en Turquie, et surtout après les changements qui ont eu lieu dans la capitale de l'Empire, la nation Musulmane, non-seulement qu'elle manifeste une haine et une aversion pour les Chrétiens; mais elle commence à les poursuivre ouvertement sans que l'autorité veille sérieusement à les réprimer.

Il a été toujours remarqué, et même par les fonctionnaires, que lors du départ des troupes et à l'arrivée des nouvelles du champ de bataille, les mauvais sujets Musulmans et des foules d'enfants parcouraient les rues de la ville en proférant des malédictions et des imprécations contre la religion Chrétienne et les étrangers. A plusieurs reprises ils ont attaché des croix, en bois, aux cous des chiens de la rue et ils ont aussi griffonné des paroles outrageantes et des menaces sur les portes des églises. Toutes les plaintes que les Chrétiens avaient avancées sur ce sujet, loin d'obtenir des bons résultats, leur ont attiré des vexations beaucoup plus dures encore; puisque des mauvais sujets Musulmans s'amusaient souvent pendant la nuit à lancer des cailloux dans leur habitations, et quelquefois aussi ils les importunaient par des coups de fusil qu'ils tiraient par dessus de leurs maisons; leurs enfants et leurs curés étaient toujours molestés par des gamins Musulmans, de sorte qu'ils ont trouvé plus à propos de souffrir l'opprobre et les vexations plutôt que de s'en plaindre, de crainte de s'attirer d'autres malheurs!

L'état des districts dépendants de Saïda n'est pas moins à plaindre, car le vol et le brigandage sont presque continuels; et lorsque les plaignants poursuivent leurs plaintes, il y a des fonctionnaires qui leur donnent à croire que ce sont les Libanais qui commettent ces crimes afin d'exciter peut-être leur haine contre ces derniers, dont ils sont jaloux, et dans le but encore de provoquer des différends avec eux et causer des troubles dans la montagne, comme ils firent jadis, pendant les événements de 1860; tandis que jusqu'à présent on ne peut qu'admirer le bon ordre et la bonne administration qui règne dans le Liban, de même que la conduite prudente des Libanais.

Après la publication de la nouvelle Constitution, les troubles et l'effervescence ont pris un caractère beaucoup plus sérieux; puisque les Musulmans se sont persuadés que la Constitution n'était rien autre chose que l'annulation de tous les règlements, et la stricte adoption de la Loi de Mohamet; et que ce sont les Softas et chefs religieux lesquels, après avoir sécoué le joug de l'Europe, ont décidé le nouveau Souverain à prendre cette loyale décision, lui promettant que l'Islamisme le protègera au prix de

son sang et avec son or contre ses agresseurs.

Dans cette conviction, les Musulmans de ces pays ont pris un air beaucoup plus arrogant et plus fanatique que le passé, et ils se sont permis ces derniers jours d'envoyer leurs enfants jusqu'aux portes des écoles et des églises Américaines, pour y jeter des ordures et molester les enfants; le curé de la nation Grecque Orthodoxe, pendant qu'il accompagnait un convoi funèbre, a été insulté par les enfants en présence des zaptiés, lesquels n'ont pas voulu ou ne se sont pas permis de les reprimer de crainte de leurs parents; enfin plusieurs enfants des Représentants des Puissances résidants ici, ont été aussi en rentrant des écoles, maltraités, entre autres, mes propres fils ont été encore battus, et les dernières fois c'était en ma présence.

Toutes les démarches officieuses et amicales que je n'ai cessé de faire tant auprès de l'autorité, des fonctionnaires, et même de notables Musulmans de Saïda, n'ont pu obtenir aucun bon résultat; au contraire, depuis peu de jours les enfants qu'on envoie pour troubler la tranquillité, ont poussé la hardiesse jusqu'au point d'insulter, dans la

rue, ma femme et mes filles!

Voyant d'un côté le malheur qui ménace l'élément Chrétien, et en particulier les étrangers, et n'ayant pas pu jusqu'à présent, malgré mes démarches réitérées, arrêter la marche rapide de ces troubles, dont les conséquences seraient fort fâcheuses, si l'on ne s'empresse pas à les remédier; c'est pour cela que je viens, en portant ces faits à votre connaissance, vous prier d'employer les mesures que vous jugerez à propos pour empêcher que la sureté publique ne soit entièrement ravie, et que nous n'ayons pas des événements pareils à ceux de 1860!

Veuillez, &c.
(Signed) HABIB ABELA.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul-Général,

Saida, January 19, 1877.

SINCE the various disquieting circumstances which continually succeed each other, and which increase from day to day, may, in the absence of prudent and energetic precautions, bring about consequences much more melancholy than those of the year 1860, I consider it my duty to bring them under your notice.

Since the insurrection broke out in Turkey, and especially since the changes which have occurred in the capital of the Empire, the Mussulmans not only manifest hate and aversion towards the Christians, but begin to persecute them openly, without the

authorities taking serious measures to restrain them.

It has been always remarked, even by the functionaries, that, after the departure of troops, and on the arrival of news from the scene of war, evil-disposed Mussulmans and crowds of children have traversed the streets of the town uttering maledictions and imprecations against the Christian religion and foreigners. They have frequently tied wooden crosses to the necks of street dogs, and they have also scrawled offensive words and menaces on the church doors. All the complaints put forward by the Christians on this account, far from obtaining good results, have led to still harder persecutions, since ill-conditioned Mussulmans often amused themselves during the night by throwing stones into their houses, and sometimes also they annoyed them by firing over their houses; their children and their priests were continually molested by Mussulman street-boys, so that they have found it more judicious to suffer opprobrium and annoyance rather than to complain, for fear of bringing on themselves further misfortunes.

The state of the districts, of which Saida is the chief place, is not less to be pitied, since theft and brigandage are of almost daily occurrence, and when the plaintiffs prosecute their complaints, there are officials who tell them that the inhabitants of the Lebanon commit these crimes, with the object of possibly exciting their hate against the latter, of whom they are jealous, and of provoking differences with them and causing troubles in the mountains, as they formerly did during the events of 1860; whereas hitherto one can only admire the good order and government which reigns in the Lebanon, as well as the

prudent conduct of its inhabitants.

After the publication of the new Constitution the disorder and excitement took a much more serious shape, since the Mussulmans persuaded themselves that the Constitution was nothing else than the annulling of all the "règlements" and the strict adoption of Mahometan law, and that the Softas and religious Chiefs, after having cast off the yoke of Europe, have persuaded the new Sovereign to take this loyal decision, promising him that Islamism will protect him at the price of its blood and its gold against his enemies.

With this conviction the Mussulmans of these districts have assumed a much more arrogant and fanatic air than in the past, and they have gone so far during the last few days as to send their children to the doors of the American schools and churches to throw excrement and molest the children; the priest of the orthodex Greek nation, whilst accompanying a funeral, was insulted by children in face of the zaptiehs, who either would not, or did not dare to keep them in order, from fear of their parents; finally, many children of the Representatives of Powers here have also been ill-treated whilst returning from school, amongst others my own sons have been beaten, and the last time in my presence.

I have not succeeded in bringing about any good result by any of the officious and friendly steps which I have continually taken with the Government, the officials, and even the head Mussulmans of Saida; on the contrary, latterly, the children sent to disturb tranquillity have pushed their boldness to the point of insulting in the street

my wife and children.

Seeing on the one hand the misfortune which menaces the Christian element, and particularly foreigners, and not having been able as yet, notwithstanding my repeated endeavours, to check the rapid progress of these troubles, the consequences of which may be very serious, if they are not quickly remedied, I have to beg you, in submitting these facts to your notice, to take such steps as may seem best to you to prevent public safety from being entirely destroyed, and to obviate events similar to those which occurred in 1860.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HABIB ABELA.

Inclosure 8 in No. 50.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, Beyrout, January 21, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, relative to the excitement at Tripoli, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a report from Mr. Acting Vice-Consul Blanche, from which a slight amelioration would appear to have taken place in the state of affairs in that town, though there still remain serious causes of complaint against the authorities for their inaction in not controlling more effectually the Mussulmans in the antipathy they display towards the Christians.

The suggestion that a ship-of-war should visit Tripoli I am unable to attend to, as Her Majesty's ship "Torch" has now returned to Ayas Bay, where she will probably remain for some time, as the Admiral has telegraphed that stores and provisions will

shortly be sent there for her by Her Majesty's ship "Raleigh."

l have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 50.

M. Blanche to Consul-General Eldridge.

M. le Consul-Général,

LA situation s'est sensiblement améliorée à Tripoli, l'avertissement donné à

l'autorité par le vilayet a porté son fruit. Depuis dix jours les Musulmans semblent s'être calmés à l'égard des habitants de la ville, mais leur humeur agressive continue à s'exercer sur les paysans, qui constituent en tout temps leur matière taillable et

corvéable et en ce moment plus que jamais.

Les faits sont journaliers et malheureusement ils n'arrivent pas à la connaissance de l'autorité; tout s'arrête à la porte du Serail, quand par hasard un Musulman porte plainte contre un Chrétien, sur le champ celui-ci est mis en arrestation; les requêtes et le jugement viennent en suite. Si la plainte a lieu en sens inverse, il faut que la requête précède tout procédure, et quand le plaignant est un pauvre paysan battu et ensanglanté, il renonce ordinairement à sa plainte faute d'une piastre pour payer un timbre, ou s'il fait sa requête, il est à peu près certain qu'elle restera sans effet. C'est ce que nous voyons en ce moment tous les jours.

Lors de la récente effervescence, les Tribunaux de Tripoli ont pu affirmer au Vali qu'il ne s'était rien passé, parce que rien, en effet, ne leur est parvenu officiellement. Quand j'ai porté à la connaissance de Chakir Bey, puis de son Vekil, certains faits assez graves, ils ont paru fort étonnés de n'en rien savoir, et je crois volontiers qu'ils ignoraient ce qui se passait en ville, mais cette ignorance est inadmissible pour les Tribunaux, qui sont en contact intime avec la population. Seulement ils ont l'ignorance

officielle parce que rien ne passe la porte du Serail.

Malgré le calme relatif qui règne en ce moment, il est certain que la population Musulmane est dans un état de tension qui inspire de sérieuses et légitimes inquiétudes aux Chrétiens.

On a lu le 13 de ce mois au Serail la Proclamation Vézirielle relative à l'égalité des sujets Ottomans. Cela ne diminuera en rien l'exaltation régnante dans toutes les classes Musulmanes, et il ne faut pas se dissimuler que nous sommes dans une de ces situations où les moindres incidents peuvent amener de graves désordres. Aussi la population Chrétienne aspire plus que jamais à voir paraître quelque bâtiment de guerre, et je ne puis que m'associer aux vœux qu'elle m'adresse souvent à cet égard pour m'en faire l'interprête auprès de vous.

Je suis, &c. (Signé) J. BLANCHE.

P.S.—J'apprends à l'instant que les Rédifs ont ordre de se tenir prêts à partir, et qu'un navire doit venir les prendre pour Constantinople dans ces quelques jours. Ce n'est pas un signe de paix. Il est à noter que toute la population Musulmane est devenue singulièrement belliqueuse depuis quelque temps. Tant qu'il ne s'agissait que de la guerre de Servie, elle ne faisait les sacrifices exigés qu'avec une extrême répugnance. Il semble aujourd'hui que l'Islam en soit arrivé à jouer sa dernière partie, et je suis [376]

frappé de l'entrain avec lequel tout Musulman réclame la guerre contre la Russie, plutôt que de subir les conditions connues.

J. B.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul-Général,

Tripoli, January 16, 1877.

THE state of affairs at Tripoli has sensibly improved; the warning given to the authorities by the vilayet has borne fruit. During the last ten days the Mussulmans seem to have calmed down with respect to the inhabitants of the town, but their aggressive humour continues to be displayed towards the peasants, who constitute always their objects for taxation and oppression, and now more than ever so.

Such occurrences happen daily, and unfortunately they do not reach the ears of the authorities; everything is stopped at the door of the Seraglio; when by accident a Mussulman brings a complaint against a Christian, the latter is immediately arrested, the proceedings and the judgment immediately follow. In the opposite case, the petition must precede all the other proceedings, and when the plaintiff is a poor beaten and bleeding peasant, he generally renounces bringing his charge for want of a piastre to pay for a stamp, or if he does present his petition, it is pretty certain to remain without effect. We see examples of this every day.

At the time of the recent disturbance, the Tripoli Tribunals were able to affirm to the Vali that nothing had taken place, because, in point of fact, nothing had come to their notice officially. When I brought to the knowledge of Ghakir Bey, and then to that of his Vekil, certain rather serious facts, they appeared very much astonished at not knowing anything about them; and I willingly believe that they were not aware of what was going on in the town; but this ignorance is inadmissible in the Tribunals, who are in close contact with the people. They are only officially ignorant because nothing passes the doors of the Seraglio.

Notwithstanding the comparative calm which prevails at this moment, it is certain that the Mussulman population is in a state of tension which inspires the Christians with serious and legitimate anxiety.

On the 13th instant, the Proclamation of the Grand Vizier with reference to the equality of Ottoman subjects was read at the Seraglio. This will in no wise diminish the excitement existing among all classes of Mussulmans, and we cannot disguise the fact that we are in one of those situations when the most trivial circumstances may bring about grave disorders. The Christian population hopes more than ever to see some vessels of war appear, and I must join in the wish which they often apply to me to forward to you.

I am, &c. (Signed) J. BLANCHE.

P.S.—I have just learnt that the Rédifs have received the order to hold themselves in readiness to leave, and that a ship will come to take them to Constantinople in a day or two. This is not a sign of peace. It is worthy of note that all the Mussulman population has become singularly warlike lately. So long as the war with Servia was only in question, they only made the sacrifices exacted with the greatest reluctance. It now seems that Islamism must play its last card, and I am struck by the enthusiasm with which every Mussulman calls for war against Russia, rather than submit to the known conditions.

J. B.

No. 51.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Pera, January 20, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 25th ultimo,* I have the honour to inclose further reports which have been furnished to me by Captain Ardagh and Mr. Calvert-upon the state of feeling in Bulgaria.

I have, &c. (Signed) SALISBURY.

^{*} See "Turkey No. 2 (1877)," No. 136.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

Captain Ardagh to Mr. Currie.

Sir, Tirnova, Vilayet of Touna (Danube), January 14, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Marquis of Salisbury, as follows:—

On arriving here I had interviews with the Mutesarif (Réouf Pasha), with the principal Beys, and with several Bulgarians, all of whom conversed freely on the present state of affairs. On the 26th I had the misfortune to be attacked by fever, which kept me in bed until the 13th January. I therefore sent Mr. Calvert to visit the Caza of Selvi and the scenes of disturbances north of the Balkan.

His report on that district, which I have the honour to inclose herewith, enters fully into details respecting the burnt and plundered villages, and the progress made in alle-

viating the distress of the suffering population.

I had the honour to give you a résumé of the opinions which I had then formed on the subjects upon which information was desired, in a telegraphic despatch dated Tirnova, 25th December, and I now proceed to lay before you in detail the result of my observations and inquiries.

I have no hesitation in asserting that the state of feeling between Mussulmans and Bulgarians north of the Balkan is widely different, and far more hostile, than that which exists in the vicinity of Philippopolis. This appears to be attributable to various causes, of

which the two principal are:-

Ist. That disaffection is more widely disseminated among the Bulgarian population on this side, probably owing to the proximity to the frontier, and the greater facility of communicating with the revolutionary committees in Roumania and Servia.

2nd. That little public attention has been drawn to this district as compared with the inquiries instituted relative to the insurrection south of the Balkan; and it does not appear to have yet dawned on the minds of a large proportion of the Mussulmans, that their proceedings in suppressing the insurrection were at all reprehensible.

Before proceeding further, it may be desirable to make a few remarks on the social

condition of the Mussulmans and the Bulgarians.

The Mussulmans may be divided into three classes: the officials, the Beys, and the people.

The officials, with the rarest exceptions, are utterly subservient to the orders of the

Porte, and are very frequently corrupt and venal from the highest to the lowest.

The Beys represent the aristocracy of the country, and are large landowners, having paramount influence over the inhabitants of the villages belonging to them or administered by them for some pious foundation.

A large proportion of them have held Government appointments of one sort or another, or are anxious to procure patronage for their families. These are, consequently, staunch adherents of the Porte. A few are thoroughly independent in thought, but hardly in action.

The people follow the officials and the Beys without a thought of independence.

The peculiar social condition of the Bulgarians appears to be attributable almost entirely to the law, custom, or system of testamentary disposition of property. Equal subdivision among the children is the rule, and my inquiries elicited no instance of its being departed from. The natural result to which à priori reasoning from this starting

point leads, is fully arrived at in practice.

There does not exist among the Bulgarians any class deriving their incomes from patrimonial inheritance or accumulated wealth. There is nothing even remotely resembling an aristocracy or a gentry. Speaking broadly, all the Bulgarians are either peasants or tradesmen. A few large farmers and merchants, who are richer than their neighbours, are dignified by the title of notables. These having more to lose are more conservative and less favourable to revolutionary ideas than the mass, but gave me the impression of being narrow-minded and absorbed in their personal interests, and very little inclined to take part in politics, even for the amelioration of the condition of their compatriots.

Some of the superior clergy seem to be well informed, but study their own interests by keeping on good terms with the Turks. The inferior clergy are ignorant, and in many instances, the church acted as a dernier ressort for those who failed in other pursuits. A bankrupt tradesman, for instance, would become a priest to gain a

livelihood.

The most intelligent and liberal persons I encountered were the doctors, who, however, held altogether aloof from politics.

The most influential persons in the country appear to be the schoolmasters or professors, as they term themselves. The majority of this class are steeped in disaffection.

Many have been educated in Russia, and many are more or less closely connected

with the Slav and Revolutionary Committees in Russia, Roumania, and Servia.

The schoolmasters were the moving spirits in the recent insurrections, and they still foment among the mass of the population an irreconcilable antagonism to Turkish supremacy.

The people, on the whole, seem dull, surly, grasping, selfish, and narrow-minded. I

have failed to discover any good quality among them.

The unfavourable view of the Bulgarians which I have formed and their social conditions will offer, I venture to submit, most serious obstacles to devising any satisfactory mode of autonomous internal administration.

I shall now bring to your notice the opinions expressed by the Turks and Bulgarians

respectively

The Turkish officials and Beys at Tirnova, on being questioned regarding the mutual feeling now existing between the Mussulmans and Bulgarians, all used the same expression, viz., "that they were like brothers!" They could hardly have given a reply of more exaggerated mendacity.

That this ridiculous assertion was incredible to themselves became apparent from their admission that, much as they had endeavoured to impress upon the Bulgarians the friendly and beneficent feeling entertained towards them by the Mussulmans, there still existed a suspicion and a want of confidence which seemed to them unaccountable.

On calling attention to the prevalence of crime, they admitted that there had been some cases, but asserted that of late lawlessness had ceased, and, moreover, that many of the so-called Circassians were in reality Bulgarians in disguise. Now there is no doubt that lawlessness is still rife, and although there have been notorious instances of the deliberate adoption of such disguises on the Servian frontier, with a view of throwing discredit on the Mussulmans, the explanation seems at this moment incredible.

On the other hand, the Bulgarians make no secret of their discontent and hostility to the Ottoman rule, and are full of instances of alleged oppression. Examining into these, I found the greater number to consist of robberies and acts of violence perpetrated by Mussulmans upon non Mussulmans, and chiefly by Circassians upon Bulgarians. Numerous cases of highway robbery have been brought to my notice, principally on the road from Tirnova to Sistova.

The Turkish soldiers are now in a disorderly state, and commit many crimes. I have myself seen a Turkish soldier refuse to pay for repairs to his boots; and while I was at Tirnova a Bulgarian peasant was robbed and murdered close to the town. An inquiry as usual proved fruitless, but the Bulgarians were convinced that the crime was committed by soldiers. The shops of Christians, too, were often broken into and robbed.

Numbers of Bulgarians annually migrate to Roumania and Hungary in the summer months to procure agricultural employment. On their return in the autumn, with their accumulated earnings, these unfortunate people are each year set upon and plundered by bands of Circassians, to whom, being unarmed, they can offer no resistance.

Horse-stealing and cattle-lifting are rife. A most audacious case of the former crime occurred here a short time since, in broad daylight, in the crowded bazaar.

A Circassian seized the horse of a Bulgarian, and, drawing his sword, carried off his plunder unopposed.

The Bulgarians state, and I believe with truth, that it is useless to complain. There is, in short, no doubt that anarchy and lawlessness extensively prevail, and that through an inefficient police, and an indifferent executive, crime goes unpunished.

It is, perhaps, some palliation that during the last few months a constant movement of troops, regular and irregular, has been in progress in the Vilayet of the Danube, and numerous bands of Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks have passed to and fro.

This insecurity is of itself sufficient to account for discontent.

A very capable observer, a Bulgarian in the service of the Turkish Government, speaking of the Danube Vilayet, assured me that in all his experience he never recollected such a strong, mutual, hostile feeling as that now existing between the Turks and Bulgarians. He added, "that if a Russian army were to enter Bulgaria, it might easily treble its numbers"—a statement which I can readily believe.

No Bulgarian with whom I have conversed placed the slightest reliance, or reposed the least hope of improvement, on the new Constitution promulgated on the 24th December, in the provinces.

The Bulgarians profess to be willing to serve in the army, but on examination they qualify their desire by the conditions of forming regiments exclusively Bulgarian, and suggest the formation of a National Guard. These are but transparent pretexts for a better preparation for revolution. At the present time, however, their immunity from conscription embitters the feeling of the Mussulmans, who are now subject to the most extreme pressure to procure recruits. The Mustahfiz, or last reserve of middle-aged men, is now being called out, and although not unwilling soldiers, this depletion of the able-bodied population is felt as a grievous hardship, and the Mussulmans turn in wrath to the Bulgarians, and say, "It is through your insurrections, your agitation, and your intrigues that we are dragged from our homes."

Discontent, disaffection, and ill-teeling exist in a high degree, but are attributable

to causes easily assigned.

Security for person and property, and the honest, firm, and equitable administration of justice—measures which I admit involve a good deal more than their mere expression—would, however, remove all the practical grievances of which the Bulgarians complain. With the present Turkish officials such reforms are impossible; and however desirous the Porte may be of effecting them, it seems doubtful whether the requisite number of uncorrupt, honest, and capable officials could be found in the Empire. Without foreign supervision success seems hopeless

Passing now to the question whether a fanatical outbreak is possible or probable, I beg to reiterate what I had the honour to affirm in my first despatch, viz., that, except in matters of religion, which do not enter into the question, the Mussulman population is utterly subservient to the officials and the Beys, and pays an unquestioning obedience

to their orders.

Whatever pressure may be brought to bear on the Porte, if it is accepted in a bond fide spirit, and honestly promulgated to the people through the officials and the Beys, distasteful though it may be, it will be accepted without any risk of an outbreak.

I except, of course, conditions which are obviously inadmissible, such as a Russian

occupation or Bulgarian supremacy.

The appointment of a foreign Commission of Control would, I conceive, be even

popular with the mass of Turks.

The carriage of arms in public was again forbidden last October, and in the Danube Vilayet influential persons were sent round to see that the order was complied with. In the towns very few carrying arms are now to be seen, but in the country there are still a considerable number carrying arms. Permits are granted to certain persons on condition of giving guarantees for good behaviour. These permits are mainly issued to travellers, sportsmen, &c

It seems quite possible to enforce this order; but an attempt to disarm the Mussulman population in the present conjuncture, with the apprehension of a war with Russia, is generally admitted to be impossible. The Bulgarians possess very few and very

indifferent arms.

Even should an outbreak occur, ample means exist at this moment for suppressing it at once, the whole of the Vilayet of the Danube being full of regular troops from

Widdin to Varna, numbering, perhaps. 80,000 to 90,000 men.

With reference to the progress made in reconstructing the burnt houses and aiding the suffering population, I beg to refer you to Mr. Calvert's Report, already alluded to, and also to his Memorandum upon alleged cases of torture at Selvi after the insurrection in May; and I venture to call your attention to the exact and careful manner in which Mr. Calvert has prepared these Reports and statistics. His knowledge, not only of the language, but also of the customs and etiquette of the country and its officials, proved of the greatest value.

In conclusion, it seems to me that but little more was to be gained by prolonging the investigation in other quarters, as Philippopoli and Tirnova are typical centres, and I had already been over a good deal of Bulgaria since the disturbances.

Regretting that my illness should have delayed this report. I have. &c.

(Signed) J. C. ARDAGH, Captain, R.E.

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

Report on the Condition of the Ravaged Districts on the Northern Slopes of the Balkans.

IN the annexed table will be found the details of the losses incurred by each of the ten villages in the Cazas of Selvi and Gabrova, which suffered from the excesses of the Bashi-Bazouks during the suppression of the Bulgarian outbreak in May last.

These particulars were obtained by me during my late tour in the ravaged districts from the elders of the villages, who had in most cases already drawn up lists in various degrees of detail. In other cases, lists were prepared at my request. It will be seen that the aggregate of losses thus arrived at is as follows:—

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      Persons killed (325 men,* 35 women, 88 children)
      ...
      ...
      448

      Buildings burnt (621 houses, 753 barns and outhouses, 11 churches, schools, &c.)
      1,385

      Houses pillaged
      ...
      ...
      ...

      Live stock lost (5,834 head of large cattle, 26,331 sheep, goats, &c.)
      ...
      32,165
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The column showing the number of families made destitute and who have been relieved by the American, Scottish, and Bulgarian Committees, was furnished to me by the native agent of those Committees. It will be observed that there are 1,611 such families out of an aggregate of 2,695 families whose houses have been burnt or pillaged. These 1,611 families comprise 9,567 individuals of both sexes and all ages, giving an average of $5\frac{1}{3}$ to each family. As the average number of persons in a Bulgarian house or family has lately been made a subject of discussion, it may be of interest to note here that the aggregate figure varies severally in the ten villages in question from $4\frac{1}{5}$ to 6.

The task of relieving this special section of the districts which suffered during the suppression of the disturbances, has, by mutual arrangement between the various Committees of Relief, been confided to those of the Scottish and American Bible Two Bulgarian communities alone have contributed relief to their distressed fellow-countrymen, namely, those of Roustchouk and Gabrovo. The contributions of the former consist of some bales of left-off clothing, which—at least, as much of it as fell under my own observation—is, for the most part, little suited to the requirements of its recipients at this season. Much more to the purpose have been the contributions from Gabrovo, which has sent, in addition to twelve bales of old clothes, fourteen large bales of winter clothing, as well as bedding, sandals, &c., of the sort used by Bulgarian peasants. To these were added some supplies of Indian corn, and several hundred empty petroleum cans. These last have proved a serviceable contribution to the numerous poorer families, whose houses were stripped bare of everything. The task of distributing all these articles was confided to the above-mentioned agent of the Scottish and American Committees, Mr. Gabriel Elieff, a Bulgarian Protestant preacher, who received besides from the community at Gabrovo 5,000 piastres in money, to be laid out

The principal relief has, however, come from the Committees of the American and Scottish Bible Societies, who, in addition to 460 blankets and 52 coverlets, have placed at the disposal of Mr. Elieff 1,200l. sterling. This sum has been expended in the purchase of warm and suitable clothes, and bedding of native material. Mr. Elieff has also supplied those needing it with Indian corn, as also with soap, salt, and small sums in money. I have been shown the lists prepared under his supervision, and having been present at the final distribution of relief at several villages, can testify to the extreme care and discrimination with which the nature and degree of relief have been apportioned to the needs of each family and even of each individual. To this end house to house visits were made and detailed lists were drawn up by Mr. Elieff and his assistants, Herr Pollt, Scottish Missionary colporteur, and three Bulgarian young men. The number of recipients of relief, considerable as it is, does not give an adequate idea of the immensity of this task, for a large proportion of the houses of each village in this part of the country are scattered singly over large tracts of ground. Thus, Yeni-Kioï covers a space measuring some ten miles each way.

As regards shelter, all those who have lost their homes have been housed either in their own or the neighbouring villages and towns. When the houseless were surprised by the unprecedentedly early and severe cold which set in at the beginning of November, there was very much suffering and many deaths from exposure. Mr. Elieff informed me that he himself saw families huddled together amidst the driving snow with no other shelter than that of the haycocks which, in this part of the country, are of a small size, and supported by a platform raised upon four posts. As I was informed at Selvi that similar cases still existed at Yeni-Kioï, I was careful to inquire into the matter when at that village. Even there I was told that such was the case. It was added that the fifteen families who were in this state had of their own accord elected to remain near their old homes, rather than remove to the distant quarters assigned to them. I visited all the families of this category within access, and found them in all cases living in small temporary huts,

^{*} In this number are comprised the women killed at Dushovo-Mahallesi, where men and women are reckoned together at 94.

thatched, and provided with fire-places. Scanty as is the accommodation in these make-shift homes, they afford effectual shelter from the weather. I was assured that, in all the

other alleged cases, the families were lodged in similar huts.

A very few houses have been rebuilt at Yeni-Kioï—in all cases by their owners; none, or almost none, elsewhere. In all these villages the houses consist of two floors, and are constructed on the same pattern and with the same materials, which exist in abundance on the spot. The walls are substantially built of a stone which readily splits into any required form. Where the houses have been burnt, these walls in almost all cases remain intact. Those of the upper floor are made of lath and clay. Each floor is warmed with a clay stove on the Russian model, and fuel is everywhere plentiful. The roof is covered with flakes of split stone. The villagers allege, as a reason that they have not proceeded more rapidly with the work of reconstruction, that they cannot spare from agricultural requirements any of the remnant of draught cattle in their possession wherewith to bring in the necessary timber, &c., and that the Government authorities have not afforded them in this and other respects the aid which they had promised.

This introduces the question of the share of relief contributed by the Government. It may be practically summed up as considerably less than nothing. Mr. Elieff informs me that the Vali of Rutschuk, on the 19th of October last, boldly announced to the Porte that not a house remained unbuilt. After visiting all the villages, Mr. Elieff was able to announce that not a single piece of timber or other material had yet been supplied towards that purpose. The Vali then issued peremptory orders that the work should be commenced forthwith. The bad weather which set in about that time, however, furnished a convenient excuse for deferring it; and, although abundance of timber might have been cut, and the work of reconstruction have made considerable progress during the fine and mild weather which has prevailed for more than a month past, it was decided to leave over the work till spring. When the Kiahia of Rutschuk came on the part of the Vali about the end of November last to see that all possible facilities were accorded to the villagers, he was informed by the Mediliss of Selvi that 120 axes were ready for Yeni-Kioï and Kravenik; yet, up to the present time, only 22 axes have been supplied to the former village, and none to the latter. Again, the Vali ordered the Kaïmakam of Selvi to provide 200 mats for the more destitute villagers, and a Bulgarian of that town bought 200 more for account of the Government. These orders were executed at Plevna. The first lot of mats was sold by the Kaimakam of that place to the Agent there of the Scottish and American Relief Committees; and the authorities at Selvi having refused to pay for the second lot, Mr. Elieff took it off the hands of the Bulgarian who had been commissioned to make the purchase.

The only shadow of relief yet afforded by the Government has been in deferring—not remitting—the payment of certain taxes; and it has taken upon itself to collect those for the past year, instead of farming them out as customary. The tithes were assessed as usual, and the villagers were at first called upon to send them in at once (in kind) to the district towns; but, on their representing that they had no means of transport, the Government consented provisionally to take their bonds instead, and these have not yet been presented. Soon after the suppression of the outbreak, a requisition was made for the payment of the Property and Military Service Commutation Taxes. An instalment alone of these was paid, and payment of the next was not at once pressed for. Signs of renewed activity on the part of the tax-gatherer are, however, now beginning to

be manifest.

On the day of my visit to Debnovo-Mahallesi, a zaptieh arrived there charged to collect the arrears of the two last-named taxes in full. On the villagers asking whether there was to be no remission of the amount in consideration of destroyed property and loss of live-stock, the man replied, "I give you three days in which to pay the whole. Find it, or borrow it where you can." Again, at Guben, the zaptieh answered a similar question with these curt words, "burnt and cooked, all must pay." A war contribution of farm produce under the name of "Imdadié," or aid, was, moreover, being levied from all the villages. It consists of 3 okes of firmity ("boolgoor"), 1 oke of butter, and 20 okes of charcoal from each house, and a waggon-load of fuel from every ten houses. The villages are, moreover, being compelled to purchase tickets under the same name ("Imdadié"), the amount levied at Debnovo-Mahallesi being 800 piastres. A demand is also now being made for payment of the taxes on hay and vegetables.

But what presses more grievously than anything else on these unfortunate people is the loss of a very considerable portion of their live-stock. The villagers in every case but one (Kravenik) were unable, or perhaps for some reason unwilling to inform me what proportion the number of missing animals bears to those which remain in their possession,

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but it is self-evident that the loss implied by the large figures above given, must have diminished their means of subsistence as well as of production most materially.

In the instance of Kravenik, even after taking into account the stock recovered, the village lists show but 190 head of cattle in their possession against 898 missing, 5 horses

against 171 missing, and 1,392 sheep and goats against 7,030 missing.

Yeni-Kioï alone has succeeded in recovering any considerable proportion of its plundered live-stock, and in the instance of that village, the amount recovered is but one-third of what was carried off. Kravenik, the next most-favoured place, has got back but one-tenth.

The remaining villages have either recovered nothing, or next to it.

The inertness of the Government authorities in this matter is the less excusable inasmuch as in most, if not in all, cases the missing stock has not been dispersed or destroyed, but is known to exist in its integrity in certain Turkish villages. This is a fact which I only arrived at after I had been some days in the ravaged districts, when I learnt that the Bulgarians of at least two villages are prevented from claiming their livestock from the Turkish villagers who carried it off, by a system of terrorism. My inquiries at Gradnitza-Mahallesi, and at Yeni-Kioï, whether the inhabitants of those villages knew what had become of their missing property, were at first answered in the negative.

I was casually told the real state of the case at another village, and having again met one of the elders of Gradnitza-Mahallesi afterwards, he admitted the fact, and his account of the matter agreed with what I had been told. The stock, he said, was all at the Turkish villages of Hirovo, Damianovo, and Gradnitza (whereof the scattered "Mahallé" of that name is the Bulgarian appendage).

The Bulgarians of Gradnitza-Mahallesi, fortified by an order from the Government authorities, sent three men, accompanied by zaptiehs, to those villages to identify and

recover their stock.

The Turkish inhabitants asked the Bulgarians to allow them the use of the stock for a few days longer. They consented. The result was that the men who had been left to bring away the animals disappeared. The stock has been withheld to this day, and the villagers have naturally feared to persist in their claim, and even abstained from mentioning to me this among other grievances, lest worse should befall.

The inhabitants of Yeni-Kioï have, it is more than probable, been similarly deterred by similar fears. I learnt elsewhere that the live stock carried off from Stretz, one of the four "Mahallés" into which Yeni-Kioï is divided, are in the villages of Oftchilar, Buyuk-Oba, and Kutchuk-Oba, in the Caza of Kyzanlik, on the other side of the

Balkans.

In the same Turkish villages are also a great part of the stock belonging to Kravenik, Batoshovo, and Guben.

When the people of Kravenik went to identify and bring away their property, which they did on three different occasions, accompanied each time by zaptiehs, the Turkish villagers, who had no doubt received notice of their approach, had taken care to drive the greater part and the best of the animals to the woods and mountains. As a rule, where any stock has been recovered, only the pocrest and weakest animals have been given up.

Again, as to Debnovo-Mahallesi, the whole of the stock and other property carried off is known to be at the two Turkish villages of Debnovo and Rabiva. In the words of the Bulgarians of that village:—"Each man among us knows the particular Turkish house or farm where not only his animals but every article taken from his home has been carried." It is probable that the same is more or less the case with regard to all the plundered villages.

As to Debnovo-Mahallesi, the Bulgarian Kiahia of that village, having recognized three horses of his in the hands of a Turk at Debnovo, ventured to claim it of the Turkish Mukhtar of that village. The latter invited him to stay at his house till they

were found, and the horses were meanwhile sent out of the way.

On his return home the following day, the unfortunate Bulgarian was waylaid and attacked by the son of the man in whose possession the horses were, and was cut and slashed with a dagger so severely that he had to be conveyed home in a cart, and was confined to his bed for four weeks afterwards. His assailant during the attack kept saying, "You claim your horses, do you? you ghiaour, you 'comité' fellow, you pig!" and the like.

It may here be mentioned that the chief landowner at Debnovo, Gertchikoglu Mustafa Aga, whom I shall presently have further occasion to speak of, profited by the

general system of spoliation which followed the outbreak to seize the threshing-ground of the Bulgarian village (Debnovo-Mahallesi), and, in order to ensure its possession to

himself, has built a farm-house on it.

Not only have the Turkish villagers evaded the restoration of their plunder, but they have been encouraged by the two most influential persons in those parts, Saádullah Effendi, a member of the Medjliss of Selvi, and the above-mentioned Gertchikoglu Mustafa Aga, of Debnovo, to resent the relief afforded to the distressed Bulgarians by the Scottish and American Committees. Mr. Elieff informs me that both these notables have given out to the Bulgarian villagers that whatever they are now receiving will be taken from them again later by the Turks. Gertchikoglu further endeavoured by threats to prevent the people of the neighbouring villages from accepting relief, adding that in the event of a war with Russia his 300 followers would be sufficient to massacre them all. He added, with reference to the agent of the Relief Committees: "And that Consul, or whatever he may be, we shall settle his business too" (ani-da pakla-dyriz). This language probably does not at present imply more than general ill-will, but, unless it be taken proper notice of by the Government, it will evidently be hopeless to look for any amelioration of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in those parts.

With respect to the further needs of the distressed villagers, whilst all are under shelter, and more or less clothed and for the present fed, the existing supplies of food will not, I am assured, last beyond the end of February. For, besides the destruction of grain in store, a great part of the growing crops were trampled down by the Bashi-Bazouks, and at the top of these misfortunes came a bad harvest. As regards future means of subsistence, whilst the autumn sowing has been lost, it is most imperative that the villagers be at least enabled to cultivate their fields in spring by the restoration of their plundered cattle, and more especially their draught oxen and buffaloes, which will be required for that purpose not later than about the 10th of March. Agricultural implements and seed

will also have to be provided where they are wanting.

Having said so much in disparagement of the Turkish authorities and others, it will be but fair to state some facts on the other side before concluding this Report. In the first place, the information which I have gathered from Bulgarian as well as from Turkish sources leaves no doubt on my mind that the outbreak on this side of the Balkans had a much more serious aspect than it has hitherto been credited with. I have it on Bulgarian authority that there were Committees of Insurrection at Tirnovo, Rakovitza, Drenovo, Gabrovo, and every other town in this sandjak alone. The inhabitants of the districts, afterwards ravaged by the Bashi-Bazouks, were called to arms by bodies of insurgents from the distant villages of Mikhaltzi, Diyitchin, Balvan, and others. These were joined by all, or nearly all, the adult male population of the villages in the neighbourhood of Gabrovo on the line of march, so that by the time they reached Batoshovo they numbered 2,000 or 3,000. They fired on the mail post near Gabrovo, wounding a zaptieh. At Guben they killed without provocation three Mussulman gipsies in a tavern. It was at Batoshovo that the most serious encounter with the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians One of the zaptiehs who accompanied me, and who had been present, described on the spot the first conflict, pointing out the hill outside the village on which, as he said, the insurgents swarmed like bees. They were arranged in something like military order, their movements being directed by the call of a bugle. He showed where one Turk and two Circassians fell under their fire. Being dislodged from this position, the insurgents made a second stand at a house at the entrance of the village, and a third at the church. In these last engagements two more Circassians were killed and eight wounded. The zaptieh's account was confirmed by an inhabitant of the village, who was also with me. On the other hand, great as was the loss of life and property inflicted by the Turkish irregulars, it does not appear to have been altogether indiscrimi-In support of this, the Turks point to the village of Mletchovo, which, although surrounded by others which were ravaged, remained itself untouched; and that, say the Turks, because the inhabitants did not, like their neighbours, join the insurgents. Even the town of Gabrovo, inhabited entirely by Bulgarians, was not molested, although (as I learnt at that place) some fifty of its young men had joined the insurgents. It was only those villages whose inhabitants joined the movement en masse, or nearly so, which were subjected to fire, sword, and pillage. Lastly, there appears to have been in these parts almost no ground for the worst indictment brought against the Bashi-Bazouks south of the Balkans-at least, the Bulgarian villagers whom I questioned on this point had to tax their memories for one or two exceptional instances of outrages on women. EDMUND CALVERT. (Signed)

Tirnovo, January 11, 1877.

Inclosure 3 in No. 51.

TABLE showing the Losses incurred by the Villages on the Northern slopes of the Balkans, during the Suppression of the Bulgarian Outbreak in May 1876.

				Building	Buildings Burnt.					Persons Killed	Cilled.	-	Live	Live Stock lost,			
Name of Village.	Original No. of Houses.	Houses.	Barns, Outhouses, &c.	Churches.	Monasteries.	Schools.	Total.	Houses Pillaged.	Men. V	Women. C	Children. T	Total.	Head of Cattle (a).	Sheep,(b) Goats,	Total.	Families made Destitute.	REMARKS. (a.) Oxen, cows, buffaloes, horses, and their young. (b.) Including lands kids
CAZA OF SELVI. 1. Gradniza-Mahallesi	180	2	:	:	:	:	8	30	7	:	:	1	87	738	895	30	(v.) moraning range and areas
2. Debnovo-Mahallesi	166	34	(a)	:	:	:	34	11		-	:	63	126 (b)	826	985	22 22	8
3. Yeni-Kioï (Novo Selo)	1,400	349	373 (a)	Ø	-	H	726	851	120	20 (b)	∞	148	2,870 (c) 11,791(c) 14,661(c)	1,791(c) 1	4,661(e)	456	
4. Kravenik	370	120	:	<u>~</u>	:	-	122	250	42	6	6	60 1	1069	2,609	8,678	370	(c.) Inc. tive stock recovered are here taken into account, viz., 1,530 head of cattle, and 5,047 sheep, &c. Total, 6,677. (a.) The stock recovered are here taken into account, viz.,
5. Dushovo-Mahaffesi	42	9	30	:	:	:	36	54	94 (a)	:	29	153	(9) (6)	769(b)	866(8)	24	142 head of cattle, and 692 sheep and gosts. Total, 834. (a.) This figure comprises both men and women.
6. Batoshovo, including the Mahallé of Stokité	805	63	266	8	Ħ	- -	333	554	35	4	9	45 1	1,232	3,022	4,254	350	(b.) These figures take into account the stock recovered, the particulars of which have not been furnished.
7. Guben, including Ogoro- letz and Kopen	1,400	30	99	:	:	:	96	256	19		:	50	339	1,546	1,885	261	
Caza of Gabrovo. 8. Gentchovtzi	:	ĸ	88	:	:	:	23	82	:	:	:	:	ž	:	ro	20	
9. Yéni-Mahallé	7.0	12	:	(a)	:	-	13	39	83	:	9	o o	6	:	6	35	(a.) Church pillaged.
10. Eter	:	:	:	•	•	:	:	16	2	:	:	22	:	:	:	Ħ	
Totals	:	621	753	2	2	4	1,385	2,116	325	35	88	448	5,834	26,331	32,165	1,611	

Tirnovo, January 11, 1877.

EDMUND CALVERT.

(Signed)

Inclosure 4 in No. 51.

Report on Cases of Torture said to have occurred in the Prison at Selvi after the late Disturbances.

THE town of Selvi is the administrative centre of the district of the same name, within whose limits are comprised the greater part of the villages which suffered in consequence of the Bulgarian outbreak in May last. Lying, as it does, out of the direct road to those villages, the town had not been visited since that event by any Frank before me. My arrival there was evidently looked upon as an event both by Turks and Bulgarians, and, unaccredited as I was, I yet found myself the object of marked attention and civilities on the part of the local authorities and others.

When passing through Gabrovo with Captain Ardagh on the way to Tirnovo, mention was made of tortures practised at Selvi; but for my part I confess I was disposed to think that these reports had no better foundation than those which had been current south of the Balkans, and which, upon inquiry, failed to be substantiated. I found the same statements repeated at Selvi, but it was not until on the point of departure that I became less sceptical, the Bulgarians of the place saying, "Only ask any of the villagers

who were confined in the outer prison."

I was joined during the first stage of my journey to the hills by a Bulgarian of the town, an unassuming and intelligent young man, who stated that he had been confined in the inner prison, and, being near the open door leading to the outer room, had witnessed acts of torture. The details he gave exactly tallied with the particulars which I afterwards received from the mouths of all the villagers whom I had an opportunity of questioning, and who had been in the part of the prison where the tortures are said to have taken place, seven of my informants having been actual sufferers.

The principal actor in these scenes appears to have been the Chief of the Police at Selvi, the Yuzbashi Suleiman Aga. This man had formerly held the same post, but some time previous to the outbreak had been dismissed for misconduct. Amongst other doings, he is said to have built himself a house entirely at the expense of certain Christians, whom he refused to reimburse for the materials and labour which they had

supplied.

Immediately upon the outbreak this Suleiman Aga was reinstated, and signalized himself by his vindictive spirit towards the Bulgarians. He and other Government officers and notables at Selvi are known to have made the most of the opportunity to enrich themselves. A Bulgarian tradesman related to me in detail how he was mulcted twice over of the 70l. Turkish which had been exacted from him as the price of his release, a denial of receipt of the first payment being backed by private threats on the

part of the person who had taken the money.

All the accounts I received at Selvi agreed in this, that, on the occurrence of the outbreak, every Christian inhabitant of the town of any standing was arrested and lodged in prison. The young Bulgarian above referred to stated that, when conducted thither himself along with others, the Yuzbashi Suleiman Aga, using the most opprobrious and outrageous language towards the arrested Bulgarians, said that it was not to be thought of that true believers should be confined in the same place with dogs of Ghiaours, and thereupon liberated all the Turkish prisoners. These enrolled themselves among the Bashi-Bakouks to a man, one of their number being a notorious assassin, who was invested with a special command, and is now, I understand, employed in the rural police of Selvi.

The prison is described as having been so crowded with the Bulgarians arrested in the town that they hardly had space to sit, much less to lie down in. When those from the villages were brought in after the suppression of the outbreak, they had to be lodged in a stable through which the prison is entered from the courtyard of the konak. It is

in this stable that the tortures are stated to have taken place.

I shall here condense into one narrative the details of what passed, as consistently related by my different informants. I took down each statement at the time in writing. The Bulgarians in these parts, with few exceptions, know Turkish quite well enough for all ordinary purposes, and I only had in one case occasion for Mr. Elieff's assistance in

interpreting.

As a prelude, all the prisoners from the villages were unmercifully beaten on their way to the prison (whither they were conducted bound and on foot) as well as when there. One Ivan Redkoff, of Guben, farmer, died two hours after his arrival from the effects of this treatment. On the arrival of each batch of prisoners their names were taken down in the courtyard of the konak. They were then chained together, each with

a ring round his neck, in some cases in batches of five or six, in others of ten. Before being called up before the Istintak Court the prisoners underwent a preliminary examination in the Yuzbashi's room, where, in some instances, they were severely beaten to make them tell what they knew. The Cadi presided at the Istintak, the Cadi's Secretary, and, perhaps one member of the Medjliss being sometimes the only other persons present. At other times there were Deli Nedjib Effendi (the well-known Commander of the Bashi-Bazouks) and Saadullah Effendi, the chief notable and leading member of the Selvi Medjliss. Justice requires special record to be here made of the fact that all the Bulgarians in those parts concur in acquitting the then Kaïmakam of Selvi, Midhat Effendi, from any share of blame in connection with the proceedings in question. This official was known to disapprove of them, but his authority in the matter of the repression of the disturbances was superseded by the special powers with which Deli Nedjib Effendi was invested.

It appears that the tortures were generally inflicted previous to the formal examination of the prisoner, and only in some cases afterwards. They occurred every day in the week, except Friday, and lasted from about two hours before sunset till as much again after. They were conducted in the stable adjoining the prison (in which, as already stated, the Bulgarians from the villages were confined) in the presence of the other prisoners. Sometimes five or six would be tortured in one day, sometimes only one, according to the duration of the sufferings which the several victims had to undergo. The same prisoner would sometimes be tortured several days in succession,

sometimes only once.

The most general form of torture was as follows: The prisoner was hung up with an iron collar round his neck, attached to a chain passed through a ring let into one of the beams above. The end of this chain was pulled by zaptiehs, and the prisoner lifted up until one toe barely touched the ground. This treatment was occasionally varied by keeping him suspended altogether. The collar catching the sufferers under the chin prevented actual strangulation, and they were kept in these positions till they swooned. These proceedings were conducted in person by the Yuzbashi Suleiman Aga, who, during the process of hanging up, kept beating the unfortunate men unmercifully, sometimes with a stick of ordinary size, sometimes with a knotted cudgel as thick as one's wrist, calling out at every blow, "Speak then, speak!" The hands of the victims were sometimes manacled, sometimes free: but in all cases, whenever they raised them in the attempt to ease the strain on their necks they were struck over the hands to make them desist. A certain Abdullah Tchaousch, a zaptieh sergeant, is stated to have been, next to

the Yuzbashi himself, the most zealous actor in these doings.

The priests came in for an extra share of ill-usage. Four of them were fastened by the neck to an iron hoop, and were made to move round in a circle, and flogged as they did so. They were left for a whole night fastened to this hoop, in which position it was impossible for them to lie down. Among these priests was Pop Petko, of Yeni-kioï, who appears to have been subjected to greater cruelty and brutality than any of the others. In his case and that of Pop Ivan, of Kravenik (who was one of those attached to the hoop), an additional form of torture was employed. The temples and jaws of these unfortunate men were pressed by an iron instrument till their eyes almost started from their heads, and their teeth were so loosened that in the case of Pop Petko one of them fell out. During this process they were repeatedly told to declare what they knew. On the last occasion, when Pop Petko was hung up, the torture was prolonged to no less than twenty-four hours, during which time he was altogether lifted off the ground four times for spaces varying from half-an-hour to one hour. priests were plucked by the beard and hair as they were hanging. One day the Yuzbashi's son, a lad fifteen or sixteen years old, fell upon Pop Petko most savagely, knocking him down, garrotting him till the blood came from his throat, and plucking out the hairs of his beard and head by handfuls. Again, being placed near the door, which opened upon the courtyard, a person from outside one day dealt him so violent a blow on the ear that it suppurated, and he was deaf for many days afterwards. His legs when he was released were swollen to twice their size, and his health was so shattered by all these brutalities that he was confined to his bed for months after his release.

These atrocities were brought to an end by the following incident:-

One evening, about two hours after sundown, as one Costa Bogdanoff, a wool-comber of Batoshovo, was hanging up, a Nizam Lieutenant who was going his rounds, and whose name I regret to have been unable to ascertain, looked in at the door, and asked Suleiman Aga, "What are you doing?" The Yuzbashi replied, "We are interrogating" ("istnitakidioriz"). The Lieutenant rejoined, "How can there be an

interrogatory here, and at this hour?" The Yuzbashi answered, "The Medjliss has ordered it." The Lieutenant thereupon left, saying "Do as you think best." The victim remained hung up, but not for long. A Nizam Captain soon appeared at the door, accompanied by a sergeant and a bugler, and asked the zaptich sentinel, "Has any member of the Medjliss been here just now?" The sentry was silent for a while, and then said, "Ask within." In the meanwhile Suleiman Aga, on hearing the officer outside, hastily ordered the zaptiehs Abdullah Tchaoush and Rassim Tchaoush, who were hanging up the prisoner, to let go the chain; and the three beat a rapid retreat up the staircase leading to a room above. The Captain seeing Costa lying helpless on the ground, asked the prisoners, "Who has been tormenting this man?" They gave the names of the two Tchaoushes. The Captain called out for them, but they did not answer. The Cadi's door-keeper having appeared instead, he gave him two cuffs, telling him, he was not wanted. Suleiman Aga thereupon came forward, and the two went out together. The next morning the town doctor (a Greek) called at the prison and examined the man There was, said my informants, no more torturing or beating after the Costa's hurts. visit of the Captain. I am informed that the officer who knew his duty so well is by name Hassan Effendi, Yuzbashi of the Demotika Battalion of Redifs. He insisted, I was told, on an inquiry into the conduct of Suleiman Aga, and some mock proceedings were gone through before the Medjliss. Suleiman Aga was punished by being deprived of his sword for three days, but he was at the same time consoled by being retained in his post of Chief of the Police at Selvi, which he holds to this day.

I have the honour to annex herewith a list of some of the persons who are said to

have undergone the tortures above related.

I may here mention that the families of several of the exiled prisoners inquired whether I knew what had become of the latter. They were believed to be at Cyprus, but their relatives had not heard from them since their arrival at Constantinople. EDMUND CALVERT. (Signed)

Tirnovo, January 13, 1877.

Inclosure 5 in No. 51.

LIST of some of the Persons said to have been tortured in the Prison at Selvi.

Inhabitants of Yeni-Kioï (Novo Selo)-

- Pop Petko, priest.
 Stoyan Petkoff, farmer.
- Danko Stoyan, dealer in timber.
 Toto Tsonkoff (an old man).
- 5. Tsonko (his son).
- 6. Petko Minkoff, tradesman (now in exile).
- 7. Dragno Stoïtcho, miller and farmer (now in exile).
- 8. Volko Yonkoff, grocer (now in exile).
 9. Nanko Tsonkoff, farmer (now in exile).

- 10. Avram Dragan, farmer (now in exile).
 11. Pop Rade, priest (executed at Selvi).
 12. Nicola Dabé, schoolmaster (executed at Selvi).
 13. Pavli Denkoff, tanner (executed at Selvi).
- 14. Notcho Petroff, farmer (executed at Selvi). 15. Petri Marim, farmer (now in exile).
- 16. Tsonko Petri, grocer.17. Marin Saroff, farm labourer.

Inhabitants of Debnovo-Mahallesi-

- 18. Yonko Koloff, felt manufacturer.19. Mato Ristieff, blacksmith.
- 20. Veltcho Petri (executed at Selvi).

Inhabitants of Kravenik-

21. Pop Ivan, priest.22. Micho Dimoff, grocer.

Inhabitants of Batoshovo-

- 23. Hadji Pop Costa, priest.
- 24. Costa Bogdanoff, woolcomber.

Inhabitants of Guben-

- 25. Elia Ivanhoff, innkeeper.
- 26. Pop Petko, priest.
- 27. Pop Ivan, priest.
- 28. Pop Athanas, priest. 29. Ivan Stoïtcho, schoolmaster.

Inhabitants of Selvi-

- 30. Stefan Peshoff (executed at Selvi).
- 31. Yovantcho Christoff, grocer.

Inhabitant of Gabrovo-

32. Ivantcho Manoloff, merchant.

(Signed)

EDMUND CALVERT.

Tirnovo, January 13, 1877.

No. 52.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

Constantinople, January 19, 1877. IKIADES EFFENDI, of whose conduct, as a member of the Commission at Philippopolis, Mr. Baring has spoken so highly, has been a few days in Constantinople, and called upon me to-day previous to returning to complete the work still to be done at Philippopolis.

After the Batak case and that of Dervent have been disposed of, the Commission will proceed to Tirnova to inquire into the excesses which occurred to the north of the

Balkans.

Mr. Consul Reade, whom I have questioned on the subject, states that after a very careful inquiry he puts the number of persons who perished in the Province of the Danube or Bulgaria proper at 370.

Ikiades Effendi says he has had nominal returns from the chief men of every Bulgarian village which suffered during the suppression of the insurrection, from which

the total number killed can now be accurately fixed.

I have requested him on his return to Philippopolis to go through the numbers with Mr. Baring, who will be able to give his opinion upon the degree of credit to be given to them.

> I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

No. 53.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 23, 1877. I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch from Mr. Baring, reporting the trial of Metto Bektash, for participation in the massacre at Batak.

> I have, &c. HENRY ELLIOT. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 53.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Philippopolis, January 17, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that after passing sentence on Kara-Boulakli Achmet Tchaoush, the Commission proceeded to consider the case of Metto Bektash of Rakitovo.

Yazbashi Achmet Agha had stated in his deposition that Metto Bektash had gone to Batak at the head of a band of Bashi-Bazouks.

Sofia Vrankovitza had deposed to having seen Metto with an apron on, slaughtering people in the churchyard; and further, that she had seen him pass along the street with some thirty Bashi-Bazouks, who cut down every man they met, but she was unable to state whether Metto himself then killed any one, or not. She had heard that, after the massacre, Metto had been seen going about with a yataghan dripping with blood.

Velo-oglou Giorgi, whose life was saved by Abdi Tchaoush, had deposed that the latter endeavoured also to save his brother, but that Metto Be tash interfered, and led the latter away into a hollow. The witness had seen Metto's head over the top of this hollow, as also an upraised knife, and a few days afterwards, on returning to the place,

he found his brother's corpse.

After some remarks respecting certain discrepancies in the evidence of these

witnesses, the question of Metro's leadership was discussed.

Pertev Effendi said that no man could be called a leader who had not been appointed by the authorities, or who had not himself collected his band. Now, the Bashi-Bazouks of Rakitovo had been called together by the "Ihtiyar Medjlissi;" and, moreover, these irregulars really acknowledged no leaders, but simply followed their own devices. Achmet Agha's statement about Metto's leadership had probably been prompted by a wish to save his own son.

The President observed that Achmet Agha had made no mention of Metto in his

earlier depositions.

Ikiades Effendi said that all the information obtained by the Commission proved that every band of Bashi-Bazouks had had some recognized leader. This leadership was always assumed by the most influential or most courageous man in the village.

The real leader of the Rakitovo band had been Hafiz Effendi; but it had been proved that he had returned to his own village in order to protect it against an apprehended attack of insurgents, and that then the leadership had devolved upon Metto.

The reason why Achmet Agha had not mentioned Metto's name sooner was that he had never been questioned about the Bashi-Bazouks of Rakitovo.

The witnesses from Batak had only spoken of the acts of the leaders, and they had

frequently mentioned Metto's name.

The President remarked that it was well known to all how Bashi-Bazouks usually behaved, and that it was absurd, therefore, to imagine that they paid any attention to the orders of their supposed leader.

Ikiades Effendi replied that the statement that Bashi-Bazouks habitually disobey their leaders proved that such leaders must exist. Moreover, it was proved that the ammunition which had been distributed by the Government had in every case been handed over to some man who was supposed to be a leader.

Both the President and Salim Effendi objected to these arguments, and it was finally decided by four votes to two that the evidence was not sufficient to prove that Metto Bektash had been a leader, Ikiades Effendi and Yovantcho Effendi forming the

minority, while Aho Effendi voted with the Mussulman members.

The question of what Article of the Code was applicable to Metto's case was then discussed, and it was decided that if he was guilty he must be judged in accordance with Article 64, which treats of criminals who are not arrested on the spot where their crimes are committed.

The individual acts of the accused were then considered.

Yovantcho Effendi said that when he visited Batak with Blaque Bey, many women said they had seen Metto kill unarmed people; upon which Salim Effendi and others immediately said that these women should be called an aircraft.

immediately said that these women should be called as witnesses.

Accordingly, two motions were submitted to the Commission, viz.: 1. Is it necessary to summon other witnesses from Batak to complete the evidence against Metto Bektash? 2. The evidence respecting the charge of murder brought against Metto Bektash being already sufficient, it only remains to pass sentence upon him.

This latter motion was signed by Yovantcho Effendi and Ikiades Effendi only, the four other members answering the question contained in the first one in the affirma-

tive.

In virtue of this resolution, therefore, the case of Metto Bektash had to be post-poned, and the witness Sofia Vroukovitza was sent for and asked whether she could name any inhabitant of Batak who would be able to give evidence about his acts.

She named one woman, Metra Stankovitza, and orders were given to summon her

before the Commission.

On the following day the case of Kutchuk Khalil was discussed.

This man is accused of having robbed a Greek named Kutchuk Giorgi of a sum of money at Batak.

The case is one of minor importance, and it will not be necessary for me to give

any detailed account of the discussion which took place.

Ikiades Effendi thought the prisoner should be sentenced to hard labour, as his crime amounted to robbery with violence, while Abro Effendi held that he should be acquitted, and advanced arguments which, if generally accepted, would render the tenure of personal property in Turkey even more insecure than it now is.

Finally, the prisoner was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, to date from the

day of his arrest.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 54.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 3.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 24, 1877.

WI'TH reference to Mr. Consul Zohrab's despatch to your Lordship of 26th December last,* in which he reported the recommendation expressed by Samih Pasha, that a Christian Governor should be appointed to the recently separated Province of Van, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a Christian Armenian Mouavin was appointed at the same time as the new Governor-General.

I have, &c. (Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 55.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 3.)

Constantinople, le 1 Février, 1877. (Télégraphique.)

AVANT son départ de Constantinople, l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne m'a adressé une note pour me signaler l'attitude hostile que les populations de Syrie et de Palestine auraient prise à l'égard des sujets étrangers en général et des Allemands en particulier, et pour demander au nom de son Gouvernement l'adoption des mesures les

efficaces pour plus prévenir de fâcheuses éventualités.

Bien qu'aucun fait ne fût allégué par les Consuls de nature à expliquer les` craintes qu'ils avaient exprimées à leur Ambassadeur, des ordres catégoriques ont été donnés tant au Gouverneur-Général de Syrie qu'au Gouverneur de Jérusalem et de Beyrouth pour qu'ils aient à s'attacher de la manière la plus vigilante à empêcher un incident quelconque. Le Gouvernement Impérial est animé du désir sincère de faire disparaître jusqu'à l'ombre d'un doute sur la sollicitude qui entoure la vie et les propriétés des étrangers établis dans l'Empire.

Vous pouvez donner au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères des assurances les plus

formelles à cet égard.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, February 1, 1877. (Telegraphic.)

BEFORE leaving Constantinople, the German Ambassador addressed a note to me to point out to me the hostile attitude which the populations of Syria and Palestine were reported to have assumed towards foreign subjects in general, and towards Germans in particular, and to request, in the name of his Government, the adoption of the measures

best calculated to obviate disastrous contingencies.

Though no fact was alleged by the Consuls of a nature to explain the fears they had expressed to their Ambassador, categorical orders have been given to the Governor-General of Syria, as well as to the Governors of Jerusalem and Beyrout, to the effect that they were to address themselves most vigilantly to the task of preventing the occurrence of any incident. The Imperial Government is animated by a sincere desire to do away with even the shadow of a doubt respecting the solicitude which surrounds the lives and properties of foreigners established within the Empire.

You can give the most formal assurances in this sense to the Minister for Foreign

Affairs.

No. 56.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 3.)

Belgrade, February 2, 1877. (Telegraphic.) I HAVÉ the honour to report that, in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions, I have spoken to Servian Foreign Minister on my return here, pressing him to conclude peace with the Porte.

No. 57.

Consul-General Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 3.)

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, February 3, 1877, 4.25 P.M.

THE present state of affairs in Miridicia is very serious.

A false sense of dignity keeps back the Turkish authorities from taking the first step to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with the Mirdites. May I endeavour to induce Bib Doda to come to treat with authorities? It is the only hope that remains of subduing the insurrection, as well as the movement which has already commenced in Albania.

No. 58.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 3, 1877.

I TOOK the opportunity of a visit which I received to-day from the Turkish Ambassador to impress upon his Excellency my advice that the Porte should make peace with Servia on the simple basis of the status quo ante, and should not require guarantees, which would almost certainly be refused if they should be of a stringent character, and which, if they should not be stringent, could not be of sufficient importance to justify the risk of failure in the negotiations.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 59.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, I have informed Mr. Monson that a telegram has been published in the papers here, which Midhat Pasha has addressed to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, proposing that they should come to an understanding with the Porte, with a view to the re-establishment of peace by direct negotiations; and I have also informed him that the departure of M. Wesselitzky from Vienna to Ragusa is reported in to-day's papers.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 60.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby. +--(Received February 4.)

My Lord,
WITH reference to my previous despatch of this date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received a telegram from Mr. Monson stating that he proposes going to Cettigné on Tuesday, the 30th instant, when a Prussian Colonel sent to Montenegro on a mission by Prince Bismarck, and Prince Nicholas' Secretary, at present at Ragusa, also intend proceeding thither.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 61.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram informing me that the Turkish Ambassador having read to you the telegram addressed by the Grand Vizier to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro, referred to in my previous telegram of this date, you had expressed the great satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the step thus taken by the Porte for negotiating a peace.

In conformity with your instructions I have acquainted Mr. Monson with the substance of your Lordship's telegram, and I stated to him at the same time, in reply to one which I had just received from him, inquiring whether your Lordship has approved of his going to Montenegro, or whether you prefer his addressing a letter to Prince Nicholas, that it was evidently your Lordship's intention that he should enter into personal communication with His Highness. He has also reported to-day that he hears a great deal of Italian intrigues in Albania.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 62.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 4.)

(Extract.) Vienna, January 29, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Turkish Ambassador has received a telegram to-day, which he has communicated to the Servian Agent, stating that the Porte does not intend to seek any advantages in consequence of its military successes in Servia, but is ready to make peace on the basis of the status quo ante. adds, however, that it will be the duty of the Turkish Government to obtain guarantees for the future, which can only be defined in the course of the negotiations, with a view to which Aleko Pasha is to propose that a Servian Delegate shall be immediately sent to In promising to forward the communication of the Porte to his Government, M. Zukitch observed that to ask for guarantees would be inconsistent with an offer to make peace on the status quo ante.

No. 63.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord, Vienna, January 30, 1877. I LEARN from the Turkish Ambassador that he had an interview to-day with Count Andrassy, to communicate to him the proposals of the Porte to Servia, referred to in my despatch of the 29th instant, and that his Excellency expressed great regret that Midhat Pasha should have attached to these proposals a question of guarantees, and urged the expediency of its being abandoned.

He pointed out at the same time that a peace with Servia was of the utmost importance, as showing that the Principality considered that the Slav cause had no prospect of success, at all events for the present, and that Servia, ceasing to be a belligerent, would

therefore greatly facilitate the negotiations of the Porte with Montenegro.

The Turkish Ambassador, who has communicated this opinion to his Government, believes that the guarantees spoken of are not of a material character, and that they will probably be limited to the extension of the armistice, with a view to prevent the possibility of the negotiations being interrupted, as happened during the first armistice.

I endeavoured to impress on his Excellency the expediency of no time being lost in effecting the arrangements proposed by the Porte; and I pointed out to him the importance to Turkey of the re-establishment of peace being assured, and of reforms in the administration of the provinces being begun before Parliament meets on the 8th of February.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 64.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.+-(Received February 4.)

My Lord, Vienna, February 1, 1877. I WAS informed this morning by Baron Orczy that the Servian Agent acquainted him to-day with the substance of a telegram he had just received from M. Ristich, stating that it is quite impossible for Prince Milan to send a Delegate to Constantinople, until he receives explanations as to the nature of the guarantees which the Porte intends to include in the conditions of peace. M. Zukitch is, therefore, instructed to request the Turkish Ambassador to urge the Porte to give this indispensable information to the Servian Government, either through his Excellency or by a direct communication to Belgrade.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, January 29. † Substance received by telegraph, February 1.

No. 65.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 4.)

Ragusa, January 25, 1877. Extract.) I HAD the honour to receive yesterday Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of that date, conveying to me your Lordship's instructions as to the language I should hold to

Prince Nicholas in the event of overtures for peace being made direct to Montenegro by the Porte.

On the preceding evening I had been informed confidentially that Constant Pasha was expected in Montenegro from Constantinople, on a special mission; and I consequently telegraphed to Sir Andrew Buchanan that I would go to Cettigné as soon as I knew positively that the Pasha was coming.

The weather being exceptionally severe, and the mountain passes between Cattaro and Cettingé somewhat difficult to be traversed in consequence, I may very probably

enter the Principality by way of the Albanian frontier.

No. 66.

The Earl of Derby to Consul-General White.

Foreign Office, February 5, 1877.

I HAVE much satisfaction in informing you that I have received a despatch from the Marquis of Salisbury in which his Excellency specially acknowledges the services rendered by you while in attendance upon the British Plenipotentiaries at the Constanti-

nople Conference.

I have now to convey to you the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government of the ability and discretion displayed by you throughout the proceedings of the Conference, and their appreciation of the zealous performance of the various duties entrusted to you.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 67.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Holmes.*

Foreign Office, February 5, 1877. Sir, I HAVE received with much satisfaction a despatch from the Marquis of Salisbury,

in which his Excellency informs me of the valuable services rendered by you while in attendance upon the British Plenipotentiaries at the Constantinople Conference.

I have now to convey to you the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the manner in which the duties entrusted to you were performed, and their sense of the ability and zeal displayed by you on this occasion.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 68.

Lord A. Lottus to the Earl of Derby. +—(Received February 5.)

St. Petersburgh, January 29, 1877. My Lord,

I CALLED on M. de Giers to-day, and inquired whether the Imperial Government had received any information with regard to direct overtures for peace having been

addressed by the Porte to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro.

His Excellency replied that the Imperial Government had been informed of these overtures, and that they had signified to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro that they must be entirely guided in regard to these overtures by their own individual interests, and that Russia could neither take upon herself to give advice, nor was she able to assist them.

* A similar despatch was addressed to Consuls Blunt and Reade. † Substance received by telegraph January 29.

M. de Giers stated that he had learnt indirectly (I presume from Constantinople) that the Prince of Servia had expressed his willingness to negotiate directly with the Porte through the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna.

The Prince of Montenegro, he said, had inquired at Constantinople the conditions on which the Porte was prepared to treat previous to giving any direct reply to the

proposals of the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 69.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 5.)

(Extract.) St. Petersburgh, January 29, 1877.

M. DE GIERS informed me to-day that a Circular despatch to the Russian Repre-

sentatives at the Great Courts was in preparation, and would probably be despatched in three or four days.

This circular, his Excellency said, would give an historical analysis of the negotiations which have taken place with the European Powers on Eastern affairs, and a statement of the present attitude of Russia in regard to Turkey and the Powers.

From what his Excellency said, I do not believe that any definite proposals will be submitted by Russia to the Powers; but that in summing up the conclusions of the Imperial Government the several Cabinets will be invited to express their opinions with a view to the maintenance of the European concert.

His Excellency, in reply to my inquiry whether the Imperial Government had communicated with the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna on the present position of Eastern affairs, stated that until the return of the Representatives from Constantinople to their respective Courts, no decided opinions could be formed, and that consequently mere questions had passed to and fro of no important signification; but his Excellency expresssly (and with emphasis) observed that this "questioning" had not been confined to Berlin and Vienna, but had equally taken place with all the Cabinets.

No. 70.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Schouvaloff, February 5.)

(Circulaire.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

St. Pétersbourg, le 19 Janvier, 1877.

LE refus opposé par la Porte aux vœux de l'Europe fait entrer la crise d'Orient dans une phase nouvelle.

Le Cabinet Impérial l'a considérée dès l'origine comme une question Européenne qui ne devait et ne pouvait être résolue que par l'accord unanime des Grandes Puissances. En effet, toute arrière-pensée exclusive et personnelle était répudiée par tous les Cabinets, la difficulté se réduisait à amener le Gouvernement Turc à gouverner les sujets Chrétiens du Sultan d'une manière juste et humaine, afin de ne point exposer l'Europe à des crises permanentes qui révoltent sa conscience et troublent son repos.

C'était donc une question d'unanimité et d'intérêt général.

Le Cabinet Impérial s'est en conséquence efforcé d'amener un concert de l'Europe pour apaiser cette crise et en prévenir le retour. Il s'est mis d'accord avec le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois, comme le plus immédiatement intéressé, afin de soumettre aux Cabinets Européens des propositions pouvant servir de base à une entente générale et à une action commune. Ces propositions consignées dans la dépêche de M. le Comte Andrassy du \frac{18}{30} Décembre, 1875, avaient obtenu l'adhésion de toutes les Grandes Puissances et celle de la Porte. Le défaut de sanction exécutoire ayant toutefois rendu cette entente stérile, les Cabinets ont été mis, par le Memorandum de Berlin, en demeure de se prononcer sur le principe d'un concert éventuel en vue de moyens plus efficaces pour la réalisation de leur but commun.

L'accord n'ayant pas été unanime et l'action diplomatique ayant ainsi été interrompue, les Cabinets se réunirent de nouveau en vue de l'aggravation de la crise par suite des massacres en Bulgarie, de la révolution à Constantinople et de la guerre avec

la Serbie et le Monténégro.

Sur l'initiative du Gouvernement Anglais, ils convinrent des bases et des garanties de pacification à discuter dans une Conférence convoquée à Constantinople. Cette

Conférence est arrivée dans ces travaux préliminaires à une entente complète, tant sur les conditions de la paix que sur les réformes à introduire. Elle en a communiqué le résultat à la Porte comme un vœu ferme et unanime de l'Europe, et a rencontré de sa

part un refus obstiné.

Ainsi, après plus d'une année d'efforts diplomatiques constatant le prix que les Grandes Puissances attachent à la pacification de l'Orient, le droit qu'elles ont de l'assurer en vue des intérêts généraux et leur ferme volonté d'y arriver par une entente Européenne, les Cabinets se retrouvent dans la même situation qu'au début de cette crise, encore aggravée par le sang versé, les passions surexcitées, les ruines accumulées et la perspective d'une prolongation indéfinie du déplorable état de choses qui pèse sur l'Europe et préoccupe à juste titre l'opinion publique et les Gouvernements. La Porte ne tient aucun compte ni de ses engagements antérieurs, ni de ses devoirs comme membre du concert Européen, ni des vœux unanimes des Grandes Puissances. Loin d'avoir fait un pas vers une solution satisfaisante, la situation de l'Orient a empiré et reste une menace permanente pour le repos de l'Europe, les sentiments d'humanité, et la conscience des peuples Chrétiens.

Dans ces conjonctures, avant de fixer la marche qu'il lui convient de suivre, Sa Majesté l'Empereur tient à connaître celle à laquelle s'arrêteront les Cabinets avec lesquels nous nous sommes efforcés jusqu'à présent et désirons autant qu'il sera possible

continuer de marcher en commun.

Le but que les Grandes Puissances ont en vue a été clairement définie par les actes

de la Conférence.

Le refus du Gouvernement Turc atteint l'Europe dans sa dignité et dans son repos. Il nous importe de savoir ce que les Cabinets avec lesquels nous nous sommes concertés jusqu'ici comptent faire pour répondre à ce refus et assurer l'exécution de leurs volontés.

Vous êtes invité à vous en enquérir en donnant lecture et copie de la présente

dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Recevez, &c. (Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

(Circular.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, St. Petersburgh, January 19, 1877.

THE refusal opposed by the Porte to the wishes of Europe involves the Eastern crisis in a new phase. The Imperial Cabinet has from the outset considered this question as an European one, which should not and cannot be solved but by the unanimous agreement of the Great Powers. As a matter of fact all exclusive and personal considerations were disclaimed by all the Cabinets, and the difficulty resolved itself into inducing the Government of Turkey to govern the Christian subjects of the Sultan in a just and humane manner, so as not to expose Europe to permanent crises which are revolting to its conscience, and endanger its tranquility.

It was, therefore, a question of common unanimity and interest. The Imperial Cabinet has accordingly endeavoured to bring about an European concert to appease this crisis and prevent its return. It has come to an agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, as the one most immediately interested, in order to submit to the European Cabinets propositions which might serve as a basis for a general under-

standing and common action.

These propositions, set forth in Count Andrassy's despatch of the $\frac{18}{30}$ th December, 1875, had obtained the adhesion of all the Great Powers, and also of the Porte. The want of executive sanction having, however, rendered this agreement abortive, the Cabinets were placed, by the Berlin Memorandum, in a position to pronounce on the principle of an eventual concert, having in view more effectual measures for realizing their mutual aim.

The agreement not having proved unanimous, and diplomatic action being thus interrupted, the Cabinets recommenced negotiations in consequence of the aggravation of the crisis by the massacres in Bulgaria, the revolution in Constantinople, and the

war with Servia and Montenegro.

On the initiative of the English Government they agreed upon a basis and guarantees of pacification to be discussed at a Conference to be held at Constantinople. This Conference arrived during its preliminary meetings at a complete understanding, both as to the conditions of peace and as to the reforms to be introduced. The result was communicated to the Porte as the fixed and unanimous wish of Europe, and met with an obstinate refusal.

Thus after more than a year of diplomatic efforts attesting the importance attached by the Great Powers to the pacification of the East, the right which they have, in view of the common welfare, to assure that pacification, and their firm determination to bring it about, the Cabinets again find themselves in the same position as at the commencement of this crisis, which has been moreover aggravated by bloodshed, heated passions, accumulated ruin, and the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the deplorable state of things which hangs over Europe, and justly preoccupies the attention of both peoples and Governments.

The Porte makes light of her former engagements, of her duty as a member of the European system, and of the unanimous wishes of the Great Powers. Far from having advanced one step towards a satisfactory solution, the Eastern question has become aggravated, and is at the present moment a standing menace to the peace of

Europe, the sentiments of humanity, and the conscience of Christian nations.

Under these circumstances, before determining on the steps which it may be proper to take, His Majesty the Emperor is desirous of knowing the limits within which the Cabinets with whom we have till now endeavoured, and still desire so far as may be possible to proceed in common, are willing to act.

The object held in view by the Great Powers was clearly defined by the proceed-

ings of the Conference.

The refusal of the Turkish Government threatens both the dignity and the tran-

It is necessary for us to know what the Cabinets, with whom we have hitherto acted in common, propose to do with a view of meeting this refusal, and insuring the execution of their wishes.

You are requested to seek information in this respect, after reading and leaving a copy of the present despatch with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

No. 71.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 5.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, February 5, 1877, 12:30 A.M. I HAVE been informed by the Grand Vizier that the Porte will communicate the guarantees demanded of Servia in a Circular despatch to its Representatives.

His Highness states that assurances with regard to joint flags on fortresses applied

only to the four mentioned in the Firman, and not to those actually existing.

I remarked that this seemed to imply a demand for the destruction of the resta guarantee sure to be objected to; but he answered that this point was not to be pressed, but might be discussed in negotiation.

No. 72.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 6.)

(**Télégrap**hique.) Constantinople, le 5 Février, 1877. SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan, par un Hatt qui vient d'être lu solennellement à la Sublime Porte, a confié le poste de Grand Vézir à son Altesse Edhem Pacha, cidevant Président du Conseil d'Etat. Le même Hatt Impérial contient les principales nominations suivantes:

Djevdet Pacha, Ministre de l'Intérieur; Kadry Pacha, Président du Conseil d'Etat; Channès Tchamitch Effendi, Ministre du Commerce et de l'Agriculture; Assim Pacha, Ministre de la Justice; Costaki Adossidès Effendi, Mustéchar du Ministère de l'Intérieur; Channès Effendi Sakizian, Mustéchar du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique; Sadiq Pacha, ci-devant Ambassadeur à Paris, Gouverneur-Général de la Province du Danube; Ali Pacha, Gouverneur-Général de la Province d'Andrinople. Ahmed Véfik Effendi est nommé Président de la Chambre des Députés.

Sa Majesté Impériale recommande de la manière la plus pressante à son Grand Vézir le développement rapide et complet de tous les principes consacrés par la Constitution, et la mise en vigueur de toutes les lois et institutions administratives applicables aux Provinces.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 5, 1877.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan, by a Hatt which has just been read solemnly at the Sublime Porte, has entrusted the post of Grand Vizier to his Highness Edhem Pasha, ex-President of the Council of State. The same Imperial Hatt contains the

following principal appointments:

Djevdet Pasha, Minister of the Interior; Kadry Pasha, President of the Council of State; Channès Tchamitch Effendi, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture; Assim Pasha, Minister of Justice; Costaki Adossidès Effendi, Mustechar of the Department of the Interior; Channès Effendi Sakizian, Mustechar of the Department of Public Instruction; Sadig Pasha, ex-Ambassador at Paris, Governor-General of the Province of the Danube; Ali Pasha, Governor-General of the Province of Adrianople. Ahmed Vékik Effendi is named President of the Chamber of Deputies.

His Imperial Majesty recommends in the most urgent manner to his Grand Vizier the rapid and complete development of all the principles sanctioned by the Constitution, and the putting in execution of all the laws and administrative institutions applicable to

the provinces.

No. 73.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir, Foreign Office, February 6, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador having called upon me on the 3rd instant, I took the opportunity of advising that the Porte should make peace with Servia on the basis simply of the status quo ante, without asking for guarantees, which, if of a stringent character, are almost certain to be refused, and if otherwise are not worth the risk of failure which the demand for them would involve.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 74.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 6, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, February 6, 1877, 5:30 P.M.
I WAS informed to-day by Foreign Minister that the bases of negotiation with Servia, as communicated yesterday to Aleco Pasha, were:—

1. Engagements not to allow Revolutionary Committees; and,

2. To give Jews and Armenians equal civil and religious privileges with natives.

3. Engagement not to increase number of fortresses.

4. Porte's Agent to be received at Belgrade.

5. A Delegate to be sent to Constantinople to treat.

Safvet Pasha said that this last point, if agreed to, would probably bring about an understanding on all the rest. He hopes that your Lordship will urge its concession on the Servian Government.

No. 75.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 6, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

ANOTHER conciliatory telegram has been sent by the Prince of Servia to Constantinople with reference to pending negotiations. This afternoon Pertew Effendi arrived here on special mission and came to see me. I gave him assistance in regard to his interview here, but his instructions are, unfortunately, out of date, and have lost their force by the fall of Midhat Pasha, from whom they emanate.

^{*} The substance of this despatch was telegraphed to Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Constantinople, and Belgrade.

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No. 76.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.*

Foreign Office, February 7, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 3rd instant, and I have to instruct you to use your best efforts for the preservation of tranquillity, and for the restoration of a good understanding between the Miridites and the Turkish authorities.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 77.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7, 4.20 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 7, 1877; noon.

BARING telegraphs that the Commission has acquitted Tossoun Bey in spite of conclusive evidence of his guilt, by a majority of four Mussulman to two Christian members.

I have consequently directed him to withdraw, and, as the important trials are now ended, to return here.

I have made strong representations to Porte on the subject.

No. 78.

The Earl of Derby to Consul-General White.

Foreign Office, February 7, 1877.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your using your best endeavours to bring about an understanding between Turkey and Servia.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 79.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Prince received Turkish Envoy this morning, and the latter is satisfied with conciliatory manner in which his overtures have been received. Edhem Pasha has confirmed his mission, but it will be most desirable that he should receive powers to conclude a definite arrangement before Servian Agent is sent to Constantinople.

Advantage should be taken of the presence of the Envoy at Belgrade, otherwise new

difficulties might arise.

I have delayed my departure hoping to assist in furthering so desirable a result.

No. 80.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 7, midnight.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Prince of Montenegro has telegraphed to-day an answer accepting negotiations on the status quo ante with rectification of frontier on the basis of the proposals of the Conference. He wishes Vienna to be the place for carrying on the negotiation.

^{*} Suistance telegraphed.

No. 81.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 8.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Sublime Porte, le 25 Janvier, 1877.

PAR ma dépêche télégraphique du 20 Janvier, je vous ai fait connaître succintement dans quelles conditions s'est accomplie la clôture de la Conférence.

Il est maintenant nécessaire que je mette sous vos yeux l'exposé fidèle des négociations qui viennent de se dénouer d'une manière si regrettable, et des efforts sincères et loyaux que le Gouvernement Impérial n'a cessé de faire pour donner satisfaction aux vœux de l'Europe sans blesser le sentiment national et sans trahir nos devoirs envers le Souverain et envers le pays.

Lorsque, à la suite du second armistice accordé à la Serbie et au Monténégro, l'Angleterre a pris l'initiative de la réunion d'une Conférence à Constantinople, vous n'ignorez pas, M. l'Ambassadeur, que la Sublime Porte, en donnant son adhésion à ce projet, avait eu soin de préciser que les travaux de la Conférence auraient pour base le programme Anglais, tel qu'il nous avait été communiqué par Sir Henry Elliot.

En outre, le Gouvernement Impérial, soucieux de mettre à l'abri de toute atteinte l'indépendance de son administration intérieure, inscrite dans le Traité de Paris, en avait formellement rappelé le principe, se fiant, d'ailleurs, en cela, aux assurances explicites de l'Article 1 du programme Anglais lui-même, et à la loyauté des Puissances Garantes.

C'est dans ces conditions que la Conférence s'est formée à Constantinople avec le consentement de la Sublime Porte. Mais plus il importait d'imprimer, dès le début, aux délibérations de la Conférence une direction conforme aux bases qui avaient été adoptées d'un commun accord et de conserver au programme Anglais le sens dans lequel il avait été proposé et accepté, plus il est à regretter que les Délégués des Puissances aient cru devoir tenir entre eux, et avant qu'aucune explication ait été échangée avec la Sublime Porte, des réunions préliminaires dans le but d'arrèter le projet à présenter au Gouvernement Impérial.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur le caractère de cette manière de procéder qui consistait à délibérer en l'absence de la partie la plus intéressée et de concert avec celle des Puissances étrangères que sa situation et sa politique devaient faire considérer comme plus spécialement engagée dans le débat; mais je ne puis m'empêcher d'attribuer à la marche suivie en cette occasion par les Représentants des Puissances une grande partie des difficultés que nous avons rencontrées.

En effet, les Délégués Européens se sont présentés avec un programme délibéré en commun et qui semblait vouloir s'imposer à nous par l'autorité de l'entente préalablement établie entre eux.

C'était peut-être enlever à la Conférence quelque chose de son earactère propre, en réduisant la discussion qui devait avoir lieu entre tous à un simple débat entre deux parties seulement, l'une la Turquie tout-à-fait isolée, et l'autre, l'Europe unie en vue de faire accepter un programme arrêté à l'avance.

Quoiqu'il en soit, nous avions le droit d'espérer que, tout en délibérant en notre absence, les Plénipotentiaires Européens ne perdraient pas de vue les conditions originelles et fondamentales de la Conférence, et qui, ainsi que je l'ai dit plus haut, n'étaient autres que le programme Anglais. Malheureusement le projet de pacification et d'entente adopté par les Délégués de l'Europe était loin de circonscrire son objet dans les limites tracées par le programme Anglais et de se reporter aux stipulations du Traité de Paris concernant la non-intervention des Puissances dans les affaires intérieures de l'Empire. Pour la Serbie et le Monténégro, contrairement à la base relative au rétablissement du statu quo, il exigeait des cessions territoriales; pour l'administration d'une grande partie de la Turquie d'Europe il tendait à inaugurer un système d'institutions qui, dans ses détails comme dans son ensemble, annulait pratiquement l'autorité souveraine. ce même projet comprenait, sous la dénomination de garanties, un ensemble de mesures qui ne sauraient être proposées à aucun Gouvernement soucieux de son indépendance; et, tandis que le Programme Anglais n'avait parlé que de garanties morales devant découler du système d'institutions à concéder à la Bosnie et à l'Herzégovine, le projet en question mettait la Turquie en demeure de fournir des garanties pour ainsi dire matérielles et effectives entre les mains des Puissances Etrangères. Je ne m'étendrai pas sur le caractère de cette première proposition faite par les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances, qui, si elle avait été acceptée, aurait remis à des mains étrangères l'Administration et aurait consacré la séparation de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine et de tous les pays habités par les Bulgares du reste de l'Empire. Elle devait nous paraître d'autant plus malheureuse et d'autant

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moins justifiée, qu'elle se produisait au moment même où notre auguste Maître octroyait à ses peuples une Constitution qui assurait à tous, sans distinction de race ou de religion, les garanties de sécurité, d'égalité et de justice que l'Europe réclamait pour certaines

provinces seulement et à titres de priviléges.

Vous savez déjà, M. l'Ambassadeur, le sort de cette première proposition qui mettait le pouvoir exécutif et judiciaire, et jusqu'à la force armée, entre les mains des Puissances Nous avons refusé énergiquement de nous associer à toute combinaison qui aurait pour effet d'aliéner l'indépendance de l'Etat et successivement, par la seule force du bon droit et de la logique, nous avons réussi à faire retirer la plupart des points du programme de l'Europe, incompatibles avec l'intégrité matérielle et morale de l'Empire Ottoman, en même temps que nous nous sommes appliqués à éclairer la Conférence sur le Par déférence pour l'Europe, caractère et la portée de nos nouvelles institutions. nous n'avons pas hésité non-seulement à formuler nous-mêmes, et à présenter à la Conférence, les bases de l'administration intérieure que nous nous proposons d'appliquer, dans les provinces, conformément à la Constitution, mais encore à adopter celles des mesures comprises dans le programme Européen qui nous ont paru de nature à répondre au but proposé. Il nous était alors permis d'espérer qu'on nous tiendrait compte de notre empressement à suivre les conseils de l'Europe, et que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances feraient disparaître de leur programme les dernières conditions qui portaient atteinte à des principes que nous n'avions ni le droit ni la volonté de laisser altérer; mais cet espoir a été décu; et, à l'avant-dernière séance de la Conférence, nos collègues Européens nous ont notifié qu'ils maintenaient comme conditions sine quá non du Programme à discuter les deux points qui seules avaient été conservés de l'ensemble des mesures de garanties qui nous avaient été primitivement demandées, savoir: la participation des Puissances à la nomination des Valis et l'institutution d'une Commission Internationale chargée de surveiller l'exécution des règlements de l'Administration Provinciale.

Ces deux points, si peu importants qu'ils puissent être si on les rapproche des conditions du programme primitif de la Conférence, n'étaient pas moins incompatibles avec le respect de la souveraineté et de la dignité du Gouvernement Impérial. Nous n'avons pas caché à la Conférence notre impression à cet égard, ni notre conviction que le Gouvernement Impérial rejetterait ces dernières prétentions comme il avait rejeté toutes celles qui s'étaient produites sous l'empire de la même idée d'intervention dans nos affaires intérieures. Toutefois, avant de donner une réponse définitive à la Conférence, le Gouvernement Impérial crut devoir, en raison de la gravité des circonstances, interroger le sentiment public national.

Une Assemblée de Notables de la nation, au nombre de 200 personnes, fut réunie sous la présidence du Grand Vézir, qui fit le tableau sincère et impartial de la situation, sans rien dissimuler des souffrances et des périls auxquels la patrie pourrait se trouver peut-être un jour exposée par sa résistance aux derniers vœux de l'Europe. L'Assemblée tout-entière, après examen et discussion, s'est prononcée énergiquement dans le sens du rejet des deux mesures demandées par l'Europe, déclarant qu'il était préférable de subir les plus durs sacrifices et d'affronter tous les dangers que de consentir à l'humiliation de la patrie. Cette délibération ayant reçu la sanction de Sa Majesté le Sultan, les Délégués Ottomans ont été chargés par le Ministère de déclarer à la Conférence que le Gouvernement Impérial se trouvait dans l'impérieuse nécessité de décliner l'acceptation des deux points en question ; ce qu'ils ont fait à l'ouverture de la séance de Samedi.

Mais, en même temps, ils ont fait savoir aux Délégués de l'Europe que le Gouvernement Impérial proposait de substituer à ces deux mesures l'institution de deux Commissions de Musulmans et de Chrétiens élus librement par la population, l'une pour l'Herzégovine et la Bosnie, et l'autre pour les Provinces du Danube et d'Andrinople; lesquelles Commissions seraient investies de pouvoirs analogues à ceux que l'Europe proposait d'accorder à la Commission Internationale.

En outre, les Délégués Ottomans ont énuméré les seize points du projet sur lesquels la Sublime Porte était d'accord avec les Plénipotentiaires Européens, en faisant en même temps constater que les points restants pourraient heureusement être réglés au moyen d'un examen contradictoire et d'une courte discussion. En conséquence, les Représentants de la Sublime Porte ont proposé à leurs collègues de procéder immédiatement à cette discussion. Malheureusement, ces déclarations n'ont pas reçu l'accueil que nous étions en droit d'attendre; les Délégués Européens ont considéré le rejet des deux points relatifs à la Commission Internationale et à la nomination des Valis comme constituant un obstacle invincible à toute entente, et ont mis fin à la Conférence en annonçant leur intention de quitter Constantinople. Cette résolution si regrettable, nous avons tout fait pour la conjurer, de même que nous avons la conscience d'avoir rempli le plus sacré des

devoirs, en résistant à des demandes dont le principe seul était une atteinte à la souveraineté et une aliénation de l'indépendance nationale.

En vous envoyant, ci-jointe, la copie du dernier Protocole de la Conférence, je ne puis me dispenser d'appeler votre attention sur le discours prononcé par le Général

Ignatiew, et dont le texte s'y trouve renfermé.

Le Général Ignatiew, parlant au nom de tous ses collègues, a émis des idées tout-à-fait inattendues au sujet des conséquencs présentes ou futures de la rupture des Conférences, aussi bien que l'application de notre Constitution. Je ne puis relever tous les points de ce discours qui doivent provoquer la critique ou la protestation; mais je ne dois passer sous silence les passages de cette allocution qui semblent accuser l'Empire Ottoman d'avoir brisé les liens politiques qui le rattachent à la grande famille Européenne, et suprimer les devoirs et les droits que cette situation comporte.

Nous nous refusons à croire que telle puisse être la pensée de l'Europe, ni qu'il suffise d'un défaut d'entente entre les Puissances et la Turquie sur un point en discussion pour anéantir ou remettre en question l'œuvre historique accomplie depuis vingt ans. La même observation peut s'appliquer aux autres paroles comminatoires prononcées par le

Délégué de la Russie.

Il n'est pas possible que l'Europe ait entendu s'y associer et dénier ainsi à la Turquie l'exercice des droits et des facultés qui appartiennent à tout Etat indépendant, et cela à l'occasion d'un désaccord qui, si regrettable qu'il soit, ne peut avoir pour effet

de renverser le droit public.

Les énonciations du Général Ignatiew présentent ce caractère particulier que, venant à se produire au moment de la clôture de la Conférence, elles mettaient les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans dans une situation on ne peut plus délicate. Rien n'eût été plus facile pour eux, s'ils n'avaient cru devoir soigneusement éviter le terrain sur lequel le Général venait de se placer, que d'aborder un à un les différents points auxquels il venait de toucher pour redresser immédiatement ce que ses affimations présentaient de défectueux pour la forme, aussi bien que pour le fond. Mais les sujets dont il parlait avaient si peu de relation avec l'objet même des délibérations de la Conférence, et se trouvaient tellement en dehors du programme de ses travaux, que les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans ont pensé qu'il valait mieux, après tout, pousser la délicatesse personnelle envers le Représentant de la Russie jusqu'à ses dernières limites, et ils ont gardé le silence. MM. les Représentants des autres Puissances ont également suivi leur example, et il nous est permis de voir là le signe non-équivoque de l'étonnement avec lequel ils ont entendu les paroles par lesquelles le Général Ignatiew a prétendu rendre la pensée de ses collègues.

La Sublime Porte n'est nullement aveuglée sur les dangers de sa situation et sur les difficultés nouvelles que l'issue malheureuse de la Conférence pourrait peut-être lui créer. Mais elle est persuadée que l'Europe ne voudra pas en aggraver les conséquences en la rendant responsable de cet insuccès, dû exclusivement au maintien de deux mesures dont l'efficacité et l'utilité pratique sont au moins contestables, et qui, sans aucun doute, auraient été paralysées par le sentiment de réprobation générale qui les aurait acceuillies, si le Gouvernement Impérial s'était laisser entraîner à les accepter au mépris de toute dignité nationale. Il nous semble impossible que nous

ayons ainsi perdu la bienveillance et les sympathies de l'Europe.

Vouz voudrez bien, M. l'Ambsssadeur, donner lecture de cette dépêche à son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et lui en laisser copie.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) SAFVET.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, Sublime Porte, January 25, 1877.

I HAVE, by my telegram of the 20th January, informed you briefly in what manner the Conference closed.

It is now necessary for me to submit to you a faithful account of the negotiations which have just terminated in so regrettable a manner, and of the sincere and loyal efforts which the Imperial Government has not ceased to make to satisfy the wishes of Europe without wounding the feeling of the nation, and betraying our duties towards the Sovereign and the country.

When, after the second armistice granted to Servia and to Montenegro, England took the initiative in proposing the meeting of a Conference at Constantinople, you are aware, M. l'Ambassadeur, that the Sublime Porte, in giving its adherence to this proposal, was careful to require that the labours of the Conference should be on the basis of the English programme, as communicated to us by Sir Henry Elliot.

The Imperial Government, moreover, anxious to put beyond all possibility of attack the independence of its internal administration, recorded in the Treaty of Paris, formally called attention again to this principle, trusting moreover on this point to the explicit assurances of Article I of the English programme itself, and to the loyalty of the Guaranteeing Powers.

It was under such circumstances that the Conference met at Constantinople with the consent of the Sublime Porte. But important as it was from the very beginning so to shape the deliberations of the Conference that they might agree with the bases which had been agreed upon by common consent, and to retain for the English programme the sense in which it had been proposed and accepted, the more is it to be regretted that the Delegates of the Powers should have thought fit to hold amongst themselves, and before any explanation had been come to with the Sublime Porte, preliminary meetings with the object of settling the project to be presented to the Imperial Government.

It is not necessary for me to dwell on the nature of this manner of proceeding, which consisted in deliberating in the absence of the party most deeply concerned, and in concert with that foreign Power whose situation and policy stamped her as more especially involved in the discussion; but I cannot refrain from attributing many of the difficulties which we have met with to the course followed on this occasion by the Representatives of the Powers.

Thus, the European Delegates appeared with a programme drawn up in concert, and which apparently it was desired to impose upon us on the strength of the understanding

previously arrived at amongst themselves.

This it may be said deprived the Conference of something of its proper character, by confining the discussion, which should have taken place amongst all, to a debate between two parties only—on the one side, Turkey entirely isolated, and, on the other, Europe united with the object of insuring the acceptance of a programme determined upon beforehand.

However this may be, we were justified in hoping that the European Plenipotentiaries, even though they deliberated in our absence, would not lose sight of the original and fundamental conditions of the Conference, which, as I have said above, were none other than the English programme. Unfortunately the project of pacification and agreement adopted by the Delegates of Europe failed in a large measure to confine its object within the limits laid down by the English programme, and to conform to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris as regards the non-intervention of the Powers in the internal affairs of the Empire. Contrary to the basis relative to the re-establishment of the status quo, it claimed for Servia and Montenegro territorial concessions; and as regards the administration of a large portion of Turkey in Europe, it tended to inaugurate a system of institutions which, both in their details and in their general scope, practically annihilated the authority of the Sovereign. Moreover, this same project comprised, under the name of guarantees, a series of measures which should never have been proposed to any Government jealous of its independence; and whilst the English programme only spoke of moral guarantees, which were to be the natural consequence of the institutions to be conceded to Bosnia and the Herzegovina, the present project summoned Turkey to place in the hands of the foreign Powers guarantees, so to speak, both material and effective. I will not enlarge upon the nature of this first proposal made by the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers, which, if it had been accepted, would have placed in foreign hands the administration of Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and all the districts inhabited by Bulgarians, and would have formally sanctioned their separation from the rest of the Empire. It could not fail to strike us as the more unfortunate and the less called for, since it was brought forward at the moment when our august master was granting to his people a Constitution which would secure to all, without distinction of race or religion, those guarantees for security, equality, and justice which Europe asked only for certain provinces, and as a special privilege.

You already know, M. l'Ambassadeur, the fate of this first proposal, which placed the executive and judicial powers, and even the army, in the hands of foreign Powers. We resolutely refused to consent to any combination which might result in forfeiting the independence of the State; and through the sole force of our good rights and good reasons we secured the withdrawal, one after another, of most of the points in the programme of Europe which were incompatible with the material and moral integrity of the Empire, while at the same time we endeavoured to enlighten the Conference as to the nature and extent of our new institutions. Out of deference for Europe, we not only did not hesitate to draw up a statement, for presentation to the Conference, of the bases of the internal administration which it is our intention to

establish in the provinces, in conformity with the Constitution, but we even adopted several of the measures comprised in the European programme, which seemed to us likely to answer the objects we had in view. We were, therefore, justified in indulging in the hope that our readiness to follow the counsels of Europe would be taken into consideration, and that the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers would erase from their programme the only remaining conditions which infringed principles which we had neither the right nor the wish to suffer to be called into question; but this hope was vain; and at the last sitting but one of the Conference our European colleagues notified to us that they maintained as sine qua non conditions of the programme to be discussed the two points which were the only ones retained out of the various measures of guarantee which had originally been submitted to us, viz., the participation of the Powers in the nomination of the Valis, and the establishment of an International Commission to be entrusted with the superintendence of the execution of the regulations of the provincial administration.

Unimportant as these two points may be, if looked at by the light of the original programme of the Conference, they were not the less incompatible with respect for the sovereignty and dignity of the Imperial Government. We have not disguised from the Conference our opinion on this point, nor our conviction that the Imperial Government would reject these latter pretensions as they had all those which had arisen with the same idea of intervention in our internal affairs. Nevertheless, before giving a definite answer to the Conference, the Imperial Government thought it their duty, considering the gravity of the situation, to consult the wishes of the country.

An Assembly of the chief men of the nation, to the number of 200, was summoned, under the presidency of the Grand Vizier, who drew a true and impartial picture of the situation, without in any degree disguising the sufferings and perils to which the country might some day find itself exposed by its resistance to the final wishes of Europe. The Assembly, after examining and discussing the question, unanimously resolved to reject the two measures demanded by Europe, declaring that it was preferable to submit to the direst sacrifices, and to confront all possible dangers, rather than to consent to their country's disgrace. This decision having received the sanction of His Majesty the Sultan, the Ottoman Delegates were instructed to declare to the Conference that the Imperial Government found itself imperatively obliged to decline to accept the two points in question; and this they did at Saturday's meeting.

But at the same time they informed the European Delegates that the Imperial

But at the same time they informed the European Delegates that the Imperial Government proposed to substitute for these two measures the appointment of two Commissions of Mussulmans and Christians freely elected by the people—the one for Herzegovina and Bosnia, and the other for the provinces of the Danube and Adrianople; these Commissions would be invested with powers similar to those which Europe proposed

to grant to the International Commission.

The Ottoman Delegates enumerated, moreover, the sixteen points of the project as to which the Sublime Porte agreed with the European Plenipotentiaries, at the same time expressing the opinion that the others might be satisfactorily arranged by means of a critical examination and a short discussion. The Representatives of the Sublime Porte consequently proposed to their colleagues to open this discussion forthwith. Unhappily, these statements were not so well received as we had the right to expect, for the European Delegates considered the rejection of the two points relating to the International Commission, and to the nomination of the Valis, an invincible obstacle to all agreement, and put an end to the Conference by announcing their intention to leave Constantinople. We did all we could to avert this unfortunate resolve, and we have, moreover, the consciousness of having fulfilled the most sacred of duties by resisting demands the very principle of which was to attack our autonomy, and to take from us our national independence.

I send you inclosed a copy of the last Protocol of the Conference, and I must call your attention to the speech pronounced by General Ignatiew, the text of which is

included in it.

General Ignatiew, speaking in the name of his colleagues, gave utterance to quite unexpected ideas with reference to the present or future consequences of the breaking up of the Conference, as well as of the application of our Constitution. I cannot review all the points of this speech, which might provoke criticism or protest; but I cannot pass over in silence those passages of this speech which seem to accuse the Ottoman Empire of having broken the political ties which unite it to the great European family, and of the non-performance of the duties and rights which its position in it demands.

We refuse to believe that such is the opinion of Europe, or that a want of agreement between the Powers and Turkey on a disputed point can abrogate or bring into

question the historical work accomplished twenty years ago. This observation applies

equally to the other menaces enunciated by the Russian Delegate.

Europe cannot possibly have intended to join in this statement, and thus to deny to Turkey the exercise of her rights and the powers which belong to every independent State, and this, too, on the occasion of a disagreement which, however much to be

regretted, cannot have the effect of abolishing international law.

The utterances of General Ignatiew have this peculiar character, that, being made at the moment of the close of the Conference, they put the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries in the most delicate position possible. Nothing could have been easier for them—if they had not thought it necessary carefully to avoid the ground which the General had taken up,—than to have addressed themselves one by one to the different points on which he had touched, and to have forthwith corrected the errors of his assertions, both as regards their form and substance. But the subjects to which he alluded had so little in common with the object of the deliberations of the Conference, and were so completely outside the programme of its labours, that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries thought it better after all to push personal delicacy towards the Russian Representative to its furthest limits, and they therefore kept silence. The Representatives of the other Powers also followed their example, and in this we may see an unequivocal sign of the astonishment with which they heard the words in which General Ignatiew assumed to represent the opinion of his colleagues.

The Sublime Porte is nowise blind to the dangers of the situation and to the fresh dangers in which the unhappy result of the Conference may involve her. But she is persuaded that Europe will not aggravate these consequences by making her responsible for this want of success, which is exclusively due to the maintenance of two measures, the efficacy and practical utility of which are at least questionable, and which would undoubtedly have been paralysed by the feeling of general disapproval with which they would have been received, if the Imperial Government, regardless of all national dignity, had allowed itself to be drawn into their acceptance. It seems to us impossible that

we can have thereby forfeited the good-will and the sympathy of Europe.

You will be good enough, M. l'Ambassador, to read this despatch to his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to leave him a copy of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SAFVET.

No. 82.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 8.)

Constantinople, le 6 Février, 1877.

LE Prince du Monténégro vient de répondre au télégramme du Grand Vézir. Il déclare qu'il accepte avec empressement l'invitation d'une entente avec la Sublime Porte au moyen de négociations directes, et il nous prie de lui faire part des bases sur lesquelles les négociations de paix devront être entamées. Son Altesse le Grand Vézir vient de répondre à cette dépêche du Prince Nicholas pour l'informer que la base des négociations sera le statu quo ante sauf rectification sur certaines parties de la frontière et entente définitive sur les propositions pécédemment faites par le Monténégro, et pour le prier en même temps d'envoyer un Agent à Constantinople pour traiter avec nous.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Prince of Montenegro has just replied to the telegram of the Grand Vizier. He announces that he gladly accepts the invitation to come to an understanding with the Sublime Porte by means of direct negotiation, and begs us to communicate to him the bases on which the peace negotiations should be commenced. His Highness the Grand Vizier has replied to this despatch of Prince Nicholas, and informed him that the base of the negotiations will be the statu quo ante with the exception of the rectification of certain parts of the frontier, and a definite understanding on the proposals previously made by Montenegro, and he has requested him, at the same time, to send an Agent to Constantinople to treat with us.

No. 83.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, February 8, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 7th instant respecting the acquittal of Toussoun Bey, in spite of conclusive evidence of his guilt by a majority consisting of four Mussulman to two Christian Members of the Commission, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve your having directed Mr. Baring to return to Constantinople, and your having made strong representations to the Porte on the subject.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 84.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Trebizond, January 22, 1877.

THE rumours which have been in circulation since the beginning of the sittings of the Conference at Constantinople have brought to light, or affirmed, feelings that existed in a latent state among the populations of this part of Anatolia, and with which it may be of some interest for your Lordship to be acquainted.

To begin with the Mussulmans: the impression under which they are, that Europe wants to impose upon them humiliating conditions, has had for effect to rouse them entirely from their usual apathy and dejection, which their late successes in Servia had already shaken off in part.

A few months ago it was with great difficulty that the redifs of the 1st class could be collected; wholesale desertions used to take place, and all the available forces of the police were engaged in hunting out the deserters, and conveying them, sometimes bound up, in the town; whenever redifs were embarked, the Pasha of this province was to such an extent in dread of demonstrations that they were for some time (so to say) smuggled away in small detachments as soon as they were recruited.

Now, on the contrary, the redifs of all the classes which remained to be called out flock in readily in large numbers; every day brings in fresh men, many of them with music at their head, and dancing. Although the country is supposed to be drained of men, there are even a few enrolments of volunteers, and the enthusiasm does not seem to be limited to the men—the very adolescents speak of going to the battle-field; and a Turkish lady of the Lazistan is said to be levying at her own expense 1,000 men, at the head of whom she intends to fight herself; the population of that district is, I understand, restrained with great difficulty from crossing the Russian frontier. No doubt in their case, as well as in all irregular bands, plunder is also a great attraction, more especially since examples of good luck have been related by the troops which have returned from Servia; but there are among the Turks at large unmistakeable signs of genuine patriotism and of religious enthusiasm—two sentiments which are always blended in the hearts of the Mussulmans. For it must be remembered that religion is the great link connecting the heterogenous elements forming the present Turkish population, and that the original nationalities to which these different races have belonged having given way before religious conviction, patriotism must necessarily partake of it, although it would be erroneous to suppose that Turks are capable of no better feeling than fanaticism.

Religion being, therefore, the basis of patriotism among the Mussulmans at large, it is natural for them to imagine that the same feeling actuates Europeans. So long, therefore, as one or more European Powers were, in the opinion of the Turks, siding with them, their patriotism could not attain its full development, but it reached its highest pitch the moment when they have been under the impression that all the Christian Powers had abandoned them.

In their minds something like a conspiracy has been concerted against them, and, as it always happens in similar cases, they closed their ranks to resist the supposed onslaught. It would seem as if no better means than the measures which have been practised could have been devised to obtain the revival of the Turks. Most likely the realization of the gravity of their situation, and the isolation in which they found themselves, have worked wonders with them.

In this province they have never been so enthusiastic as they are at the present

moment, not even during the Crimean War. In general they do not want war at all costs, but rather than submit to derogatory conditions imposed upon them by Europe, they are ready to fight to the last man. They say that they can stand no longer the practices of Russia, which aim at their destruction; that if they are to die, it is far better

that it should be in fighting.

They do not seem to be dejected at the idea of having no allies; on the contrary, they are proud at being left alone to face the danger, however serious it may be; for if they win, they say, they will owe victory to no one but themselves. They do not appear to be in dread of the Russians, but are confident of success, although they do not conceal to themselves that the struggle will be a deadly one. They look forward, as a possible eventuality, to the unfurling of the standard of the Prophet, in which case, they say, it will be the duty of all and every able-bodied man to take up arms, and not to rest in a "bed" until they have won or perished. They flatter themselves that they will be joined in a war of this kind not only by all the Mussulmans subjects of the Porte, but also by numerous Mahommedans from other parts of the world. They may be too sanguine in their expectations, but when a people so naturally apathetic as the Turks have been worked up to the present state of excitement, it may be fairly presumed that the feeling is

deeply rooted and that it is difficult to get rid of it.

Turks are not, as they are often believed to be, sanguinary by nature, nor do they persecute Christians on account of their faith; the contrary might be said of them with more reason. They do not dislike the Christians who live among them, but they hate Russians. They have that pride of all conquerors, and the passions common to all men, which in their case are not mitigated by civilization. Christians being put forward by Russia as a pretext for obtaining the interference of Europe in the affairs of the Empire, they become on that account obnoxious objects in the eyes of the Turks. The intensity of this feeling increases or decreases according to circumstances. At the present moment the Turks are so proud to resist the combined European Powers that they show no animosity to the Christians, who—they understand it well enough—are, in this quarter at all events, entirely at their mercy; but it can hardly be doubted that in the event of being trampled under foot by the Christian Powers, the wrath of the Mussulmans will turn against all the Christians within their reach. I do not think that there is exaggeration in stating that if the Porte submits to the will of Europe at this moment, the Mussulmans in this province are not likely to sanction the decision, and that the consequences of this reaction in the present state of minds may be more appalling than any atrocities which have ever been recorded.

With respect to the Christians, the idea was prevailing among them that if all the European Powers turned against Turkey their security would be greatly compromised. They were nourishing the hope—the conviction, I may say—that England at all events would have sided with Turkey, and this presumption was sufficient to keep up their Their apprehensions may, therefore, be imagined when they heard of circumstances which, in their estimation, indicated that England had no intention to support Turkey; and their fear knew no bounds on their hearing of the departure from Besika Bay of the fleet, which, in spite of whatever may have been said to the contrary,

was considered by the Christians to be a great protection to them.

Furthermore, as Europe seemed to be promoting only the aspirations of the Slavs, and putting aside those of the other Christians, the latter in this Province came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances, their only alternative was to rally themselves to the Turks, from whose wrath they could have nothing to fear if they sympathized with them, and from whom they might perhaps hope at present more than from other quarters. Another motive which has concurred to bring about this result is the dislike which Christians—whether orthodox, Gregorians, Roman Catholic, or Protestants, have for the Russian Government.

The Greeks feel in a lesser degree, perhaps, than in other provinces, but still are fully alive to, the sentiment of antagonism which exists between them and the Slavs. The Armenians entertain some hope of reviving their nationality in Turkey, while they know that they cannot have the shadow of similar expectations under the Russians. The very natives who have become Russians by naturalization, and who are glad to enjoy Russian protection in Turkey, would be in despair if their country was to fall to the lot of Russia. All seem to prefer even the present Turkish rule to the Russian administration.

In conclusion I shall state that, although at first adverse to war, the Christians are come to think that it is, perhaps, after all, the only means to avert from them the impending dangers. In fact, on the one hand, the stirring events which usually accompany hostilities, especially with a formidable foe, will absorb all the energies of the Turks, who. besides, would then have no motive to retaliate against them; while, on the other hand the chances are that the privileges claimed now only for the Slavs will be then extended

to all the Christian populations in Turkey.

It is remarkable that the Christian inhabitants of this province—many of whom have resided in Russia, many more of whom have travelled in that country, and all of whom, by their living in proximity of it, have occasion to know of its administration—should not consider convenient for them to exchange for it the defectuous Turkish rule under which they live at present.

It is no less remarkable that in this province, in which, owing to its geographical position, the effects of the war must be more keenly felt than in other localities, the Mussulmans as well as the Christians, although moved by different and opposite motives, should have arrived at the same conclusion on the subject of the rejection of the proposals

of Europe.

The existing feelings may be modified by circumstances in a more or less distant period, either among the Mussulmans or Christians; but, so far as I have been able to judge, they are at present such as I have tried to describe them in the present despatch.

I have, &c. (Signed) Al

ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 85.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 26, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of four Addresses which have been received by Her Majesty's Ambassador on the occasion of his quitting

Constantinople on leave of absence.

These have been presented by the representatives of different Christian communities throughout the country, the Protestant, Armenian, and Armenian-Catholic, and, finally, the British residents in Turkey have not failed to testify warmly their approval of the manner in which his Excellency has acted under circumstances of exceptional difficulty.

It is somewhat remarkable that the various denominations of Christians represented in these Addresses should have thus spontaneously come forward to express their gratitude towards England as the country which has been most effectual in improving their condition in Turkey, thus showing that they rely rather on the efforts of Her Majesty's Government in their behalf than on any of the other Guaranteeing Powers, whose Representatives are equally about to quit Constantinople, and to whom no similar marks of confidence have been afforded.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 85.

Address of Executive Council of Protestant Community.

May it please your Excellency. Constantine ple, January 23, 1877.

WE, the Executive Council of the Protestant Community, having heard that your Excellency is about to quit this capital on leave of absence, have deemed it our duty and happiness to express our sense of heartfelt gratitude for all you have done on behalf of those whose interests so deeply affect our civil and religious well-being.

We have learnt to appreciate the kind and cordial manner in which your Excellency has upon all occasions treated our representations, and the attention you have bestowed in listening to the reports which we have presented touching the needs of our people in

different parts of the Empire.

We are fully aware that these reports and representations have been many, as indeed they must be in a country where, in spite of the liberal efforts of the Government, religious freedom and the right of private judgment are, on account of the ignorance of the people, not well understood.

Much remains to be done in this direction, but we are gratefully sensible of the progress which has been made during the years your Excellency has occupied the high

position you have so honourably filled.

We attribute it largely to your Excellency's interest in our welfare that our nation [376]

is obtaining more and more the position which is due to her, and that a right view is at last being taken of our labours in behalf of perfect religious toleration, which is united with profound loyalty to our Sovereign.

We trust that our fellow-subjects will learn to exercise that respect for our opinion

which we have for theirs.

We beg your Excellency to feel assured that our best wishes for your person and family will follow you during your absence, and we pray Almighty God to have you in His keeping for time and eternity.

(Signed)

VEKIL of the PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. HAGOP MATTEOSIAN. HAGOPOS DJEDJIZIAN. STEPAN UTUDJIAN. G. VARTANIAN, M.D.

Inclosure 2 in No. 85.

Address presented by the Armenian Deputation to Sir H. Elliot.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

AU moment où vous quittez l'Orient la nation Arménienne se fait un devoir de venir vous exprimer ses profondes sympathies pour la noble personne de votre Excellence.

A cette occasion nous sommes heureux de pouvoir déclarer combien est grand le prix que nous attachons à l'intérêt que la grande nation Anglaise a de tout temps montré à l'égard de l'Empire Ottoman et à la sollicitude que votre Excellence a su témoigner à égal degré à tous les éléments qui le composent.

Nous ne pouvons prendre congé de votre Excellence sans vous exprimer le regret que nous fait éprouver votre départ, comme le vœu que nous faisons de voir revenir votre Excellence reprendre les hautes fonctions qu'elle a remplies depuis nombre d'années avec

tant de distinction.

Les Membres de la Députation. (Follow the signatures.)

Pera, le 25 Janvier, 1877.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

AT the moment when you are leaving the East, the Armenian nation esteems it its duty to convey to you its deep sympathy for your Excellency's person.

We are happy on this occasion to have an opportunity of giving expression to the great value which we attach to the interest which the great English nation has always shown in the Ottoman Empire, and to the sollicitude which your Excellency has impartially extended to all the elements which compose it.

We cannot take leave of your Excellency without expressing to you the regret which your departure causes us, as well as the hope which we entertain that we may see your Excellency return to resume those high functions which you have discharged

for so many years with so much distinction.

The Members of the Deputation.

(Follow the signatures.)

Pera, January 25, 1877.

Inclosure 3 in No. 85.

Address of the Armenian Catholic Patriarch to Sir H. Elliot.

HIER (Mercredi) uue députation de Catholiques Arméniens a été reçue à l'Ambassade par Sir Henry Elliot, à qui elle a présenté l'adresse suivante, écrite au nom de la communauté par Monseigneur Hassoun, le Patriarche Catholique Arménien:

"Excellence,-C'est au nom de l'Episcopat entier de ma communauté Arménienne Catholique de la Turquie que je me fais un devoir de vous remettre, M. l'Ambassadeur, ma présente respectueuse adresse au moment où votre Excellence va nous quitter pour un délai court, nous l'espérons, pour vous renouveler l'expression de notre profonde et sincère reconnaissance pour cette fermeté et sagesse avec laquelle votre Excellence a

bien voulu désendre les principes de justice et les droits de la liberté religieuse méconnus envers notre communauté.

"Celle-ci doit principalement aux bons offices de votre Excellence l'adoucissement de ses tribulations, qu'elle a dû endurer sous le régime passé, ainsi que la tournure favorable que la question elle-même a enfin prise vers une solution juste et équitable, grâce aux sages conseils que votre Excellence n'a jamais cessé de donner dans l'intérêt aussi bien du Gouvernement Impérial que d'une population Chrétienne de 100,000 personnes non moins dévouées à son auguste Maître Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan qu'à la foi de ses ancêtres. Les populations Catholiques de l'Empire Ottoman ont, par des faits trop éclatants, démontré en toute occasion leur soumission à l'autorité de leur Souverain, pour qu'il soit besoin de chercher d'autres arguments en faveur de leur fidélité et dévouement.

"Ma communauté elle-même, bien qu'exposée aux plus dures épreuves, n'a nullement dévié de la ligne tracée par sa foi et par ses chefs religieux. Ainsi j'aime à espérer, M. l'Ambassadeur, que sous le ministère réparateur et réformateur de son Altesse Midhat Pacha elle ne tardera pas à être réintégrée dans ses droits légitimes.

"Dans tous les cas, le souvenir de sincère reconnaissance envers votre Excellence et le digne personnel de votre honorable Ambassade ne sera jamais effacé de nos cœurs.

"En nous unissant aussi aux autres populations Chrétiennes de l'Empire, nous nous empressions, M. l'Ambassadeur, de rendre l'hommage dû à la sage politique avec iaquelle votre Excellence a su accomplir sa haute mission auprès du Gouvernement Impérial, en lui prodiguant ses conseils aussi sages que désintéressés.

"Pénétré de ces sentiments de gratitude et de respect, j'ai l'honneur, &c.
(Signé) "ANTOINE PIERRE IX HASSOUN,

" Patriarche Arménien Catholique de Cilicie.

"Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Constantinople, "le 23 Janvier, 1877."

(Translation.)

YESTERDAY (Wednesday) a deputation of Armenian Catholics was received at the Embassy by Sir H. Elliot, and presented to him the following Address, written on behalf of the Community by M. Hassoun, the Armenian Catholic Patriarch:—

" Excellency.

"It is in the name of the whole Episcopate of my Community of the Armenian Catholics of Turkey that I make it my duty to hand to you, M. l'Ambassadeur, this my respectful Address, at the moment when your Excellency is about to quit us, for a short time as we hope, in order to convey to you once more the assurance of our deep and sincere gratitude for that firmness and wisdom with which your Excellency has ever defended the principles of justice and the rights of religious liberty so often denied to It is chiefly to the good offices of your Excellency that we are indebted for an alleviation of the troubles which we had to endure under the late régime, as well as for the favourable direction which the question has now taken towards a just and equitable solution, thanks to the wise advice which your Excellency has never ceased to offer as well in the interests of the Imperial Government as in those of a Christian population numbering 100,000 souls, who are as devoted to their august Master, the Sultan, as they are to the faith of their ancestors. The Catholics of the Ottoman Empire have on every occasion given such remarkable proofs of their respect for their Sovereign's authority that it is not necessary to advance any further arguments in support of their fidelity and devotion. My own Community, though exposed to the severest trials, has never strayed from the path pointed out to it by its faith and its spiritual leaders. Therefore, I venture to hope, M. l'Ambassadeur, that, under the reforming and reconstructing Ministry of his Highness Midhat Pasha, they will speedily have their legitimate rights restored to them. In any case, the feeling of sincere gratitude to your Excellency and the worthy members of your Embassy will ever flourish in

"In thus uniting with the other Christian populations of the Empire, we hasten, M. l'Ambassadeur, to render justice to the wise policy with which your Excellency has carried out your Mission to the Imperial Government, by ever offering advice as wise as it has been disinterested.

"Full of these feelings of gratitude and respect, I have, &c.

(Signed) "ANTOINÉ PIERRE IX HASSOUN,
"Armenian Catholic Patriarch of Cilicia.

" Constantinople, January 23, 1877."

Inclosure 4 in No. 85.

Extract from the "Levant Herald."

THE BRITISH ADDRESS.—A numerous and influential deputation waited upon Sir Henry Elliot at the British Embassy this morning, to present his Excellency with an Address on the occasion of his departure on leave of absence. The following is the text of the Address:—

"To his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Henry George Elliot, G.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Porte, &c., &c.

"Sir,

"On the occasion of your Excellency's departure on leave of absence, we, the Under-

signed, desire to express to your Excellency sentiments which we hold in common.

"We learn with unfeigned sorrow that, in the execution of a most arduous duty, your Excellency's strength has been overtaxed. We sincerely hope that rest and change of scene may restore the health which your Excellency has devotedly sacrificed in the faithful fulfilment of a most responsible trust.

"In the conflict of opinion which late events have called forth, reflections have been made at which we have been pained, and which your Excellency's life and character, as

we have known them for ten years, refute and belie.

"Deeply sympathising with your Excellency in the special anxieties and difficulties of recent times, we desire to place on record our conviction and high appreciation of the scrupulous and conscientious uprightness which has throughout marked your Excellency's ministry in this country. At the same time let us express our respectful recognition of the eminently honourable example for which we are indebted to your Excellency and Lady Elliot, and of which the beneficial influence has been widely felt and appreciated.

"We respectfully conclude our address with our sincerest good wishes for your

Excellency and your family."

[Although signed chiefly by members of the British colony in Constantinople, several Greek and other residents also appended their signatures to the Address as a mark of appreciation and esteem for the British Ambassador.]

Mr. Henry Hanson, who read the Address, prefaced it by an expression of the satisfaction which he felt at being permitted to state to his Excellency that the Address was dictated by the unanimous good feeling of the English Colony, and of many members of other nationalities. He added that, at a numerously attended meeting at Hasskeui yesterday evening, it was unanimously decided to present a separate Address of thanks to Sir Henry for the care which he had always taken of the community at Hasskeui, and

especially for his exertions during the period of the cholera.

Sir Henry Elliot, in returning thanks, said:—"Gentlemen, I cannot sufficiently thank you for the kind feeling which has prompted the presentation of your most gratifying Address. No man who occupies for a long time an important public position can expect at all times to obtain approval for the whole of his conduct. The utmost he can hope is that he may retain the esteem of those amongst whom he works. Your Address shows me that, notwithstanding any differences of opinion which may exist or have existed between me and any of you on public questions, I have yet been able to retain your esteem and good-will, and it is my reward for much labour in the face of many difficulties. The past year has been one of much anxiety and trial. On the last occasion on which you waited upon me in any number, much anxiety and apprehension were manifested, and though I thought, and still think, that the danger was greatly exaggerated, I must now confess that I was myself under a sense of heavy responsibility. I felt that the community over whose interests I was bound to watch might be placed in peril, and that I had very inadequate means with which to protect them. However, that danger has entirely passed away, and there is now such a feeling between the Mahom-medans and the Christians as, in my opinion, is unprecedented in the history of this Empire. I trust that, when I see you again in a few months, I shall find a great improvement in the condition of the country, and yourselves in the enjoyment of greater prosperity than you at present possess."

"No. 86.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 28, 1877.

I CALLED upon the Grand Vizier yesterday afternoon, when His Highness informed me that he had, on the 25th instant, sent a telegram, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, conceived in friendly terms, to the Princes of Montenegro and Servia, proposing to their Highnesses to negotiate directly with the Imperial Government for the speedy conclusion of peace.

Upon my inquiry upon what conditions he was prepared to treat, he replied, that with Servia he would adopt the basis of the status quo ante bellum, but he declined

answering any question as to Montenegro.

He felt, however, especially anxious for the success of his overtures to Servia, as, should the expiration of the armistice find the Sultan and the Prince Milan still at war, circumstances might compel the Turkish forces to enter the Principality, and they might even advance to Belgrade without, in all probability, encountering serious opposition.

Conditions of peace dictated in the capital would necessarily be less favourable to Servia than those now demanded, and it would be difficult to restrain the Turkish

population from insisting upon these being required.

The complications to which a renewal of hostilities would give rise, and the opposition which it would doubtless encounter from the Powers, were manifestly an object of dread to his Highness, and he did not conceal how desirous he was of the timely assistance of Her Majesty's Government in urging upon the Prince the responsibility he would incur in the eyes of Europe by rejecting these friendly overtures.

His Highness added that the Agents whom the Porte had sent to Servia and Montenegro to negotiate an exchange of prisoners and the revictualling of Nichsich would be authorized to enter fully into the question of the terms of peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 86.

The Grand Vizier to the Princes of Servia and Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.)

VOTRE Altesse voudra bien se rappeler que c'est à sa demande que les Puissances ont interposé leurs bons offices près de la Sublime Porte pour amener un armistice et que le Gouvernement Impérial toujours animé des mêmes sentiments de modération et de conciliation, n'a pas hésité à accorder cet armistice, qui a été depuis lors deux fois renouvelé dans l'espoir de faciliter ainsi la conclusion de la paix et d'éviter une effusion de sang inutile.

Le moment n'est pas loin où par suite de l'expiration du dernier armistice les hostilités devront être reprises au grand dommage des contrées qui vont en être le

théâtre.

Je me demande si un effort loyal et sincère ne devrait pas être fait de part et d'autre

pour écarter cette douloureuse éventualité.

Dans cette pensée toute de raison et d'humanité, et d'ailleurs convaincu que votre Altesse professe au même degré l'amour de la paix et le désir de mettre fin à une lutte aussi regrettable et aussi désastreuse, je viens franchement à elle pour la convier personnellement à une entente avec le Gouvernement Impérial au moyen de négociations directes.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

YOUR Highness will please remember that it was at your request that the Powers used their good offices with the Sublime Porte to bring about an armistice, and that the Imperial Government, ever animated by the same moderate and conciliatory feelings, did not hesitate to grant the armistice which, since then, has been twice renewed in the hope of facilitating the conclusion of peace, and avoiding useless shedding of blood.

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, January 28.

The moment is at hand when, in consequence of the expiration of the last armistice, hostilities will have to be renewed to the great damage of the countries which are to be the scene of them.

I ask myself if a loyal and sincere effort should not be made on both sides to prevent this sad eventuality.

With this reasonable and humane idea, and convinced, moreover, that your Highness professes to the same extent a love of peace and a desire to put an end to a struggle so desperate and so disastrous, I meet you frankly to invite you personally to come to an understanding with the Imperial Government by direct negotiations.

No. 87.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 28, 1877. I INQUIRED of the Grand Vizier yesterday when he intended putting his proposed reforms into execution.

His Highness replied that he had already provided for those which referred to the division and organization of the "cantonal" districts, and was now engaged upon the selection of the Mudirs and Mayors to be appointed to them, as was suggested by the proposals of the Conference, and he expected that this would be completed within ten days.

He said he intended forming a new vilayet in the centre of the disturbed provinces,

each of which, besides that of Salonica, would contribute a district towards it.

I am unable as yet to give the boundary line proposed, but it will include the towns of Nisch, Novi-Bazar, Kossova, Pristina, and Uskub, the eastern frontier passing near Sofia.

The seat of Government will be at Pristina, although the vilayet would be called Kossova, and it is to be administered either by Said Pasha, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Cyprus, or by Kiamil Pasha, lately employed in Syria, both of whom bear a high character for intelligence and activity, and are said to be conversant with European languages.

The Porte intends also forming a new vilayet by adding to the present district of

Constantinople that of Ismid and of the Dardanelles.

The government of the Archipelago, hitherto conducted from the Dardanelles, will be removed to Rhodes, and a Christian Governor-General—Savas Pasha—will, I believe, be appointed.

The Herzegovina will be, as formerly, included in the Government of Bosnia, and Constant Effendi—a Christian—is to be named Mustechar, or Councillor to the Governor-

His Highness has evidently no intention of appointing Christian Governors to the provinces, alleging his inability to find suitable men for the posts; but he is determined that all the Mustechars, who bear a higher rank than that of Mouavin, hitherto held by the sub-Governors, shall be Christians.

In short, he said, that he was fully alive to the importance of proving the sincerity of his intentions, but complained that the work upon which he was engaged had to be carried on by his unaided efforts, and in spite of determined opposition from many quarters.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 88.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 29, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a translation of the Imperial Iradé, which has just appeared, providing for the admission of the children of Christian parents into the Turkish military schools.

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, January 28.

It was felt by the Grand Vizier that the enrolment of Christians in the army would be extremely difficult to carry out at present, and the first step has thus been taken towards it by the promulgation of the present edict.

It is, I believe, generally approved of as an earnest that His Majesty the Sultan is sincere in his wish not to allow fanatical prejudices to stand in the way of the proposed

reforms.

I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 88.

Extract from the "Levant Herald" of January 29, 1877.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION.—ADMISSION OF CHRISTIANS TO THE MILITARY SCHOOLS.
-We have received the following communication, marked "Official," from the "Bureau de la Presse," under date of the 27th instant (Saturday last):—"In conformity with the provisions of Article XVII of the Constitution, which establishes the equality of all Ottomans before the law, and which prescribes for all the same rights and duties towards the country, an Iradé of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan ordains that from henceforth the children of non-Mussulmans will be admissible into all the military schools. Consequently, all those who wish to enter the said schools must demand the necessary permission from the Minister of War, according to the regulations established for the admission of students."

No. 89.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, January 30, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two further reports from Mr. Baring on

the proceedings of the Commission.

Postal communication with Philippopoli has been interrupted for some days, but Mr. Baring informed me by telegraph on the 28th instant that Metto Bektash had been condemned to death; Fetka to eight years' hard labour; and that the trial of Tossoun Bey was to commence immediately.

> I have, &c. (Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 89.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) Philippopolis, January 19, 1877.

I INFORMED your Excellency in my despatch of the 17th instant that the case of Metto Bektash had been postponed for the collection of fresh evidence.

Several women from Batak have now been examined, the most important witness being Mitra, the wife of Atanas. She gave a clearer and more consecutive account of what had taken place after the villagers took refuge in the church than any other witness who has as yet given evidence before the Commission; and I, therefore, think it may be desirable to lay the substance of her evidence before your Excellency.

The Bashi-Bazouks, as your Excellency is aware, arrived before Batak on a Friday. On the Saturday the people took refuge in the church, and on the Sunday morning the

arms were surrendered, as described in my despatch of the 26th ultimo.

Mitra deposed that very soon after the arms had been given up the Bashi-Bazouks surrounded the church, and summoned the people to open the door. The demand was not complied with, and they then made holes in the wall which surrounds the churchyard, and fired on the people. In the evening they succeeded in getting over the wall, and massacred everybody in the churchyard.

About two hours after this they began to fire through the windows on the people

who were crowded inside the church, and continued doing so all night long.

On the Monday morning they made an attempt to force their way into the building, **[376]**

upon which the survivors inside begged for mercy with tears and lamentations. The Bashi-Bazouks replied that those who consented to become Mussulmans would be spared, and about daybreak the people were all taken out.

The witness positively stated that not a single man, either in the church or in the

churchyard, was armed.

The Bashi-Bazouks then took the survivors to an open space near the church, and then separated all the boys and girls from thirteen to fifteen from the rest. They took two children of the witness, who said that in all some 300 were carried off. The greater part of these had been recovered, but still some were still missing.

Achmet Aga then arrived on horseback, and, after having ridden round the group of survivors, left for the outskirts of the village, after giving some orders to the Bashi-

Bazouks, which the witness did not catch.

As soon as he had departed the Bashi-Bazouks led the men away one by one, and murdered them in the hollow close by the school.

When they stopped this butchery, only about 200 men and between 400 and 500 women remained alive, who were taken to a place called the Beylik Harman just outside

the village, where they spent the night.

On the following morning (Tuesday) a Bashi-Bazouk went to the people, and told them they were to have their names registered, adding, "You are now going to be our Rajahs." The men were then separated from the women and led away towards the

village, firing soon being heard in the direction they had taken.

Shortly after the Bashi-Bazouks returned, bringing with them the clothes of the murdered men; and among them was a man with a sword in his hand, who ordered the women to show him the place where their money was hidden, saying, "This sword has just cut off 180 heads." This man was Metto Bektash, and the witness, on being confronted with him, recognized him.

Some of the women who were known to be rich were then taken into the village, and those who were fortunate enough to be able to show where money was concealed

were set free, but one old woman being unable to do so, was murdered.

The next morning, Wednesday, the witness, and about sixty other women, went to Rakitovo with Kutchuk Khalib, the man who has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, as mentioned in my despatch of the 17th instant, and some little time after returned to Batak. The witness had heard that about ninety women who stayed behind when she and others went to Rakitovo were murdered by gipsies.

She had lost her husband, two children, aged respectively three and one, her father,

and her father and mother-in-law.

When asked whether she knew Metto Bektash, and whether she had seen him at Batak, she replied that she did know him, and had seen him killing people in the churchyard on Sunday, and that he had also taken a leading part in the massacre outside the church on Monday. He had carried off two girls, named Katerina and Nanka, who had now returned to Batak.

This witness's evidence was corroborated by Hatee, the wife of Nicola, who added that when Metto Behtash came to the "Beylik Harman" his clothes were spotted with blood. He addressed the women who were assembled there, and, making use of a filthy expression, said he had killed 100 men.

The father and husband of this witness were killed, the latter having been taken

away by Achmet Aga, who said he wanted him.

This woman recognized Metto Bektash from among six other men. Another witness was Vano, the wife of (name illegible); she had been among the people who took refuge in the church, and had been shot through the arm. She had been taken to Rakitovo by a certain Banko Hasfar on the Wednesday. She said there was a tall man named Metto, who had an impediment in his speech, and who was the "Bash Kasjab," or head butcher during the massacre. While at Rakitovo, Banko Hassan made the witnesses carry some things to Metto's house, and she there heard the latter say that among the men separated from the women at Beglih Harman on Tuesday was one Torko Oghlou Velo, whom he, Metto, murdered after he had shown him where his copper cooking utensils were hidden. This man Velo was the witness' husband.

She also stated that Metto had taken a Bulgarian and his wife to Rakitovo and

had made them Moslems, the man receiving the name of Khahib.

On the 11th instant the case was discussed by the Commission, and the President asked Perteveff whether he then thought the evidence was sufficient. The latter replied in the negative, declaring that the examinations had not been properly conducted, and that there were discrepancies in the depositions. He, therefore, proposed to call Banko Hassan and Khalib the pervert.

The President said that though there might be some slight discrepancies in the details, the witnesses all agreed about the main facts of the case. To call Banko Hassan and Khalib would be a useless waste of time, as neither of them would be likely to give evidence against the prisoners.

Salim Effendi also said that there were contradictions in the evidence, as Todor, the son of the priest, had deposed that Achmet Agha had endeavoured to stop the slaughter outside the church, while the last witnesses had stated that it had begun subsequently to

an order from him.

Both the President and Ikiades Effendi said that there was really no discrepancy in these statements, as there was no reason why Achmet Aga should not have gone several times to the same place, and, moreover, this question had nothing to do with the case of Metto.

Pertew Effendi then asked whether Metto's house had been searched for a yataghan stained with blood. The President very properly qualified this request as ridiculous.

As, however, Pertew and Salim Effendi still insisted that the evidence was insufficient, it was eventually decided to summon other witnesses.

It is difficult to imagine what evidence these two members can require to convince them of Metto's guilt. The proofs already in hand are as plain as anything can be.

Inclosure 2 in No. 89.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Philippopoli, January 19, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Excellency an account of the discussions.

which took place respecting the case of Alish Pehlivan.

The first deposition read was that of the Greek Kutchuk Giorgi, who had stated that Alish had stayed with him all Sunday night in a hut outside Batak, and that on Monday morning he had gone to the place where the Bashi-Bazouks had piled up the property stolen from the village. The prisoner had then taken the witness into the village to show him the place where his money was buried, but owing to the heat of the stones of the still smouldering houses they were unable to dig it up.

Anton, another Greek witness, had seen Alish standing near the heap of things

taken from the houses.

Atanas Oghlon Dimitri had deposed that he had seen Alish with Ahmed Agha and others, and that he had heard him order his men to fire on the people in the church on the Sunday night.

Ahmed Agha had stated in one of his depositions that Alish was one of the leaders of Bashi-Bazouks, but on a subsequent occasion he totally denied ever having

said so.

Yovantcho Effendi's opinion was first asked, and he replied that he had no doubt that Alish Pehlism was the leader of the Bashi-Bazouks of Bania, and that this fact was

borne out by the weight of evidence.

Salim Effendi and Pertew Effendi held that the evidence of Atanas Oghlou Dimitri was contradicted by that of Giorgi, who had stated that Alish was in the hut all Sunday night; he could therefore have taken no part in the massacre and pillage in the church.

Ikiades Effendi maintained that all the evidence tended to prove Alish's leadership. He had himself said that while he was watching the ammunition he now and again went

to direct the movements of his men.

Pertew Effendi observed, that though Alish was one of the leading men of his district, he could not be held responsible for having led the men of Bania to Batak, as they had merely gone there with a laudable object, viz., to suppress a dangerous insurrection; he should therefore only be held responsible for his individual acts.

Abro Effendi said it was of no use attempting to judge the prisoner as a leader until it was known whether he and his band had committed any criminal acts, but Ikiades

Effendi dissented from this view.

Salim Effendi observed that Alish had been ordered by Ahmed Agha to collect his band of Bashi-Bazouks, and that none of the witnesses had spoken to his having been present when the Tchorbadjis were massacred. It would not be proved that after he arrived at Batak he had given orders to his men, and that therefore it was necessary to determine whether he had instigated them to commit crimes.

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The President observed that Alish has saved the lives of Giorgi, Andon, and others.

Pertew Effendi said that the 56th and 57th Articles of the Code were not applicable to the present case, and that though the prisoners had admitted that the men of Bania had taken cattle and other property, it was necessary to prove that they had been actually acting under his orders before holding him responsible for it.

Ikiades Effendi observed that the Commission was deviating from the course it had followed while judging the cases of the other prisoners. Ahmed Agha and Ahmed Tchaousch had been judged as leaders, and the individual acts of Metto Bektash had only been considered after it had been decided that he had not been a leader.

The President immediately said that the course pursued with regard to the two latter was open to objection, but Ikiades Effendi replied that it was a strange proceeding for a Court of Justice to censure its own acts.

Several proposals in the form of questions were then submitted to the Commission,

but it will not be necessary for me to repeat them here.

The discussions which ensued were long, and were carried on with some warmth, Abro Effendi maintaining the prisoner's complete innocence, and indeed justifying him as a sort of public benefactor for having saved some Bulgarian villages in his district, while Ikiades Effendi declared that he should be condemned to death under Article 57 of the Code, adding, however, that the punishment might be commuted to fifteen years' hard labour, on the ground that the presence of Ahmed Agha, who was a Government

officer, might be held to lessen the responsibility of the other leaders.

The President Salim Effendi and Yovantcho Effendi held that the prisoner should be convicted of pillage only under Article 252 of the Code, and sentenced to hard

labour.

Pertew Effendi agreed with the above-mentioned members, and the nature of the

punishment having been settled, its duration was then taken into consideration.

The President thought three years would be sufficient; but eventually the majority decided that Alish Pehlivan should be sentenced to four years' hard labour and a fine of 14l. Turkish.

I cannot consider that this sentence is a particularly satisfactory one, as the punish-

ment is either not severe enough, or else it is excessive.

In the "Mazbata," which has now been drawn up for communication to the Porte, stress is laid on the fact of Alish not having informed the authorities that the Bashi-Bazouks of Bania had committed acts of pillage, but I do not expect that this will be considered sufficient to convict him, and I should not be at all surprised if the sentence were quashed.

The moment the majority of the Commission thought fit to spare the life of such a criminal as Ahmed Tchaousch, of Kara Boulak, I never expected that a very severe sentence would be passed on Alish; but I maintain that he should have been punished as

a leader, and not merely as a simple Bashi-Bazouk.

In my telegram of the 5th instant I informed your Excellency what would probably be the result of the discussions about this case, and my opinion has now turned out to be

pretty correct.

After disposing of the case of Alish, the Commission sentenced a man named Ahmed Tchaousch, of Dorkovo, to three months' imprisonment, under Article 224 of the Code, for having stolen two goats from Batak, and Hafiz Effendi, of Rahitovo, was acquitted, it having been proved that he was not present during the massacre.

Before any of the sentences can be carried out they must be officially communicated to the Porte; the "Mazbata," as I have stated above, has been prepared, and I trust it

will be sent to Constantinople in a day or two.

There will then remain the cases of Metto Bektash, Alish Mehmet, of Nevrokop, and Fettah, of Firgovo. The latter is the man I mentioned to your Excellency in my despatch of the 15th ultimo as having escaped after his arrest. He has now been recaptured, and has been examined, though his case is not very far advanced. It will not be possible to convict him on the charge of participation in the massacre, as Sofia, the witness who made mention of his name, cannot now recognize him; but a charge of horse-stealing will very probably be brought home to him.

Ikiades Effendi has been in Constantinople for the last week, but is expected back

on the 22nd or 23rd instant.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 90.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 9.)

Constantinople, January 31, 1877. (Extract.) THE Porte has received a telegram from Ali Pasha, Governor-General of Herzegovina, which has caused them much uneasiness, and of which I have the honour to inclose the substance, as communicated to me by the Grand Vizier.

Inclosure in No. 90.

Ali Pasha to Safvet Pasha.

Mostar, le 27 Janvier, 1877. (Télégraphique.) LA nouvelle reçue de Raguse que j'ai déjà communiquée à l'effet que l'Autriche envoyait, entre autres préparatifs, un renfort de 20,000 hommes en Dalmatie se

confirme.

Il me revient aussi que les émigrés rentrés en Herzégovine depuis plusieurs mois sont en butte à des instigations de la part des autorités frontières Autrichiennes. Le but qu'on se propose est de faire abandonner de nouveau à nos habitants leurs foyers en Herzégovine en promettant à leur retour en Autriche des rations abondantes.

Mussich, le prêtre, qui a été élargi contre toute attente, se trouve sur le territoire

Autrichien aux environs de Lipmanchko en train de former une bande.

Il y a à Cattaro débarquement continuel de céréales pour le Monténégro de la part

des bateaux Russes.

Il me revient aussi de plusieurs points du vilayet que depuis deux jours des insurgés ont fait leur apparition. Ils ont attaqué 80 personnes dans le défilé de la Douga qui revenaient de Nichsich. Il y a eu un engagement qui dura une heure dont le résultat n'est pas encore connu.

(Translation.)

Mostar, January 27, 1877. (Telegraphic.)

THE news received from Ragusa, which I have already communicated, to the effect that Austria was sending, among other preparations, a reinforcement of 20,000 men into

Dalmatia, is confirmed.

I am told also that the emigrants who have returned to the Herzegovina during the last few months are being worked upon by the Austrian frontier authorities. The object aimed at is to cause our people to once more abandon their homes in the Herzegovina, by promising them abundant rations on their returning to Austria.

Mussich, the priest, who, contrary to all expectation, has been set at liberty, is on

Austrian territory near Lysinanchko, and is collecting a band.

At Cattaro there is an incessant landing of grain for Montenegro from Russian

ships.

I am informed also from several quarters of the vilayet that insurgents have made their appearance in the last two days. They have attacked eighty people in the Douga Pass as they were returning from Nichsich. An engagement took place which lasted an hour, the result of which is not yet known.

No. 91.

Mr. Corbett to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 9.)

Berne, February 6, 1877. THE Turkish Ambassador at Paris a few days ago expressed to the Swiss Minister

there the desire of the Porte to take into its service a certain number of Swiss officers,

to be charged with the organization of a body of gendarmerie.

Dr. Kern told the Ambassador, in answer, that it was contrary to the Swiss Constitution to allow any of their citizens to be employed in a foreign service, and that, consequently, the Federal Government would certainly not entertain any such proposal as that mentioned.

Sadik Pasha was not satisfied with the answer which he received, and, apparently acting under instructions from his Government, pressed Dr. Kern to consult the Federal

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, January 29.

Government as to the possibility of the employment of Swiss officers in Turkey; and on the latter bringing the matter before his Government, he was informed by the President that the answer he had made to the Turkish proposal was entirely approved, and such a scheme could not be entertained.

No. 92.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 9, 1877. THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and expressed to me a strong personal opinion to the effect that no time should be lost in endeavouring to ascertain the views of Edhem Pasha on the subject of the reforms proposed by the Conference, which Count Schouvaloff thought it possible the Porte might now be willing to adopt, when it could do so without the appearance of acting under pressure. He believed that if it were in the power of Her Majesty's Government to induce the Porte to take this course, the danger of war would be greatly diminished.

I promised his Excellency that this suggestion should be considered.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 93.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord, Paris, February 9, 1877. THE Duc Decazes asked me this morning whether Her Majesty's Government had yet answered the Russian Circular of last month relative to the break-up of the

I replied that I had no reason to think that Her Majesty's Government had as yet sent an answer to that communication.

The Duke said that neither had the French Government yet answered it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

LYONS.

No. 94.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 11.)

My Lord. Rome, February 8, 1877. IN a conversation I had yesterday with Signor Melegari, his Excellency informed. me that the circular of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had been communicated. to him by the Turkish Minister here, and that he considered it unobjectionable both in tone and substance.

His Excellency also said that he thought the bases for peace proposed by Turkey to Servia very fair,—such, indeed, as Servia, having regard to her own interests only, could hardly fail to accept.

He believed that the condition as to the Turkish flag being hoisted with the Servian, and that of a Turkish Diplomatic Agent residing at Belgrade, would not be seriously pressed. At all events he had told the Turkish Minister that he advised his Government not to do so, as they were quite immaterial points, and, even if they were agreed to, might possibly be the cause of future dissent and trouble.

The Circular of Prince Gortchakow had not, when I saw Signor Melegari yesterday,

yet been communicated to his Excellency.

I have, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 95.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Dorby-(Received February 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS telegraphed yesterday to Constantinople assenting to Porte's desire that the proposals made by the Prince on the 3rd July, 1875, respecting a modus vivendi, should form part of the basis of negotiation, but he again urged the expediency of negotiating at Vienna.

No. 96.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Joselyn.*

Sir,

I HAVE this day instructed you by telegraph to endeavour to ascertain the views of the new Grand Vizier on the reforms proposed by the Powers in Conference.

It seems possible that the Porte may now be willing to adopt those proposals, or the more material parts of them at least, when it can do so without the appearance of acting

under foreign pressure.

I have already requested Musurus Pasha to represent strongly to his Government the advantage of such a course, and from a conversation, though merely of a personal character, which I have lately had with the Russian Ambassador here, I have reason to believe that if the Porte can be induced to take it, the danger of war would be greatly diminished.

I should wish you to use what influence you can bring to bear on the Turkish

Ministers in the same sense.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

Mo. 97.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.)

I INFORMED your Lordship in my telegram of yesterday that Prince Milan had sent spontaneously a favourable reply to the Grand Vizier's overtures for negotiating

terms of peace.

M. Ristitch, the Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs, positively assured me

that such was the case.

On my expressing to M. Ristitch the satisfaction I had in being able to convey their decision to your Lordship, he offered me a copy of His Highness' reply, which I herewith inclose, and expressed a wish that Her Majesty's Government would use their good offices with the Porte in order that the latter might not drive too hard a bargain ("pas trop marchander").

I have been here so short a time that I can scarcely form an opinion of public feeling, but from what I can gather it appears to me that they would accept peace

at almost any price.

The consequences of the war are now being severely felt by all classes. I may here mention, as showing the shattered state of their finances, that the Ministers, who in ordinary times draw the highest salaries, now only receive 120 fr. a-month.

Three days ago a batch of ninety Turkish prisoners, which I believe was all they had

remaining, left here to be exchanged at Deligrad.

The Servian prisoners in Turkey amount to about the same number.

Of Russian volunteers, the few that are left will start shortly.

Inclosure in No. 97.

The Prince of Servia to the Grand Vizier.

Belgrade, le 27 Janvier, 1877.

J'AI reçu le télégramme par lequel votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'inviter à une entente directe avec le Gouvernement Impérial. Appréciant hautement les sentiments qui ont déterminé votre Altesse à faire cette démarche et animé moi-même du désir de mettre un terme à une lutte sanglante et de faciliter le rétablissement de bons rapports avec la Sublime Porte, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Altesse que je suis prêt à entrer en négociations directes avec le Gouvernement Impérial. N'ayant pas momentanément de représentant à Constantinople, je crois devoir prier votre Altesse de bien vouloir communiquer, par l'entremise de l'Ambassadeur Impérial à Vienne, à mon Agent dans cette ville, les bases sur lesquelles les négociations devraient être entamées.

(Translation.)

Belgrade, January 27, 1877.

I HAVE received the telegram in which your Highness did me the honour of inviting me to come to a direct understanding with the Imperial Government. As I appreciate highly the sentiments which have determined your Highness to take this step, and being myself animated with the desire to put a term to a bloody struggle, and to facilitate the re-establishment of good relations with the Sublime Porte, I have the honour to inform your Highness that I am ready to enter into direct negotiations with the Imperial Government. As I have not at this moment a Representative at Constantinople, I think I must request your Highness to have the goodness to communicate, through the Imperial Ambassador at Vienna, to my Agent in that town, the bases on which the negotiations should be commenced.

No. 98.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 1, 1877.
I STARTED from Ragusa on the morning of the 30th ultimo, and arrived at Cettigné last night.

I sent this morning to ask an audience of the Prince, and his Highness received me

almost immediately.

In the course of a very cordial greeting he told me that the Princess Milena was at Orialuka, the country residence near the Albanian frontier, and that she would remain

there until she was compelled to leave by the renewal of hostilities.

I replied, that it seemed to me that if his Highness chose, that contingency need not arise; and I proceeded to state, in the language of your Lordship's telegram, the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government had learned the intention of the Porte to enter into direct negotiation with Servia and Montenegro; and their hope that his Highness would give proof of his moderation, and of his conciliatory disposition by coming to terms with Turkey. I added that, without making any specific recommendations to either belligerent, Her Majesty's Government were desirous of an agreement between them effected upon such conditions as would ensure a fair and lasting peace. That there might be no mistake as to the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, I showed his Highness a memorandum in French of the substance of your Lordship's telegrams to this effect, which he begged me to allow him to keep for reference.

The Prince then said that he had yesterday telegraphed to the Porte that he was ready to enter into negotiation, and that he wished to know the basis upon which it was proposed to treat. His answer had been delayed by the absence of his Secretary, who is not yet here, and he had excused himself to the Porte upon that ground. He proceeded to express to me his fear that the negotiations would lead to nothing. Had he been able to do so, he would have protested against the arrangement respecting Montenegro proposed by the Conference. He was especially hurt at the manner in which his request for access to the sea had been put aside, and very sorry that England had taken part in rejecting this particular point. It was only to be expected that the Porte, as the maximum of its concessions, would limit itself to the proposals of the Conference, though he did not anticipate even so much as that. After the sacrifices made by the Principality, and all the blood shed by his people, it would be better to

continue the war, fearful and repugnant to him as was that prospect, than to make peace on terms not only inglorious, but containing in themselves the germs of discontent and of future trouble. He was receiving from Russia supplies of grain, which would find Montenegro in food for two years; and his people was prepared to recommence the struggle, and, as he thought, with every chance of keeping the Turks at bay as heretofore.

In reply to an observation which I here made that I understood that Servia was showing an intention to make peace, the Prince replied that, on the contrary, he had. during the night, received from M. Ristich a telegram to the effect that the terms proposed to Servia were far too onerous. He went on to say that Russia had told him that he must act independently of her, and that she could make no engagements of any kind. He had received officially no advice from Russia whatever. There was, however, a consideration which weighed heavily upon him, and which must materially affect his decision. His honour was engaged on behalf of the amelioration of the lot of the Christians in the Herzegovina, and he would be compromised in their eyes, and in the eyes, of his own people, if he were to make peace without any thought of those on whose account he had originally taken up arms. know," said his Highness, "that, in fact, the tranquillity of these regions depends upon Montenegro, and that, as long as we remain discontented and disappointed in the realization of aspirations which we consider just, our discontent and disappointment will react upon our neighbours."

To this I replied that I believed that this view was accepted as correct by all the Great Powers, and that the proposals which they had made collectively during the Conference, and which England had been conspicuous in urging upon the acceptance of

the Porte, was a clear proof that such was the case.

The Prince said that it was true that, from all that he had heard of the proceedings of the Conference, the efforts of the English Representative to obtain justice for the Christians in Turkey had been unremitting, and that he therefore trusted to the continual action of Her Majesty's Government in the same direction, and to their good-will towards himself to influence the Porte towards the exercise of a wise and liberal policy towards Montenegro; he would keep me constantly informed of the progress of negotiations, and hoped that I would not withhold my advice, as, although he quite understood that Her Majesty's Government undertook no responsibility as to the terms of peace, he should wish to consult me upon the proposals of the Porte as soon as he received them. Whatever they might be, he would give them a fair consideration, and would not lightly reject them.

Although I did not think it expedient to discourage the Prince from reposing a certain amount of confidence in me, I need hardly assure your Lordship that I shall be very careful not to compromise myself by giving his Highness any specific advice upon points which Her Majesty's Government have already informed me should be settled directly between Turkey and Montenegro themselves. I therefore simply told his Highness that, as far as I consistently could, I should always be ready to contribute to the conclusion of an equitable and durable peace, and that I trusted that, in spite of his gloomy previsions, such a result might be obtained.

I have only to add, in concluding my report of this interview, that the Prince treated me with all his usual cordiality, and that I have every reason to believe that the

pleasure which he expressed at my return to Cettigné was genuine and sincere.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 99.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .— (Received February 12.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 1, 1877.
WITH reference to Prince Nicholas' observation (reported in my previous despatch of this date) as to the supplies of provisions received in Montenegro from Russia, I have the honour to state that twelve large steamers have been chartered by the Russian Committees to bring cargoes of grain from Odessa to Cattaro.

Six of these steamers have already arrived, and I saw two of them at Cattaro

yesterday.

I believe that on a moderate computation they will place the Principality in possession of food sufficient for more than a year, without the necessity of recourse to indigenous supplies.

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I am also informed that there is ample provision of ammunition, and that immense quantities of cartridges are being manufactured.

Whence and how the powder for these cartridges has been introduced into Monte-

negro is to me, I confess, a mystery.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 100.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

Cettigné, February 1, 1877. (Extract.) I RECEIVED at Cattaro a telegram from Mr. Jocelyn, asking me if I knew whether it was true that the Slav Committees in Dalmatia were causing trouble among the

refugees who wish to return to their homes.

I doubt whether at present there are many such persons among the refugees; but I fear that it is certain that the Committees are making mischief, and I have lately seen several "distinguished" insurgents in the streets of Ragusa.

No. 101.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 12.)

Vienna, February 1, 1877. (Extract.) HAVING met Count Andrassy this afternoon, I asked his opinion as to the

negotiation for peace proposed by the Porte being accepted by Servia and Montenegro.

His Excellency said that as yet he had received little information on the subject from Cettigné, and that he feared, unless the Porte relinquished its claim for guarantees, there was little prospect of an arrangement with Servia. He had, therefore, strongly advised the Turkish Government to abandon a claim from which they could derive no advantage, as they could obtain no more efficient guarantee for the future maintenance of peace than the disastrous consequences of the war, from which it would take Servia at least ten years to recover.

No. 102.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.) Vienna, February 5, 1877. I UNDERSTAND that the Servian Agent was made acquainted to-day by the Turkish Ambassador with the moral guarantees for the future maintenance of peace. which his Government considers itself entitled to claim from Servia, but that Aleko Pasha intimated at the same time that they may not all be insisted upon, as necessary to the restoration of the former relations of the Principality with the Porte.

No. 103.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, Vienna, February 5, 1877. AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Andrassy, his Excellency said he had heard from Constantinople that Midhat Pasha thought of complying with the Prince of Montenegro's wish for an extension of the Montenegrin frontier towards the Sutorina; and he said Austria-Hungary would have serious objections to the cession to Prince Nicolas of the Sutorina.

I told his Excellency that I believed he need be under no apprehension on the subject, as Her Majesty's Government had learnt confidentially, that the Porte is not prepared to rectify the frontier on the Sutorina side, according to the proposal made to

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, February 1. † Substance received by telegraph, February 5.

the Conference by General Ignatiew; and that though permission may be given to the Montenegrins to use pasture lands on the south, no cession of territory will be made to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 104.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.) Vienna, February 8, 1877.

THE Russian Circular of the 31st ultimo was communicated to Count Andrassy two

days ago.

On my asking his opinion of it yesterday, he said that its language is moderate, and rather encourages a hope that peace may be preserved than the reverse.

No. 105.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 12.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, February 12, 1877.
PORTE has again proposed Constantinople, but does not absolutely refuse to treat at Vienna.

No. 106.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

I HAVE seen the Russian Ambassador this afternoon, and have informed him that, acting upon the personal suggestion he had made to me, I had instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, by telegraph, to ascertain whether Edhem Pasha would be in favour of adopting the reforms proposed by the Conference, now that the Porte could do so without the appearance of yielding to foreign pressure; and that Mr Jocelyn was directed to represent the expediency of this course as likely to diminish greatly the danger of war.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the instruction which I have addressed to Mr. Jocelyn on the subject.*

l am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 107.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 13.)

My Lord, Constantinople, February 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a rough digest of the Imperial Rescript which appeared yesterday, and cannot be translated before to-morrow, in which the maintenance of the Constitution is promised, and even one of its Articles appealed to in justification of the arbitrary banishment of Midhat Pasha.

The principal Ministerial changes contained in it are the following:—Djevdet Pasha to be Minister of the Interior, a post now revived.

Costaki Bey, a Greek, and formerly Prince of Samos, to be his Mustechar or Councillor.

Cadri Pasha to be President of the Council of State.

Ahmed Vefik to be President of the Chamber: a temporary appointment, this functionary being, according to the Constitution, eligible by the Chamber itself.

An Armenian, Ovanez Effendi, to be Minister of Commerce.

Assim Pasha, late Governor of Adrianople, to be Minister of Justice.

Sadyk Pasha, late Ambassador at Paris, to be Governor of the Danube Provinces, and Ali Pasha to be Governor of Adrianople.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Substance of Imperial Rescript.

21 Mouharrem, 1294 (February 5, 1877). Mon Illustre Vézir Edhem Pacha,

IL devient nécessaire de faire respecter par tous la Constitution que j'ai octroyé à mon propre gré et qui établit une nouvelle situation en Turquie, en harmonie avec les nécessités du jour.

Cette institution importante est appelée à inspirer une confiance réelle et à y

garantir la prospérité du pays.

Pour atteindre ce but, il importe que tous les fonctionnaires sans exception agissent dans la sphère de leurs attributions et se soumettent aux prescriptions de la loi, pour que le droit d'égalité accordé à tous mes sujets, et les autres dispositions constitutionnelles nécessaires à leur bien être, soient fidèlement exécutées.

Il a fallu opérer de grands changements dans le personnel administratif.

Ministres ont été remplacés par d'autres.

D'après la Constitution il y a eu des raisons pour éloigner Midhat Pacha du sol Ce dernier a été remplacé par vous (Edhem Pacha), qui jouissez de ma Ottoman. confiance.

La Chambre sera appelée à élaborer un règlement qui fixera les émoluments suffisants aux Mutessarifs et aux Caïmacams, et qui établira quel choix de ces Gouverneurs devra être fait parmi les fonctionnaires capables.

Il a été décidé de faire venir de l'Europe des spécialistes qui seront consultés pour

l'amélioration de l'état des finances.

Le Musteshar du Grand Vézir présidera la Commission composée de membres

du Conseil d'Etat, et des autres Musteshars chargés de l'élection des Caïmacams.

Vous veillerez à la bonne marche des affaires de l'Etat. En premier lieu vous soumettrez, sans retard, à ma sanction, les lois et les règlements promis par la Constitution et vous poursuivrez sans relâche toutes les autres améliorations et réformes exigées par les circonstances.

(Translation.)

My Illustrious Vizier Edhem Pasha, 21 Montarrem (February 5, 1877).

IT becomes necessary to make the Constitution, which I have granted by my own will, and which establishes a new situation in Turkey, in accordance with the necessities of the present day, respected by all.

This important institution is destined to inspire real confidence, and to guarantee the

prosperity of the country.

To attain this object, it is important that all the functionaries, without exception, should act in the sphere of their respective duties, and submit themselves to the prescriptions of the law, so that the rights of equality granted to all my subjects, and the other constitutional dispositions necessary to their welfare, may be faithfully executed.

It has been necessary to make great changes in the administrative staff. Some of

the Ministers have been replaced by others.

In accordance with the Constitution, there have been reasons for the removal of Midhat Pasha from Ottoman territory. He has been replaced by you (Edhem Pasha), who enjoy my confidence.

The Chamber will be called upon to elaborate an Act to fix proper emoluments for the Mutessarifs and the Kaimakams, and to settle what selection of these Governors

should be made among the competent functionaries.

It has been decided to procure from Europe special individuals to be consulted regarding the amelioration of the state of the finances.

The Musteshar of the Grand Vizier will preside over the Commission composed of members of the Council of State, and of the other Musteshars charged with the election of the Kaïmakams.

You will watch over the good conduct of the affairs of the State. you will at once submit for my sanction the laws and regulations promised by the Constitution, and you will pursue continuously all the other ameliorations and reforms required by the circumstances.

No. 108.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Zohrab.

Foreign Office, February 13, 1877.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting your conversation with Samih Pasha on the subject of the late fire at Van, and I have to approve your remonstrances against the accuracy of Nazim Bey's report, as well as the representations which you made to his Excellency, with the view of proper steps being taken for the protection of the Christians in that place.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 109.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord,

Aleppo, January 25, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch reporting to Sir Henry Elliot on the excited state of the Christian population on account of the very frequent robberies committed in their quarter of the town by Mussulmans.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No 109.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

ON the 20th instant I had the honour to telegraph to your Excellency as follows:—

"Robbery of British interpreter reported in despatch clearly made out against prisoner, who is declared not guilty. Christian members refused to sign acquittal. Governor-General says prisoner is innocent, and does nothing. Interpreter prays for inquiry by superior authorities. Christians attribute sentence to bribery. Mahommetans resent imputation. Several other robberies of Christian families by Mahommetans have taken place. State of the public feeling calls for prompt attention of Ministry."

In addition to the evidence stated in my previous despatch to your Excellency,

In addition to the evidence stated in my previous despatch to your Excellency, witnesses on the trial deposed that they had seen the prisoner running from the house without his shoes. The millers said that he had left the mill with his shoes on. The room from which the 800*l*. had been stolen was searched, not by the police or by order of the Tribunal, and the shoes were found in it, fitting the prisoner and sprinkled with flour from the mill.

Much excitement has been produced by this case, in which a respectable Christian family has been ruined, and the plunder apparently shared by the Turkish authorities. M. Tajer, the British Dragoman robbed, respectfully requests your Excellency to move the Porte to inquire into it.

In one of the more recent instances, the house of a Christian was broken into by four armed men, supposed to be soldiers of the Reserve, who took the value of 500l. They then called for supper and spirits, after enjoying which they summoned the lady of the house, and atrocious purposes were announced, but she escaped by the terraced roof. On leaving the house with their booty they met a guard with a lantern, which was put out, and they passed in the dark.

Last week a Turkish functionary was stopped at night by three men, whom he

recognized to be policemen, and he had them arrested.

Such a state of matters may lead to serious difficulties which the Governor-General appears unable to contend with. Though an intelligent man, with good intentions, he

has bad advisers and has got out of his depth. The Porte alone can take steps to remedy the evils of Aleppo.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 110.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, according to instructions received from the Grand Vizier, a notice has been issued here prohibiting all persons to carry arms, except when travelling, and even then not without an express permit from the Government.

The Administrative Council of the vilayet, however, have thought fit to make an exception in favour of the Sandjaks of Bihach, Banialuka, and Novi Bazar. Until tranquillity be re-established, the inhabitants of these Sandjaks may carry arms in the rural districts without any special permit, but on entering the towns they must depose them at the guard-houses, to be returned to them again when they quit.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 111.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I am informed from the Herzegovina that the Prince of Montenegro refuses to permit the further victualling of Nichsich. The insurgent Chief Peko Paulovich, with a considerable force, holds the position of Kristach; and, without the consent of the Prince, will not allow any convoy to pass.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 112.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 14.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Commission of Control appointed in the month of March last to watch over the execution of the promised reforms, has been finally dissolved, and the President, Haidar Effendi, recalled to Constantinople.

The results of this Commission have been absolutely nil. The Governor-General of Bosnia, Ibrahim Pasha, and his successor the present Governor, Nasif Pasha, were always in opposition to Haidar Effendi, and no attention was ever paid to the recommendations of the Commission, which had even, for many months past, discontinued its sittings.

Haidar Effendi, by his affable and conciliating manner, made many friends amongst the Christians, but the native Mussulmans cannot forgive his Excellency for having been instrumental in granting permission to the former to put up bells in their churches. They are, consequently very glad that he has been recalled to Constantinople, as they think that perhaps now this permission may be rescinded.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 113.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

Bosna-Seraï, February 2, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have just received intelligence from the Herzegovina that on

Thursday the 25th of January, eighty individuals on their way from Nichsich to Gatzko were attacked by the insurgents at Kristach, and only five of their number succeeded in reaching Gatzko.

I have. &c. EDWD. B. FREEMAN. (Signed)

No. 114.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

Scutari, February 3, 1877. My Lord,

ON the 31st ultimo I had the honour to telegraph to your Lordship that the Mirdites had taken Zeinel Bey and Ismail Agha Crue Sui prisoners, although these persons had been sent to Miridicia by the Governor-General, in order to bring about an understanding between the Government and the mountaineers.

The Mirdites have also occupied, in force, the principal high-roads passing through their district, and are now at Ksize, opposite to Puka, where some Turkish regular troops are stationed at Dukadzin, and at an hour and a-half distant from Miet, which is

also garrisoned by regular troops.

On this information being confirmed to me by the Governor-General, I at once recalled to his Excellency's mind the warnings I had given him six weeks ago, as reported in my despatch to Sir Henry Elliot, copy of which was transmitted to your Lordship in my despatch of the 23rd December, 1876, and I pointed out to him that he must now either face the fact that the Mirdites were in open rebellion, or turn

it by coming at once to terms with them.

If his Excellency adopted the first course, he would have to prepare to see the whole of the Roman Catholic mountaineers join the Mirdites, they being fully aware that they could not safely permit their most powerful tribe to be crushed single-handed. His Excellency ought not for a moment to suppose that the interests of the Porte could be served by the outbreak of an insurrection in North Albania, whilst attempts were being made at Cettingé for negotiating peace with Montenegro, although he might fancy that he had the power to overcome the rebellion.

I urged his Excellency, therefore, to release at once the Mirdite Chief who had been arrested by an act of bad faith on the part of his predecessor, and to invite Prenk Bib Doda, through channels that could influence the young Chieftain, to come to Scutari

for the purpose of arriving at an understanding with the Imperial Government.

Mustafa Pasha's dread that Prenk Bib Doda would demand to be named Mutessarif of Miridicia was lessened when I showed him that it would be better for the Chieftain to exercise his authority in the name of the Porte than in his own, as he was now doing, and his Excellency promised me to telegraph to Constantinople for authority to adopt a conciliatory course towards the Mirdites.

I, at the same time, obtained the permission of the Governor-General for two Mirdite Chiefs, Capitan Marco and Capitan Gioni, who had recently escaped from the Turkish service, as they had been threatened by some of the authorities, to return

and resume their duties.

The rise of disorder in North Albania has not been sudden, but has followed exactly the course expected and reported in my despatches, and it has now reached a point from which it will burst out into as serious a rebellion as any of those that exist in the neighbouring provinces, provided the Turkish authorities persist in their determination to employ nothing but brute force in the attempt to subdue it. This policy, I am convinced, will not be successful, and can only lead to partial massacres on both sides.

I have already heard some Moslems advocate the same treatment for North Albania that smothered the movement in Bulgaria, but here the Christian populations, except in the towns, are as courageous and more numerous than the Moslems, and quite capable of

turning the tables on their enemies.

With unsecured peace on the side of Montenegro, and insurrection in the North

Albanian Mountains, the position of the Turks in this province will be most precarious, and it will continue to be aggravated as long as the Porte permits its subordinates to lean on the broken staffs of military force and Moslem fanaticism.

> W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

No. 115.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

Constantinople, February 13, 1877, 11 P.M. (Telegraphic.) I RECEIVED a reply to-day from the Grand Vizier on the subject of your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant.* He said that many of the proposed reforms referred to could not be carried out until they had been discussed by Chamber of Deputies, but that several of the most important were already in course of execution.

The 7th and 8th paragraphs of the summary of conditions proposed in the Conference respecting subdivision of provinces and election of Provincial Assemblies, are being carried out; the remission of taxes in ravaged districts, and complete freedom of of worship are, he said, already granted. Turkish will remain the national language, but causes may be pleaded in any language.

Use of irregular troops forbidden, except in case of absolute necessity ("force

majeure "), meaning absence of regulars under very critical circumstances.

Colonization of Circassians in large numbers is discontinued. Amnesty agreed to, if indiscriminately applied. Condition of farms in Bosnia and Herzegovina to be improved when order is restored. Purchase of land will be facilitated without prejudice to present proprietors.

Prohibition to carry arms excepting on a journey in the disturbed districts and in the

towns already proclaimed.

Organization of police being improved, their salaries much increased, and a superior class of inspectors employed. Porte will appoint Commission of Control over the reforms; its President to be member of the Government, but the details of its composition not yet determined. All the other reforms in the quintessence must first receive sanction of the Parliament.

No. 116.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 14.)

(Telegraphic.) Pera, February 13, 1877, 11:30 P.M. THE Grand Vizier has asked me to inform your Lordship that Vahan Effendi, the first Councillor of the Ministry of Justice, leaves to-morrow for England, to study the working of our judicial system and the possibility of adapting it to the procedure of the Turkish Courts of law, and to ask that he may receive the assistance of Her Majesty's Government in obtaining information.

No. 117.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Sir, Foreign Office, February 14, 1877. I APPROVE the language used by you in your interview with the Prince of Montenegro of the 1st instant, as reported in your despatch of that date.

I am, &c, (Signed) DERBY.

No. 118.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.*

Sir, Foreign Office, February 14, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of yesterday, in which you stated that the Prince of Montenegro had, on the 12th, informed the Grand Vizier, in reply to his suggestion that he should send a Delegate to Constantinople, that he preferred to negotiate at Vienna; and you added that the tone of the answer appeared to you to be unnecessarily

peremptory.

Your information is confirmed by a telegram from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, who had been informed by the Grand Vizier that the Prince had accepted the Porte's conditions, but had refused to send a Delegate to Constantinople. The Grand Vizier had expressed the hope that Her Majesty's Government would agree with him in thinking that, considering the general nature of the discussions, and especially the fact that territorial changes were to be discussed it would be practically impossible that the Ambassador of the Porte at Vienna should be charged with the conduct of the negotiations; and he had requested that we would urge the Prince to comply in this matter with the reasonable wishes of the Porte.

Her Majesty's Government consider that there is nothing unreasonable in the suggestion that the negotiations would be more likely to be brought to a successful issue if they should be conducted by a Montenegrin Delegate directly with the Turkish Government, than if they should be carried on indirectly through the Ambassador at Vienna; they are unaware of the motives which incline the Prince to a preference for the latter course; but they would wish you to impress upon him their advice that he should not delay the conclusion of peace by interposing difficulties in the progress of

the negotiations.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 119.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, Foreign Office, February 14, 1877.

MR. MONSON, in his despatch of the 1st instant, which passed through your Excellency's hands, mentions that pressure was being brought to bear upon the refugees in Dalmatia by the Slav sympathizers to prevent them from returning peaceably to their homes.

I wish to direct your Excellency's special attention to this statement, as Her

Majesty's Government cannot but regret the state of things which it discloses.

It is essential to the maintenance of peace that freedom of action should be preserved to the populations of the provinces which have been affected by the insurrection; if the restoration of tranquillity is prevented through fomentation of the insurrection by Slav sympathizers holding influential positions in Dalmatia under the Austro-Hungarian Government, it cannot be expected that the efforts of the Powers for pacification will meet with success.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 120.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th December last, inclosing copies of my correspondence with Prince Nicholas respecting the alleged mutilation of wounded Turks by Montenegrins, I have the honour to state that the "Glas Czrnagora" of yesterday publishes a letter addressed by an inhabitant of Podgoritza to a friend at Cettigné, giving an account of the manner in which, by the order of Hussein Pasha,

* Substance telegraphed. † No. 100. ‡ See " Turkey No. 2 (1877)," p. 131. the faces of some of the unburied dead (Turkish soldiers) at Fundina had been recently mutilated and disfigured, in order to prove to three English surgeons that the charges of atrocities made against the Montenegrins were not unfounded.

I had a long conversation with the Prince this morning respecting the subject in

general, and the truth of this account in particular.

His Highness had seen the original letter, of the genuineness of which he is entirely persuaded, although the risk, or rather the certainty, of the vengeance to which the writer would be exposed on the part of the Turks could he be identified, renders the

suppression of his name imperative.

As I had heard from a very trustworthy source that his Highness had expressed himself as much pained at the readiness with which the stories of Montenegrin outrages had been accepted by the European, and especially by the English, press; and had even shown some sensitiveness at the persistency with which I had urged the subject upon his attention, I told him this morning that in my opinion the official correspondence which I had had with him on the subject ought to be considered by him as a matter of congratulation, inasmuch as it had given him a good opportunity of publishing the real state of the case.

The Prince agreed with me, and renewed the declaration of his determination to prevent the commission of any outrages by his people, saying that he fully appreciated his responsibility in this respect, and would spare no pains to ensure the execution of the orders he had issued, which, however, he firmly believed his people would not think of disobeying.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 121.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, February 8, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of the Imperial

Rescript, or Hatt, which was issued on the installation of the new Grand Vizier.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 121.

Extract from "La Turquie" of February 7, 1877.

HATT IMPÉRIAL.—VOICI la traduction officielle du Hatt Impérial lu, Lundi dernier, à la Sublime Porte, à l'occasion de la nomination du nouveau Grand-Vézir:—

"Mon illustre Vézir Edhem Pacha,

"Ayant pris en considération les besoins de l'époque et la situation nouvelle de notre Empire, nous avons établi, de notre propre initiative, la Constitution, qui, par ses résultats heureux, doit inspirer à tous le respect et la confiance, et assurer le salut de notre pays.

"La réalisation de ce but dépend, d'une part, de la conduite des fonctionnaires publics de tous les degrés de la hiérarchie administrative qui sont tenus de ne point s'écarter des limites de leurs attributions, de ne pas enfreindre les dispositions de la loi, et d'autre part, de l'exécution loyale de toutes les mesures qui sont essentielles pour le maintien du principe

d'égalité que nous avons proclamée en faveur de tous nos sujets.

"En conséquence, des changements importants dans le Ministère et dans le personnel administratif, chargé de l'application de ces mesures, étaient devenus nécessaires. La retraite et l'éloignement de Midhat Pacha ayant été rendus nécessaires par quelques circonstances qui se sont produites et qui sont prévues par la Constitution, nous venons, conformément aux dispositions de cette Charte et vu la confiance que nous inspirent vos capacités, vous investir de la charge de Grand-Vézir. La Constitution ayant prescrit la décentralisation administrative et la réforme de l'organisation provinciale, le traitement affecté aux Caïmacams des cazas devra être augmenté d'une manière suffisante, et un choix judicieux devra présider à la nomination de ces fonctionnaires comme à celle des Mutessarifs. Ces nominations seront soumises à notre approbation et un projet de loi sera présenté à cet effet à la Chambre des Députés.

"Nos affaires intérieures devant acquérir une plus grande extension, l'ancien Ministère de l'Intérieur est rétabli et devra se mettre en rapport direct avec les autorités provinciales. Djevdet Pacha, Ministre de la Justice, qui réunit l'expérience des affaires et les aptitudes

nécessaires, est nommé Ministre de l'Intérieur.

"Attendu que les projets de loi qui découlent de la Constitution doivent être élaborés sans retard pour être soumis à la Chambre des Députés, qui se réunira bientôt, les attributions de la présidence du Conseil d'Etat acquièrant une importance plus grande, nous avons nommé à ce poste Kadry Bey, Préfet de la ville, en l'élevant au rang de Vézir.

" Assym Pacha, Vali d'Andrinople, est nommé Ministre de la Justice.

"Les Vilayets d'Andrinople et du Danube, offrant aujourd'hui une importance spéciale, il était urgent que des fonctionnaires d'une capacité reconnue soient appelés à la tête de leur admininistration. A cet effet, Sadik Pacha, notre Ambassadeur à Paris, est nommé Vali de la Province du Danube et Ali Pacha, ex-Vali de l'Herzégovine, est nommé Vali d'Andrinople.

"Nous avons également confié à Ohanès Effendi (Tchamitch), Membre du Conseil d'Etat, qui possède les connaissances spéciales, le Ministère du Commerce et de l'Agri-

culture, en l'élevant au rang de Bala.

"Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, actuellement Vali de Crète, est nommé Commandant-enchef du 4^{me} Corps d'Armée, en remplacement de Samih Pacha, qui est appelé au Gouverne-

ment Général de Candie.

"Un des moyens qui concourent le plus à assurer la bonne gestion des affaires dans les différents Départements Administratifs, c'est l'assistance que peuvent prêter à nos Ministres des Conseillers capables et instruits. Pour l'amélioration de nos finances, nous avons déjà décidé de prendre les conseils d'hommes spéciaux que nous attendons d'Europe.

"Hourchid Pacha, Gouverneur-Général d'Alep, est nommé Conseiller du Grand-Vézirat et Président de la Commission chargée de proposer le choix des Caïmacams. Cette Commission sera formée de Conseillers des Départements Ministériels et de Conseillers

d'Etat.

"Rifaat Pacha, ex-Gouverneur-Général du Vilayet du Danube, est nommé en la même qualité à Alep.

"Costaki Bey, Président du sixième Cercle Municipal, est nommé Conseiller du

Ministère de l'Intérieur.

" Ohannès Effendi (Sakis), Président de la Cour d'Appel de Constantinople, est nommé

Conseiller du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

"Vous savez que le mode établi par l'Article 77 de la Constitution pour le choix et la nomination du Président de la Chambre des Députés sera mis en vigueur seulement à partir de l'année prochaine.

" L'Article 65 de la Constitution prescrit que le nombre des Députés sera fixé à raison

du chiffre de la population.

"La Présidence provisoire pour cette année de la Chambre des Députés, qui sera régie par les dispositions de l'instruction provisoire mentionnée dans l'Article 119 de la Charte, est confiée à Ahmet Véfik Effendi, dont la droiture de caractère, la loyauté et la capacité pour diriger les débats Parlementaires, sont universellement reconnues.

"L'ex-Ministre du Commerce, Halet Pacha, est nommé membre du Sénat et

l'ex-Conseiller du Grand Vézirat, Saïd Effendi, est nommé membre du Conseil d'Etat.

"Nous voulons que vous vous mettiez immédiatement à l'œuvre pour assurer l'exécution de ces ordres, la bonne et prompte gestion des affaires. Vous ferez élaborer sans retard tous les projets de loi qui dérivent de la Constitution. Vous appliquerez toutes les réformes que les circonstances rendent nécessaires et vous soumettrez au plus tôt à notre haute approbation toutes les décisions qu'elles réclament.

"Que les Très-Haut daigne accorder le succès à nos efforts."

Les journaux Turcs de ce matin publient la communication officielle suivante: -

"Ainsi qu'il résulte du Hatt Impérial, promulgué à l'occasion du changement du Grand-Vézir, Sa Majesté le Sultan, soucieux d'assurer la prospérité de ses peuples d'une manière solide et conforme aux exigences de l'époque, a proclamé, de sa pleine initiative, la Constitution qui garantit à tous les sujets une parfaite égalité et substitue le régime parlementaire au régime absolu.

"L'adoption de ce régime crée pour l'Empire une nouvelle ère, dont les bienfaits et les résultats heureux ne peuvent être obtenus qu'à la condition que tous les fonctionnaires, grands et petits, et tous les sujets consacrent leurs efforts à respecter la Charte et à se

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conformer à ses dispositions. C'est là un devoir sacré pour tous.

ner a ses dispositions. Cest is an devoir sacre pour tous.
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"Malgré cela, l'ex-Grand-Vézir Midhat Pacha, inclinait vers une voie tout à fait

contraire à l'esprit de la Constitution.

"Pendant que le Sultan, abandonnant de ses droits souverains, abolissait le régime absolu, certains actes se sont produits, indiquant que ce pouvoir absolu, aboli par le Sultan, serait exercé par d'autres mains. Profitant de cette situation, quelques individus, à tête légère, ont formé des projets malveillants contre les prérogatives du Sultan et la tranquillité publique, projets qui se traduisaient par des menées secrètes, corroborées même par des actes. Bien que Midhat Pacha eût dû, par sa position, prendre des mesures pour empêcher le mal, tout au contraire, il a négligé et a fermé les yeux, de sorte que le régime abrogé était exercé sous une autre forme.

" Pour ces motifs, il a été nécessaire, en conformité de l'Article 113 de la Constitution,

de l'éloigner de l'Empire.

"Cette décision ayant été prise par le Souverain dans le but spécial et bien précisé de sauvegarder ses droits ainsi que l'esprit et la lettre de la Constitution, le Gouvernement s'empresse d'annoncer au public la vérité sur cet événement afin de l'éclairer et de le mettre ainsi en garde contre toute fausse interprétation."

(Translation.)

IMPERIAL HATT.—The following is the official translation of the Imperial Hatt read last Monday at the Sublime Porte on the occasion of the nomination of the new Grand Vizier:—

"My illustrious Vizier Edhem Pasha,

"Having taken into consideration the wants of the times and the new situation of our Empire, we have established, on our own initiative, the Constitution, which, by its happy results, should inspire all with respect and confidence, and ensure the security of

our country.

"The realization of this object depends, on one side, on the conduct of the public functionaries of every degree of the administrative hierarchy, who are bound not to swerve from the limits of their duties, nor to infringe the dispositions of the law; and on the other side, on the loyal execution of all the measures which are essential to the maintenance of the principle of equality which we have proclaimed in favour of all our subjects.

"Consequently, important changes in the Ministry and in the administrative staff

charged with the application of these measures became necessary.

"The retirement and exile of Midhat Pasha having been rendered necessary by certain circumstances which have occurred, and for which provision is made in the Constitution, we invest you, conformably with the dispositions of this Charter, and having regard to the confidence with which your capacities inspire us, with the post of Grand Vizier. The Constitution having ordered administrative decentralization and reform in the provincial organization, the amount of pay assigned to the Kaïmakams of the cazas should be augmented in a sufficient degree, and a judicious selection should be made when nominating these functionaries as well as the Mutessarifs. These nominations will be submitted for our approval, and a project of law will be presented to this effect to the Chamber of Deputies.

"As our internal affairs are destined greatly to expand, the former Ministry of the Interior is re-established, and should put itself in direct communication with the provincial authorities. Djevdet Pasha, Minister of Justice, who combines experience and

the necessary capacity, is appointed Minister of the Interior.

"Seeing that the projects of law which are entailed by the Constitution are to be elaborated without delay, to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, which will shortly assemble, and that thus the duties attached to the presidency of the Council of State acquire a greater importance, we have nominated to this post Kadry Bey, Prefect of the town, and raised him to the rank of Vizier.

"Assym Pasha, Vali of Adrianople, has been appointed Minister of Justice.

"The Vilayets of Adrianople and of the Danube being objects of special importance at the present moment, it was needful that functionaries of recognized capacity should be placed at the head of their administration, and with this view Sadik Pasha, our Ambassador at Paris, has been appointed Vali of the Province of the Danube, and Ali Pasha, ex-Vali of Herzegovina, has been appointed Vali of Adrianople.

"We have also confided to Ohanes Effendi (Tcharmitch), a member of the Council of State, who possesses the requisite special knowledge, the Ministry of Commerce and of

Agriculture, raising him to the rank of Bala.

"Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, at present Vali of Crete, has been appointed Commanderin-chief of the 4th Army Corps, to replace Samih Pasha, who has been selected as Governor-General of Candia.

"One of the best means to assure that the affairs of the various Administrative Departments shall be efficiently conducted will be the assistance rendered to our Ministers by capable and learned counsellors.

"For the improvement of our Finances we have already decided to take counsel with

specialists who are coming from Europe.

"Hourchid Pasha, Governor-General of Aleppo, has been appointed Councillor of the Grand Vizierate, and President of the Commission charged with proposing the Kaïmakams for election. This Commission will be composed of Councillors of the Ministerial Departments and of Councillors of State.

"Rifaat Pasha, ex-Governor-General of the Vilayet of the Danube, has been

appointed in a similar capacity at Aleppo.

"Costaki Bey, President of the Sixteenth Municipal Circle, has been appointed Councillor to the Ministry of the Interior.

"Ohannés Effendi (Šakis), President of the Court of Appeal at Constantinople, has

been appointed Councillor of the Department of Public Instruction.

"You are aware that the mode established by Article 77 of the Constitution for the selection and nomination of the President of the Chamber of Deputies will not come into force before next year.

"Article 65 of the Constitution provides that the number of deputies shall be fixed

according to the rate of population.

"The provisional Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies for this year, which will be governed by the dispositions of the provisional instruction mentioned in Article 119 of the Charter, has been confided to Ahmet Véfik Effendi, whose upright character, loyalty, and ability for conducting Parliamentary debates are universally acknowledged.

"The ex-Minister of Commerce, Halet Pasha, has been appointed a member of the Senate, and the ex-Councillor of the Grand Vizierate, Saïd Effendi, has been appointed

a member of the Council of State.

"It is our wish that you set to work at once to insure the execution of these orders, You will cause all the projects of law and the good and prompt conduct of affairs. which are involved by the Constitution to be elaborated without delay. You will apply all the reforms which are rendered necessary by circumstances, and you will submit all the decisions they call for, as soon as possible, to our high approval.

"May the Almighty grant success to our efforts."

The Turkish newspapers of this morning publish the following official communication:

"In accordance with the Imperial Hatt, promulgated on the occasion of the change of the Grand Vizier, His Majesty the Sultan, anxious to ensure the prosperity of his people in a sound manner, and conformably with the requirements of the times, has proclaimed, of his own full and free accord, the Constitution, which guarantees to all his subjects a perfect equality, and substitutes the parliamentary régime for the absolute régime.

"The adoption of this form of government creates a new era for the Empire, of which the benefits and happy results can only be obtained by all the functionaries, great and small, and all the subjects, devoting their energies to respect the Charter and to

conform to its dispositions. That is a sacred duty for all.

"Notwithstanding this the ex-Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha, inclined towards a course

altogether contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

"While the Sultan, giving up his sovereign rights, abolished the absolute form of government, certain acts took place which indicated that this absolute power, abolished by the Sultan, would be swayed by other hands. Profiting by this situation, some lightheaded individuals have formed hostile projects against the prerogative of the Sultan and the public tranquillity, projects which took the form of secret intrigues, confirmed even by acts. Though Midhat Pasha ought, in his position, to have taken measures to stop the evil, on the contrary he neglected it and shut his eyes to it, so that the repealed form of government was continued under another form.

"For these reasons it has been necessary, in conformity with Article No. 113 of the

Constitution, to remove him from the Empire.

"As this decision was taken by the Sovereign with the special and clearly defined aim of preserving his rights, as well as the sense and letter of the Constitution, the Government hastens to announce the truth about these events to the public, with the view of enlightening it, and putting it on its guard against any false interpretation."

No. 122.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Porte telegraphed last night that Vienna is unsuitable, but left to His Highness the choice of another place of meeting on the side of Scutari or on that of the Herzegovina. The Prince replied that as it could not be Vienna, he thought the place most suitable with reference to the views of the Porte would be Cattaro.

No. 123.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 15.)

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCELY Decree appoints 20th instant for the elections, and 26th for the meeting of the Grand National (enlarged Skouptchina) Assembly.

No. 124.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

THE Russian Ambassador having called upon me on the 14th instant, I took the opportunity of speaking to his Excellency respecting the Circular despatch from Prince Gortchakow of the 19th ultimo, of which he had been good enough to communicate a copy to me on the 5th instant. I said that since that Circular was written, circumstances had changed, and that Her Majesty's Government, after giving it their best consideration, with an earnest desire to meet the views of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, had determined that it would be better to defer their reply to it until events should have developed themselves, and it was seen what was the effect of the recent change of Government at Constantinople, both in reference to the administrative reforms which had been promised, and the negotiations for peace now pending between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 125.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 15.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, February 15, 1877, 11 P.M. I HAVE spoken to Prince Nicholas in the sense of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday.† His Highness will not consent to commence negotiations on Turkish soil, although he would have made but little difficulty about continuing them at Constantinople, if the Porte had agreed to their being begun at Vienna.

No. 126.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

AS I have had the honour of informing your Lordship by telegraph, the state of affairs in Mirdicia is daily becoming more embroiled, and although I have not ceased from urging both the Commander-in-chief and the Governor-General to adopt the only practical course for arriving at a satisfactory arrangement, I have been unable to hide from myself the fact that these authorities, whilst pretending to have at heart the welfare of the populations placed under their jurisdiction, are all the time only thinking of their own

private interests, and are probably hiding from the Porte the real state of affairs, in order not

to open a door for other Pashas to be sent to replace them.

Nevertheless, in the hope that the march of events will force these functionaries to abandon a selfish policy, I have solicited your Lordship's permission to be prepared, on the occasion arising, to use my good offices to bring about a meeting between the authorities and the Mirdite Chieftain, Prenk Bib Doda.

From the inclosed copy and translation of a letter which has been addressed by Prenk Bib Doda to Dervish and Mustafa Pashas, and which was communicated by him to the Consuls of Austria, France, and Italy, by identic letters, of which I also have the honour to furnish herein a translation, it is evident that, though the Mirdites are using pressure

against the Government, they are still prepared to come to terms with it.

It is to be most earnestly hoped that the Turkish authorities will not persist in endeavouring to frighten the Mirdites into submission by stirring up the religious feelings of the Albanian Mahommedan feudal proprietors of the districts surrounding Mirdicia, for, in that case, the threat contained in Prenk Bib Doda's letter to the Consuls (Inclosures Nos. 3 and 4), of his people becoming the assailants instead of the assailed may very possibly be realized. The assertion of Prenk Bib Doda that massacres of the Christians have been planned are based, I think, more on a knowledge of the will of the Moslems than on a belief in the possibility of their being successfully carried out.

The Russian Consul and I have not been favoured with letters from the Mirdite

The Russian Consul and I have not been favoured with letters from the Mirdite Chieftain, as he evidently shares the conviction of his co-religionists in North Albania that those who are not Roman Catholics are not Christians, and, therefore, cannot take an

impartial view of passing events here.

The Government at Constantinople would do well to send immediate orders to Scutari for a conciliatory policy to be pursued, especially as this course is almost certain of success, the Mirdites having, I am confidentially informed, received notice from Montenegro to come to terms, if possible, with the Government.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 126.

Prenk Bib Doda to Dervish Pasha and Mustafa Pasha.

(Translation.) Orosci, January 31, 1877.

FROM exact information which has lately reached me, it results that the Kolas (captain) commanding the troops stationed in the small fortress of Puka (perhaps on the advice and at the instigation of the Turks of the said tribe) has several times summoned the Christians of the same place through Ali Agha of Puka, the Hodja of Puka and Osman Lacci, to deliver themselves up at discretion in his hands, for, otherwise, their villages would be taken by assault.

Alarmed by such menaces, and fearing an early massacre, owing to the thousand extraordinary reports that the Turks of Puka itself were circulating in this sense, they turned for help to their neighbours of Mirdicia, allied to them by many ties of relationship, by race, and by religion. These, as is the custom in these mountains, rushed to the appeal of their relatives and co-religionists, and from this arose an assemblage which finished, as I

am assured, by the closing of the high-road.

No sooner had I heard of it than I did all that in me lay to avoid evils which might degenerate into scenes of blood, and I sent courier after courier in order to pacify the greatly exasperated minds in these mountains, when last night were brought to me M. Zeinel Bey, of Antivari, together with the son of Ismail Agha Krüesui, under condition that I should hold them as hostages until the known Mirdite, Mark Gion Nozza, who has been detained for the last six months in the Scutari prison, had been liberated.

Finding myself in such a dangerous situation, I decided upon giving my word that Mark Gion Nozza shall be placed in liberty, and that Zeinel Bey, and his companion, shall remain my guests until this is accomplished, and I advised that travellers on the high-road should not be molested, as everything, in time, would be smoothed over. It appears to me, therefore, that I have acted according to the wishes of your Excellencies, and of every good servant of His Majesty the Sultan; but I must observe to your Excellencies that it is necessary for you to force the Kolas (captain) of the garrison of Puka and Mussulman population of the same place, not to conduct themselves in the irritating manner in which they acted up to the present time, and which might lead to a fratricidal and, what is worse, a religious struggle.

I await with anxiety the orders and instructions of your Excellencies, sure that you, in your wisdom, will give me such directions as will dissipate the danger, and will find the means calculated to prevent the occurrence of similar scenes. The Mirdite people, Excellencies, has always been the model of fidelity towards the Imperial Ottoman Government; it will never learn to forget the devotion which is due to it (the Government); but. I permit myself to state to you, that it would be well to cancel from the mind of this people even the doubt of a massacre of its co-religionist brethren—massacres only too much prognosticated and openly declared by the great tribes of Dibra and Mattia.

Pray, &c. (Signed) PRENK BIB DODA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 126.

Prenk Bib Doda to M. Wassich.

(Translation.)

Most esteemed Mr. Consul,

Orosci, February 2, 1877.

FROM the herein inclosed copy you will understand the actual position Mirdicia and the Christian populations in its neighbourhood.

It seems almost incredible, but still it is too true, that the Turks are hatching a project for the general massacre of the Albanian Christians. The Mussulmans of Puka, Malizü, Dibra, Mathia, Prisrend, Jiacova, &c., have declared it in clear notes and the Kolas (captain) of the small fortress of Puka, luckily, wanted to send it, probably under the suggestions of his superior authorities. The minds of these populations are exasperated to the utmost degree, and to keep them back up to the present all my power has been necessary, and all the influence of those persons who love and are anxious for quiet. However, I must confess openly that, come what may, this people is prepared and resolved to make a desperate resistance, and that, perhaps, from one day to the other, instead of being the attacked it will become the attacker to secure its own preservation. My position is very dangerous in times so terrible, and it is for this reason that I ask for the advice and protection of all the European Christian Powers.

Sure that I shall never see myself without the support and goodwill of Austria-Hungary, and all the civilized Governments and peoples who abhor the scenes of blood and the horrors committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, now prepared for the populations here, I have, &c.

(Signed)

PRENK BIB DODA.

No. 127.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 16.)

Constantinople, le 14 Février, 1877. LE Chargé d'Affaires d'Angleterre nous a communiqué un télégramme par lequel Lord Derby l'invite à sonder les dispositions du Ministère Impérial en ce qui touche l'application des réformes proposées par la Conférence et acceptées par la Sublime Porte. Vous pouvez affirmer à sa Seigneurie que le Gouvernement Impérial est plus que jamais résolu à mettre intégralement à exécution les réformes qu'il a déjà proclamées. Nous ne reculerons devant aucun sacrifice, devant aucune difficulté pour remplir cette tâche. Ce que nous demandons c'est qu'on nous laisse faire, c'est qu'on nous épargne des complications extérieures. Qu'on ait confiance dans la sincérité et dans la loyauté de nos intentions, et qu'on ne tente pas à précipiter nos efforts. On créerait ainsi au Gouvernement des embarras qui ne pourraient que le distraire de ses préoccupations tendant à réformer l'organisation intérieure du pays.

Déjà la Sublime Porte a demandé d'urgence à ses autorités provinciales des données exactes sur la circonscription des communes. Une fois ces renseignements acquis, il sera procédé sans retard aux subdivisions cantonales. En outre, le règlement concernant la nouvelle gendarmerie, qui sera composée de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, est déjà prête, et l'on n'attend plus pour organiser ce corps que les officiers instructeurs. Quant aux troupes irrégulières, il a été décidé de ne pas les employer à l'avenir, à moins d'une nécessité inévitable. Le port d'armes sans autorisation spéciale étant aussi désormais prohibé, les autorités Impériales viennent de recevoir des instructions catégoriques en conséquence.

La Sublime Porte a, de plus, pris les dispositions nécessaires pour ne pas permettre à

l'avenir la colonisation en Roumélie de Circassiens en masse. Enfin, le Sultan, notre auguste Maître, a daigné prendre sous sa protection l'Ecole Civile de Constantinople destinée à former des employés pour l'Administration. Cette école sera réorganisée aux frais de Sa Majesté, en attendant la création de nouvelles institutions de ce genre.

Toutes ces mesures et une foule d'autres témoignent de la ferme volonté du

Gouvernement Impérial d'appliquer les nouvelles réformes.

Pour ce qui est des négociations de paix avec la Servie et le Monténégro, elles se

poursuivent activement.

Votre Excellence peut assurer en même temps Lord Derby que la Commission Spéciale procède sans relâche au jugement des individus impliqués dans les derniers événements de Philippopoli.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 14, 1877.

THE British Chargé d'Affaires has communicated to us a telegram in which Lord Derby instructs him to sound the intentions of the Imperial Ministry respecting the application of the reforms proposed by the Conference and accepted by the Sublime Porte.

You may state to his Highness that the Imperial Government is more than ever resolved to put into full force the reforms which it has already proclaimed. We will not shrink from any sacrifice or difficulty with a view to fulfil this task. What we ask is to be let alone and spared foreign complications. Let people confide in our sincerity, and in the loyalty of our intentions, and not attempt to hurry us unduly, for by so doing the Government would be placed in difficulties, the result of which must be to distract it from its occupation of reforming the interior organization of the country.

The Sublime Porte has already instructed its provincial officials to furnish exact data as to the limits of the communes. When once this information has been received, the

cantonal subdivisions will be without delay proceeded with.

The regulations, moreover, respecting the new gendarmerie, to be composed of Mussulmans and Christians, are already prepared, and nothing is now wanting to the

organization of this body but instructing officers.

With reference to irregular troops, it has been decided not to employ them in the future except in cases of absolute necessity. The carrying of arms without license is also henceforward prohibited, and the Imperial authorities have just received categorical instructions in consequence.

The Sublime Porte has, moreover, taken the necessary steps to prevent for the future colonization by large bodies of Circassians in Roumelia. Finally, our august master the Sultan, has designed to take under his patronage the civil school at Constantinople, for the education of Government officials. This school will be reorganized at His Majesty's expense, pending the creation of new establishments of this kind.

All these measures and many others bear witness to the firm determination of the

Imperial Government to apply the new reforms.

As regards the peace negotiations with Servia and Montenegro, they are being

actively carried on.

Your Excellency may at the same time assure Lord Derby that the Special Commission is unremittingly going on with the trial of the persons implicated in the late events at Philippopoli.

No. 128.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 16.)

(Telegraphic.)

AS the Porte objects to Cattaro as the place of negotiation, the Prince has this morning telegraphed to His Highness that he will send his Delegates by the first steamer to Constantinople as a proof of his conciliatory disposition and of his desire to further the views of the Porte.

No. 129.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby. -(Received February 16.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, February 16, 1877, 10 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of this day, reporting that the Prince has finally agreed to treat at Constantinople, His Highness requests me to state that he has been greatly influenced by his desire to comply with wishes of Her Majesty's Government, and he hopes that your Lordship will take this into consideration, and urge the Porte to treat him with generosity.

I undertook to convey the Prince's request to your Lordship, with the clear under-

standing that I could make no promise.

No. 130.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch, and its inclosure, of the 5th instant, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, reporting on the state of affairs in Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 130.

Consul-General Eldridge to Mr. Jovelyn.

WITH reference to my recent despatches to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, I have the honour to inform you that the news of the termination of the Conference without arriving at any conclusive result, and the departure from Constantinple of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers, have considerably increased the feeling of anxiety and uneasiness which has prevailed for some time past amongst the populations of Syria, and all are at a loss to conceive as to what will result from the present complication.

The general feeling, however, of all classes is in favour of the Government, which is receiving support from quarters whence it was little to be expected, and the Mussulmans are supporting the exhaustive drain upon their strength in the way of men with exemplary patience, notwithstanding the intense suffering that is entailed by the withdrawal of so many bread winners from the support of their families who are becoming

pauperised.

For your information I have the honour to inclose a copy of a report from Mr. Vitale, British Vice-Consul at Lattakia, on the state of affairs in his district which needs no comment from me. At Sidon the alarm of the Christians at the aggressive attitude of the Mussulmans continues to increase, and several families are preparing to leave the town to take refuge in the mountains should no improvement take place, which is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that on all similar occasions during the present century the Mussulmans of Sidon have been amongst the first to rise on their Christian neighbours.

At Tripoli also similar preparations are being made to quit the town in case of necessity, and at both these places the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts of Mount Lebanon are insulted and ill-treated whenever they venture into them, which they naturally do as seldom as possible.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 130.

Vice-Consul Vitalé to Consul-General Eldridge.

M. le Consul-Général,

J'AI l'honneur de vous soumettre ce rapport pour vous informer de la situation en ce district et des sentiments de ses habitants depuis la promulgation de la Constitution

Ottomane, dont la nouvelle a été donnée en cette ville par les autorités civiles sans le cérémonial que d'usage l'on observe à l'occasion des solemnités de cette importance.

Le télégramme annonçant ce grand événement a été lu ici en présence des employés du Gouvernement et de quelques notables de la ville qui se sont limités à dire qu'ils obéissent à la volonté du Souverain.

J'ai remarqué que la nouvelle elle-même n'a pas produit l'effet attendu; la plupart des Musulmans croyant que cette Constitution est jusqu'à un certain point contraire à la loi sacrée du Coran, en ont reçu la nouvelle avec regret et il y en a qui ont dit qu'ils auraient aimé mieux entendre la nouvelle de la déclaration de la guerre avec la Russie; tandis que les Chrétiens, habitués à ne pas prêter foi aux promesses du Gouvernement en ce qui regarde l'amélioration de leur sort et leur mise sur le même pied d'égalité avec les Turcs, ont reçu cette nouvelle avec indifférence. Même, il y en a parmi eux qui en regrettent l'apparition, croyant que toute mesure de ce genre de la part de la Sublime Porte ne fait que réveiller les sentiments de haine dont les Musulmans sont animés à leur égard.

Les Ansaryéhs n'étant pas capables d'apprécier ou de juger de cet événement n'en font aucun cas. Je puis dire, cependant, qu'ils se réjouissent (surtout ceux de la montagne) des difficultés éprouvées par le Gouvernement du Sultan, parcequ'ils échappent ainsi à toute sorte d'imposition et aux mauvais traitements qu'ils subissent ordinairement par les cavaliers. Aussi, ils ne payent pas maintenant les impôts et ne fournissent pas leur contingent de Rédifs au bataillon de deuxième classe enrôlé dernièrement.

Malgré tout ce qui précède je suis heureux de pouvoir attester, M. le Consul-Général, que la tranquillité règne en cette ville et que malgré l'enrôlement de deux bataillons de rédifs, dont le dernier, composé de 1,400 hommes environ, depuis bientôt neuf mois il n'y a rien eu ici qui puisse inquiéter, à part quelques incidents sans importance.

Malheureusement il n'en est pas ainsi dans tout le district; la montagne est dans un état d'anarchie complète, et il n'y a point de sécurité. Je ne crois pas, cependant, que

cela pourrait avoir aucune influence sur la sécurité de la ville-même.

Mais les Chrétiens en général sont beaucoup intimidés et presque tous croient qu'une catastrophe est inévitable sur l'un ou l'autre point de l'Empire et qu'alors ils seront dans un très-grand danger; ils croient aussi qu'en cas d'une guerre avec la Russie ils seront exposés à des outrages, sinon à des massacres, de la part des Musulmans; ils se rejouissent chaque fois qu'ils apprennent que des bâtiments de guerre se trouvent ou sont attendus sur la côte de Syrie, parcequ'ils croient que l'apparition de tels bâtiments forcera les Musulmans de rester tranquilles. En ceci ils ont raison, parceque je crois que les visites des bâtiments de Sa Majesté le "Research" et le "Torch" pendant l'été dernier ont beaucoup contribué au maintient du bon ordre et de la tranquillité dont jouit encore cette ville.

J'ai, &c. (Signé) N. VITALE.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul-Général,

Lattakia, January 30, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to submit to you this report, informing you of the state of this district and of the feeling of the inhabitants since the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution, which was announced in this town by the civil authorities without the ceremonies usual on such important occasions.

The telegram announcing this great event was read here in presence of the Government officials, and of some of the chief men of the town, who confined themselves to

saying that they were ready to obey the will of their Sovereign.

I noticed that the intelligence itself did not produce the expected result; most of the Mussulmans thinking that this Constitution is to a certain extent contrary to the sacred law of the Koran, received the news with regret, and some said that they would rather have heard the news of a declaration of war with Russia; whilst the Christians, accustomed to disbelieve the promises of the Government as regards the improvement of their position and their being put on a footing of equality with the Turks, received this news with indifference. There are even some among them who regret its issue, thinking that every measure of this kind adopted by the Sublime Porte only serves to awaken the feelings of hatred which the Mussulmans bear them.

The Ansaryelas not being able to appreciate or understand this event, do not trouble themselves about it. I may say, however, that they are pleased (particularly the mountaineers) at any difficulties experienced by the Government of the Sultan, since they thus escape all sorts of taxes and the bad treatment to which they are ordinarily subject from the horsemen. Thus, they do not now pay taxes or furnish their contingent of Redifs to the battalion of the second class lately enrolled.

Notwithstanding the above, I am happy to be able to say, M. le Consul-General, [376]

that this town is quiet, and that notwithstanding the enrolment of two battalions of Redifs, of which the last numbered about 1,400 men, for nearly nine months nothing of a disturbing character has occurred, except some unimportant circumstances.

Unhappily this is not the case throughout the whole district; the hill country is in a state of complete anarchy, and there is no security. I do not think, nevertheless, that

this can have any effect on the security of the town itself.

But the Christians in general are very frightened, and nearly all think that a catastrophe is inevitable at one point or another of the Empire, and that then they will be in very great danger. They think also that, in the event of war with Russia, they will be exposed to outrage, if not to massacre, at the hands of the Mussulmans; they are delighted whenever they hear that ships of war have arrived or are expected on the Syrian coast, since they think that their appearance will force the Mussulmans to keep quiet. In this they are right, for I think that the visits of Her Majesty's ships "Research" and "Torch," during last summer, have greatly contributed to the maintenance of the good order and tranquillity which the town still enjoys.

I have, &c. (Signed) N. VITALE.

No. 131.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, Beyrout, February 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that Kiamil Pasha, who, since September last, has held the post of Mutasserif of Beyrout, has been promoted to the rank of Mushir, and appointed Governor-General of the newly created Vilayet of Kossova.

His Excellency leaves for Constantinople to-morrow by the Austrian steamer which

was due at Beyrout yesterday.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 132.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 7, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 1st instant, respecting the overtures made by the Porte, I have the honour to inclose copies of the telegrams since exchanged between the Grand Vizier and Prince Nicholas with regard to entering into direct negotiations for peace between Turkey and Montenegro.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 132.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 5 Février, 1877. EN réponse au télégramme de Votre Altesse, en date du 31 Janvier, j'ai l'honneur

EN réponse au télégramme de Votre Altesse, en date du 31 Janvier, j'ai l'honneur de l'informer que la base des négociations à entamer sera le statu quo ante—statu quo ante* sauf rectification sur certaines parties de la frontière, et entente définitive sur les propositions précédemment faites par Votre Altesse.

Si Votre Altesse partage le désir de la Sublime Porte, je la prierais de vouloir bien envoyer à Constantinople un Agent dûment autorisé pour traiter avec nous.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, February 5, 1877.

IN reply to your Highness' telegram under date of the 31st of January, I have the honour to inform you that the basis of the negotiations to be entered upon will be

^{*} Sic dans la copie que le Prince a faite de sa propre main.—E. M.

the statu quo ante-statu quo ante,* excepting rectification on certain portions of the frontier, and a definitive understanding as to the proposals previously made by your

If your Highness shares in the wish of the Sublime Porte, I would beg you to send

to Constantinople an Agent duly authorized to treat with us.

Inclosure 2 in No. 132.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

Cettigné, le 7 Février, 1877. (Télégraphique.)

EN réponse au télégramme de votre Altesse du 5 courant, je m'empresse de l'informer que je suis en effet disposé à traiter de la paix avec la Sublime Porte sur les bases du status quo ante bellum, avec une modification de la ligne des frontières.

Votre Altesse parle de propositions antérieures, faites à la Sublime Porte, au sujet de ce dernier point. N'ayant pas eu l'occasion de formuler de demandes, je présume que votre Altesse fait allusion aux projets formés dans la Conférence préliminaire des Six Puissances à Constantinople.

Dans cette supposition je me déclare prêt à entrer immédiatement en négociations; mais, pour la bonne et prompte marche de celles-ci, je crois infiniment préférable qu'elles

aient lieu à Vienne par l'intermédiaire de l'Ambassadeur Ottoman.

J'attends une réponse favorable de votre Altesse pour déléguer et expédier un délégué muni de mes pouvoirs.

(Translation)

Cettigne, February 7, 1877. (Telegraphic.)

IN reply to your Highness' telegram of the 5th instant, I hasten to inform you that I am, in fact, disposed to treat for peace with the Sublime Porte on the bases of the

status quo ante bellum, with a modification of the line of the frontiers.

Your Highness speaks of former proposals made to the Sublime Porte relative to this latter point. Not having had the opportunity of formulating any demands, I presume that your Highness alludes to the projects formed at the preliminary Conference of the Sin Parses of Constanting and ference of the Six Powers at Constantinople.

Supposing such to be the case, I declare myself ready to enter at once on negotiations; but, to ensure their making good and rapid progress, I think it infinitely preferable that they should take place at Vienna through the medium of the Turkish

I await a favourable reply from your Highness, in order to delegate and dispatch a Delegate furnished with my powers.

No. 133.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

Cettigné, February 8, 1877. My Lord, PRINCE NICHOLAS left Cettigné this morning to join the Princess and his children.

at the country residence at Onaluka. His Highness intends returning on the 12th.

Before his departure he arranged that his cousin, M. Bojo Petrovich, the President of the Senate, should go to Vienna to negotiate as soon as news should be received that the Porte consented to treat there.

Colonel Thömmel is the only foreign Agent here besides myself, Russia being represented by a young Secretary. The French Agent is at Scutari, and the German and Italian Agents are at Ragusa.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 134.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

Cettigné, February 8, 1877. My Lord, AZARIAN EFFENDI, Secretary to the Turkish Commander-in-chief in the Herzegovina, yesterday concluded a Convention with Prince Nicholas for the fresh pro-* Sic in the copy made by the Prince with his own hand.—E. M.

visioning of Nichsich. By this arrangement His Highness will himself send to the town 153,000 okes of provisions, the Turks in return undertaking to send, viâ Scutari, to Rieka, at the head of the lake, 1,200,000 okes for the use of the Montenegrins.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 135.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 9, 1877.

SINCE my arrival at Cettigné I have had repeated conversations with Prince Nicholas

respecting the possibility of his coming to terms with the Porte.

His Highness, who at first seemed disposed to show himself very unyielding, has ended by holding more moderate and conciliatory language. His first impulse was to send to the Porte a categorical statement of his fixed determination to listen to no propositions which did not contain as the minimum to be conceded to him all the territorial aggrandizement originally proposed at Constantinople by the Six Powers. He was, however, persuaded to delay his reply, and calm reflection induced him to agree to the despatch of a telegram in much more moderate terms. The text of this telegram is transmitted to your Lordship in my despatch of the 7th instant; and although, when His Highness read it to me before sending it, I still saw some objection to the wording, there had been so much delay and difficulty already in getting him to expunge the reference to the minimum, that I thought it as well to make no further remark.

The Prince is much puzzled at the meaning of the reported disgrace of Midhat Pasha, the news of which no one here has received officially, but which is understood to be true. His Highness has recurred again and again to the subject with me, and expressed great anxioty as to what this event may postered.

expressed great anxiety as to what this event may portend.

I have, &c. (Signé) El

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 136.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

Rome, February 13, 1877.

THE Circular of Prince Gortchakow was communicated to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 9th instant, and I hear from his Excellency that he informed the Russian Ambassador that he considered it more consistent with the position of Italy, and the conciliatory part she had taken throughout all these transactions, that the Italian Government should not be one of the first to reply to this communication. Italy desired the maintenance of the agreement which had been established between the Powers and the solution of the Eastern difficulty by pacific means. It would not behove her, therefore, to take any hasty step which might have the effect of thwarting the objects she had in

I conclude, therefore, that the Italian Government will not return any written reply to the Russian Circular until they have become acquainted with the replies which may be sent by the other Powers.

I have, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 137.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,
THE Duc Decazes came to see me this morning, and said that the Russian Circular of the 19th January had been already for some time past in the hands of the several Governments, and that the answers to it could hardly be postpoped indefinitely

several Governments, and that the answers to it could hardly be postponed indefinitely.

I observed that the circumstances under which the Circular had been communicated to the Governments had been in some measure altered by the fall of Midhat Pasha, and

that it would be well to wait to see what effect the change of Government at Constantinople might have with regard both to the administrative reforms and to the

negotiations for peace with Servia and Montenegro.

The Duc Decazes answered that this change might in fact be a reason for further consideration, and that as Parliament had only just met in England, Her Majesty's Government might wish to test the feeling of the two Houses on the Eastern question before taking any further steps. Still courtesy to Russia would make it inexpedient that her communication should remain too long without an answer.

I said that your Lordship had guarded against any susceptibility on the part of the Russian Government by expressing in a friendly message the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to meet the views of the Emperor Alexander in a cordial and conciliatory spirit, and by explaining the advantage of waiting until the results of the

change of administration at the Porte should have developed themselves.

The Duc Decazes said that for his own part he did not think that the question of answering the Circular was so pressing, that a day or two sooner or later much signified; but that we must not forget that the armistice was drawing to a close. The Porte had not yet made peace with Servia, and with Montenegro, even the preliminary question as to the place at which the negotiations were to be pursued did not seem to be settled. Now if the 1st of March found the Porte still at war with the two Principalities, Russia might very well turn to the Powers of Europe, and after pointing out that she had warned them that nothing to forward their benevolent objects would be done by the Porte if left to itself, might declare that, for her own part, she could not stand quietly by and see a fresh attack on the the Principalities, and the bloodshed and misery which would be the consequence.

I said that it was impossible to be more alive than Her Majesty's Government were to the extreme importance of a speedy arrangement between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro, and that no effort had been spared by them to hasten the conclusion of a

peace between them.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 138.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, February 17, 1877, 5·15 p.m.
THE following telegram has been received from Mr. Monson:—

[See No. 129.]

I have to instruct you to use your good offices towards bringing about an agreement between the Porte and Montenegro.

No. 139.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 17, 5.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 17, 1877, 1.40 P.M.
THE Prince of Montenegro's acceptance of Constantinople as the place of negotiation was received last night. Grand Vizier looks upon this concession of His Highness as a consequence of the representations of Her Majesty's Government, and desires me to convey his sincere thanks to your Lordship.

No. 140.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.*

Foreign Office, February 17, 1877.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction from your telegraphic reports of yesterday, that the Prince of Montenegro has consented to negotiate at Constantinople, and will send his delegates there at once. It is satisfactory also to learn that His Highness has been greatly influenced in taking this decision, by his desire to comply with the wishes

^{*} Substance telegraphed.

of Her Majesty's Government, and you are authorized to state to him that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople has been instructed to use his good offices to promote an understanding between Montenegro and the Porte.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 141.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(Extract.) Foreign Office, February 17, 1877.

THE German Ambassador told me this afternoon that Prince Bismarck was of opinion that the time had not yet arrived to answer the Circular of Prince Gortchakow in regard to Turkey. Prince Bismarck had informed the Russian Government that this was his view, and the latter had apparently made no objection.

No. 142.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir, Foreign Office, February 18, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 13th instant, reporting the statements made to you by the Grand Vizier as to the reforms which the Porte are undertaking, or prepared to undertake, for the relief of the populations of the disturbed provinces. I regret to state that the answer of the Grand Vizier on this subject is far from being satisfactory, or such as Her Majesty's Government had hoped to receive.

Her Majesty's Government would have wished to hear, and to be enabled to repeat, that the Porte is now of its own accord proceeding to carry into execution the measures

proposed by the Powers in Conference, at least in their substantial features.

If an announcement to this effect could be made in reply to the Circular of Prince Gortchakow, it might go far to avert the danger of hostilities on the part of Russia, which will otherwise become imminent as soon as the weather admits of military movements. But in the statement made to you, and in another telegram communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador, no mention is made of the proposals brought forward in the Conference by the Representatives of the Six Powers, nor of those guarantees which were considered by them of the greatest importance for the good government of the provinces.

There is nothing said, for instance, of any security against the arbitrary removal of the Valis, of a control by the Provincial Assemblies over the disposal of a portion, at least, of the direct taxation, or of the proportion in which Christians shall be admitted to

the police.

Even the reforms promised are limited by modifying phrases. It is unfortunate that the prohibition of colonization by Circassians should be restricted by the words "in large numbers," or "in mass." Such a proviso may be so construed as to render the prohibition nugatory, for colonies can be planted by instalments.

A general amnesty, again, if indiscriminately applied, would include those guilty of the atrocities committed in Bulgaria. Such a measure would be worse than nothing. Her Majesty's Government can, however, see no reason why the mass of prisoners, accused merely of participation in the insurrectionary movement, should not at once be released

As regards the Commission of Control, which is to supervise the execution of the reforms, it is impossible to form an opinion until its constitution is known. The Grand Vizier will remember that at the last sitting of the Conference the Turkish Plenipotentiaries offered that the Commission should be elective.

I have to instruct you to press these considerations strongly upon the Porte; and you should endeavour to obtain some more satisfactory explanations as to what is in contemplation or in course of execution, and some assurances with regard to the nature of the measures which will be proposed to the Chamber of Deputies.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 143.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE communicated to the Prince the substance of your telegram of yesterday,* and he is much gratified at the manner in which Her Majesty's Government have received his request. His Highness has received this day from Prince Gortchakow a telegram congratulating him upon his decision, and wishing success to the negotiations between Montenegro and the Porte.

No. 144.

Acting Consul Barker to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, Canea, Crete, February 5, 1877.

AS Mr. Sandwith's leave expires on the 21st of this month, and he is about to return here, I think it my duty before leaving Crete, to report to your Lordship, as succinctly as possible, the information I have obtained on the actual political state of the island.

The Christians, who form the great majority in the rural and mountainous districts, are extremely discontented, although their condition is infinitely better than that of any other subjects of the Porte elsewhere; but the fact is that under any Turkish rule they can never hope to see any move towards progress, because, as long as the state of political uncertainty and agitation exists (and it must exist as long as Turks are masters), the rural population of Crete, both Christian and Mahommedan, will not cultivate, will not plant, nor improve the country in any way, fearing to lose the fruits of their labour by constantly recurring insurrections. Canea, Rethymno, and Candia, the only towns Crete possesses, are in a more miserable state than they were in the time of the Venetians, more than two centuries ago! Almost every article of consumption, such as flour for bread, meat, rice, &c., is imported. Even potatoes come from Marseilles and Trieste.

The only important article of export is oil. The olive is easily gathered by women and children, easily pressed, and put into skins. Repeated revolutions, which have ruined the island, destroyed whole villages and almost everything else, have not been able to destroy the olive tree, which is very hard wood to cut down, uproot, or burn; therefore, favoured by a mild climate, it has resisted and survived, and generation after generation vegetate on its produce; live from hand to mouth, cultivate of the land only what is absolutely necessary for individual subsistence, and exist in poverty and misery.

The Mahommedans, who form the majority in the three small towns, are quite determined to maintain their supremacy, and any unforeseen event may, from one moment to another, fan a flame ever ready to break out: 10,000 or 12,000 men, which form, at present, the garrison of the island, would go but a very little way in repressing an insurrection, supported by external aid. In 1866-67 the Government had from 50,000 to 60,000 men; but this force did not prevent the insurrection from gaining ground, and continuing three years. It is true the "block-houses" had not then been built, but these must be garrisoned and defended.

Under the above-mentioned circumstances, no "Organic Law" can ever benefit Crete; its case is hopeless. The Christians look wistfully towards Greece, hear of its free institutions, which look hopefully at a distance, and feel that, as long as they remain under Turkish rule, all hope of progress is for ever denied them.

To live without hope is a desperate state of existence; and that is why the Christians are very loth to work, but show great alacrity to take up arms, and an insurrection may be expected at any moment. Indeed, it forms a very general and constant topic of conversation and speculation.

On the other hand, it is a matter of surprise to every one that the Porte should so obstinately persist in keeping an island which must always be a source of enormous expense, and from which it can never hope to extract any revenue, for the reasons given above—a possession to which a large garrison of military must constantly be sent, and maintained by stores, and money imported into the island, for the receipts cover but a very small portion of the expenditure, since the Government here is always some millions of piastres in debt, until money arrives from Constantinople, which liquidates only a small part of its liabilities.

The 40,000 or 50,000 Mahommedans in Crete could easily be protected by Treaty,

but the greater part would, no doubt, return to Christianity, if Crete changed masters. Cretan Mahommedans all speak Greek, know not a word of Turkish, and religion among a great number has always been more a political advantage than a conscientious conviction, and it is the fear of losing their "vested interests" which creates the bitterest animosity against the Christians; so much so that the Europeans live in fear of their lives, knowing, from the constant threats of murder they hear uttered, that a war of extermination on the part of the Mahommedans will ensue on an insurrection breaking out.

The presence of men-of-war would then become absolutely necessary to protect them

from the fury and violence of the mob in the towns.

Our new Governor-General, Moukhtar Pasha, is expected to arrive to-day, and Réouf Pasha is anxious to get away. His Excellency has assured me that he will resign if the Porte insists on his remaining here.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

No. 145.

Vice-Consul C. Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 19.)

(Extract.) Rhodes, February 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Mutessarif of Rhodes, Aziz Pasha, has received yesterday a telegram from Constantinople, announcing him that the seat of the Vilayet of the Turkish Islands of the Archipelago has been transferred to Rhodes, and that Sawas Pasha has been appointed as Valy, having under his jurisdiction all the islands of the Ottoman Archipelago, Scio, Mytilene, and Cyprus included.

In the actual state of things, the nomination of a Christian Pasha as Valy of the islands of the Archipelago where, at least, the nine-tenths of the inhabitants are

Christians, must be considered as a very wise measure.

No. 146.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, St. Petersburgh, February 12, 1877.

AT an interview I had to-day with Prince Gortchakow, his Highness informed me that he had received satisfactory information in regard to the peace negotiations between Turkey and Servia.

There were two points on which a difficulty had arisen, viz., the reception by the Servian Government of a Turkish Agent to reside at Belgrade, and the demand of the

Porte in regard to equality of rights for the Jews.

His Highness observed, that as regarded the former, he thought an amicable arrangement would be effected, as the Servian Government could not refuse to Turkey what was given to the European Powers.

With reference to the demand for equality of rights for the Jews, Prince Gortchakow considered that it was a question of internal government and a contravention of

the status quo ante, which was the basis on which peace was to be concluded.

His Highness expressed his opinion that these difficulties would be arranged, and his desire for a successful issue to these negotiations, stating at the same time that although the Imperial Government had no objection to the conclusion of a direct peace between the Porte, Servia and Montenegro, he could assume no responsibility in advising as to the terms to be agreed upon.

In referring to the question of the Jews, Prince Gortchakow observed that it affected Roumania more than Servia, the Jewish population in Servia being far inferior

in number to that of Roumania.

I have, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 147.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 19.)

I TOLD Herr von Bülow, in regard to the Russian Circular of the 19th ultimo, that as circumstances had changed since it was written, Her Majesty's Government, after careful consideration, and with the earnest desire to meet the views of the Czar in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, had determined to defer their reply until it was seen what the effect would be of the change of Government at Constantinople, both with reference to the administration of reforms and the negotiations for peace between the Porte, Montenegro, and Servia.

Herr von Bülow, in thanking your Lordship for this communication, said that Germany could not follow a better example, and for the very same reasons as those that

influenced Her Majesty's Government.

The answer to the Russian Circular must necessarily be deferred until the result of the negotiations between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, and the working of the new Constitution, could be known.

The news from Constantinople and Belgrade was favourable to peace, whilst Montenegro seemed less willing to treat than Servia, but there was every reason to hope that they would come to an understanding before the expiration of the armistice.

I have, &c. (Signed)

ODO RUSSELL

No. 148.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 19.)

(Extract.) St. Petersburgh, February 13, 1877.

AT my interview with Prince Gortchakow on the 11th instant, his Highness, in reply to my inquiry, stated that he had not yet received any reply to his Circular despatch, nor did he appear to expect that an immediate answer would, or could, be given by the several Governments to whom it had been addressed.

No 149.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 19, 4.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, February 19, 1877, 2 P.M.

M. CHRISTICS, whom I have seen to-day, is sanguine of being able to come to an agreement.

The question of the position of Jews in Servia is, he says, practically settled;

Turkish Government having agreed that it should form subject of legislation.

He said that his Government, although willing if necessary to accede to mission of Turkish Agent, was especially anxious that this concession should not be recorded in the instrument drawn up at the conclusion of peace.

Would your Lordship authorize me to speak to Grand Vizier in support of the Commission for the Drina frontier? M. Christics is anxious that I should do so.

No. 150.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 19, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me and repeated to me the substance of the communications which had lately reached him from Prince Gortchakow, which were to the following effect:—

In the midst of all the changes at Constantinople, Prince Gortchakow says the Emperor of Russia continues to pursue the same object, though the means by which it is sought to attain it may vary according to circumstances.

The object in question is that which all Europe has in view—the conclusion of peace [376]

between Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro, and the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey on the bases already indicated by the Powers. Emperor has always declared that his endeavours for this solution were made in concert with other Powers, and that unless this concert failed him he would not take isolated

In Prince Gortchakow's opinion a great danger will be averted if peace is concluded between Turkey and the Principalities. If further Edhem Pasha executes measures of real improvement in the position of the Christian subjects of Turkey, His Highness has no doubt the Emperor would take this result into consideration; but for this purpose it is necessary that there should be action, a beginning of something done, and not words

It remains then to be seen, Prince Gortchakow continues, whether the ulterior action

of Russia is to be collective or isolated.

The Cabinets of Europe must decide that question. If the Governments of the other Powers answer that the Conference having failed, they will in future pursue a policy of abstention, that will be taken by the Russian Government as an indication that Russia must act for herself.

If the Powers, on the other hand, reply that they still maintain their requirements as to the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey, and that the unanimous wish of Europe in this respect must be ("doit être") respected by Turkey, that principle having once been laid down, namely, that Europe does not abandon the future of the populations in question, nothing prevents the continuance of Russia in the prosecution of this object by collective action.

On making this communication to me, Count Schouvaloff repeated to me again an assurance of the sincere desire of the Emperor Alexander to arrive at a pacific solution.

I am, &c. DERBY.

(Signed)

No. 151.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Erzeroom, January 16, 1877. My Lord, A REPORT is current in this town that the battalion of Erzeroom Rediffs lately arrived from Servia had conspired to set fire to the bazaars here, and that Sameh Pasha,

having discovered the intention, sent the battalion immediately to Beyazid.

I called on his Excellency yesterday, and asked him if this was true. that he did not believe it was, as he had not received any information on the subject; but, at the same time, he could not assert it was false, as it was an accusation which perpetration alone could verify. The battalion, however, he added, having proved insubordinate and dangerous, he had removed it to Beyazid to prevent mischief.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 152.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Erzeroom, January 16, 1877. My Lord, ORDERS have been received here to raise immediately, by a forced tax of 10 piastres per man on the people of this province, the sum of 6,600,000 piastres.

The Government, while making it appear on paper that children under fifteen years of age are to be exempt from the contribution, in reality lay the tax on all, and while declaring that deductions must be made from the register of population for absentees and diminution through death, direct that the entire sum must be realized.

The population is calculated at 660,000; from these one-fourth are to be deducted as being under fifteen years of age, and of the remainder, one-third, on the supposition that they are well off, are to pay 20 piastres per person. Thus:-

• •	• •	• •		660,000
• •	••	• •	• •	165,000
• •		••		495,000
• •		• •	• •	165,000
	••			

330,000

Piastres. 3,300,000 Therefore, 330,000 to pay 10 piastres each 3,300,000 165,000 to pay 20 piastres each And 6,600,000

or 10 piastres per male on the entire population.

Thus the tax is calculated, not on a certain portion of the population, but at 10 piastres on the whole male population, and the reduction of one-fourth as being under paying age would mislead those who do not care to examine closely or who are unable to calculate.

If time is given to the Government to collect this tax it will certainly be forced from the people; but as it will take some time to collect, it remains to be seen whether the Government will be in power long enough to get the whole amount.

The money will be devoted to the expenses of the 4th Army Corps.

I have, &c.

JAS. ZOHRAB. (Signed)

No. 153.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Bosna-Seraï, February 6, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Herzegovina, which in January 1876 was made a separate vilayet, has again been reduced to a sandjak, and annexed, as formerly, to the Vilayet of Bosnia; and the Sandjak of Gatzko, in the former province, which was governed by the Christian Mutessarif or Vice-Governor, Constant Pasha, has been reduced to a simple kaza.

Mustafa Pasha, Mutessarif of the Sandjak of Svornik, has been named in the same capacity, but with increased rank, to the Herzegovina; and Constant Pasha has been

appointed "Mustechar," or adviser to the Vali of Bosnia.

The Sandjak of Novi-Bazar has been detached from this vilayet, and now forms part of the new Vilayet of Kossovo, which also comprises the Sandjaks of Prisrend, Uskup, Nish, Sheherkeui, and Pristina, and therefore includes the greater part of what is generally known as old Servia. The seat of Government of this vilayet will be at Nish, and Kiamil Pasha, formerly Mutessarif of Beyrout, has been raised to the rank of Vizir and appointed to be the Governor-General.

I have, &c. EDWD. B. FREEMAN. (Signed)

No. 154.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Bosna-Seraï, February 8, 1877. (Extract.) I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Deputies to the National Assembly have been finally elected in this province and will start for Constantinople towards the end of the present month.

Bosnia will be represented by three Mussulmans: Mustafa Bey, Fehmi Effendi, and Murad Bey; one Orthodox Christian, Petrarki Effendi; one Catholic, Tozo Marushich,

and one Jew, Yaver Effendi.

These Deputies have been elected by the members of the "Idareh Medjlissleri," or Administrative Councils of the various "kazas," or districts of the province—some thirty-Each Council consists of three or four members, of which two are five in number. always Mussulman, and one or two, as the case may be, Christian. Every individual member had a right to vote for all six deputies, and sent to Serajevo in a sealed envelope a list of the persons to whom he accorded his vote. It can hardly be said to have been a popular election, as the electors were exclusively persons employed in the administration, and their votes were regulated by the wishes, I might almost say the instructions, of the local authorities. Such being the case, it seems a pity that the influence of the Government was not exerted to secure the election of liberal and independent men.

Deputies have also been elected in the Herzegovina, but I have not been able to

learn their names, and notwithstanding that province is no longer a vilayet, it is believed they will proceed to Constantinople, as otherwise a fresh election would be necessary throughout the Vilayet of Bosnia. The separation of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar from Bosnia will also, it is said, not invalidate the election of Murad Bey, a native of the chief town of that district.

No. 155.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, February 11, 1877. THE Grand Vizier told me yesterday that he had received a very favourable report from his Agent at Belgrade as to the conciliatory disposition displayed by Prince

Milan.

Judging from Pertew Effendi's statement, his Highness thought that the Servian Government would eventually accept the guarantees demanded by the Porte, and would consequently be disposed to send a delegate to Constantinople to treat for peace, which, he said, might be concluded three or four days after his arrival.

He, therefore, saw no necessity for extending to Pertew Effendi powers beyond those

which he already possessed.

With regard to Montenegro, things, he feared, were not so satisfactory.

Prince Nicholas appeared less disposed to send a delegate here to treat, and Edhem Pasha did not conceal his conviction that the success of any negotiations carried on at Vienna would be endangered by the pernicious influence likely to be brought against them through the Slav agencies at work in that capital.

Besides if, as seemed probable, the Prince considered it beneath his dignity to treat

at Constantinople, the Porte might, on the same ground, refuse to do so at Vienna.

I asked his Highness what were his intentions as to the cession of territory to be made to Montenegro, and he replied that on the southern or Albanian frontier no modification could take place, as a contrary course would be fatal to the maintenance of the Porte's authority among the Mirdites and other mountain tribes in that direction.

Along the northern boundary he would be willing to agree to a rectification, but to

what extent he was not yet prepared to say.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 156.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, February 12, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of despatches, which I have received from Mr. Baring respecting the sentences passed on Metto Bektash and Fetha, the public trial and subsequent acquittal of Tossoun Bey, and some further outrages committed in Bulgaria.

By my telegram of the 7th instant, I informed your Lordship that I had instructed Mr. Baring to withdraw from the Commission and return here.

He arrived here yesterday.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 156.

Mr. Baring to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Philippopolis, January 25, 1877. THE public trial of Tossoun Bey, and of the other prisoners charged with being implicated in the destruction of Dervent, was commenced on the 20th instant and was brought to a close on the 24th.

Besides Tossoun Bey eight men are in custody, viz., Halim Pehliwan, Deli Hussein, Hadji Misirli, Hadji Veli, Ismail Beuluk Bachi, and Murtaza Tchaoush.

Ismail Beuluk Bachi was absent from the trial through illness.

The defence was conducted by Ali Effendi, who had previously defended Achmet Agha and others.

The whole of Saturday, the 20th instant, was occupied in the reading of the "Fesleke;" and on Monday, the 22nd, Ali Effendi was called upon to make his defence.

He commenced by saying, that certain expressions used in the "Fesleke," such as, "Dervent was destroyed on Monday," "The Bashi-Bazouks surrounded Dervent," &c., were quite incorrect, as Tossoun Bey and his men had never gone further than the fortifications, which lay some distance from the village. In his opinion the "Fesleke" contained no charge against Tossoun Bey, and, therefore, no defence was necessary.

The President replied, that it was Ali Effendi's duty as counsel for the defence to account for his client's movements from the time of his arrival at Dervent to the time of his return to Karlowo, and to give some explanation about the document (mentioned in my despatch of November 12th), which appear to have been drawn up after and not before the destruction of Dervent.

Ali Effendi said that this document had been given to Tossoun Bey at Rahmanli, a Turkish village, not far from Dervent.

Tossoun Bey himself supported this statement, and added, that when the paper was brought to him he at first refused to accept it, as some of the village seals had not been affixed to it; but that he subsequently took it, as the villagers promised to seal it later on.

This paper, which is supposed to relieve Tossoun Bey of all responsibility, is drawn up in the most flowery language, and would be utterly incomprehensible to people like the villagers of Rahmanli, and it is in all probability the production of some well educated man of Karlowo, who drew it up after Dervent was destroyed, and when Tossoun Bey was beginning to get afraid of the consequences of his acts.

The President observed that all the information received by the Commission tended to prove that Dervent had been burnt and pillaged, and that some 250 people had been killed by the Bashi-Bazouks under Tossoun Bey, and that some gipsies, who had been imprisoned by the Bulgarian insurgents, had deposed to having been released by these Bashi-Bazouks; how could any one therefore argue that Tossoun and his men had never been to the village?

To this Ali Effendi replied that perhaps some other band of Bashi-Bazouks had destroyed the place, and he then asked that the trial might be postponed to give him time to consult with his client about certain points.

At first the President objected to this, and told Ali Effendi that he had neglected his duties to the Court and to his client in not properly preparing his defence, and that his only object was to waste time; eventually, however, his Excellency gave way, and the case was adjourned to the following day, the 23rd instant, when Ali Effendi asked that it might again be put off till the morrow, as he had only got a copy of the document mentioned above some two hours before.

The President very rightly refused this request, as Ali Effendi has had a month to prepare his defence, during which time he has had free access to all the documents connected with the case.

Ali Effendi consequently commenced his defence and used the same arguments which he had brought forward the day before. As regards the smoke which some of the prisoners admitted they had seen rising from the village, he said that as it was raining hard, it was probably only mountain mist that they had seen.

The imprisoned gipsies had probably been rescued by others of their race, and the village had most likely been burnt by the insurgents, who had acted as they had done at Zindjirli and Avrat Alan.

It is worth remarking that at the latter place not a single house had been burnt.

As Ali Effendi demanded that all the depositions of the gipsies should be read once more, the trial had to be postponed till the following day, the 24th instant.

Ali Effendi then stated that Tossoun Bey had merely gone as far as the fortifications with a few men to see what was going on, that the insurgents fired on them, upon which they hid in a hollow. The other Bashi-Bazouks hearing the firing came to the aid of their comrades and a fight ensued, which resulted in the insurgents being driven from their fortifications.

All the prisoners positively declared that they carried no arms.

Ali Effendi ended his defence by saying that Tossoun Bey had been brought under an armed escort to Philippopolis, and that this had frightened and confused him, consequently he denied the accuracy of everything he had stated in his depositions.

The proceedings then terminated.

Ikiades Effendi has not yet returned here, as for several days past all communication with Adrianople has been suspended owing to an interruption on the railway, caused by the heavy snows. I trust, however, that he will be back in time to take part in the deliberations on Tossoun Bey's case.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 156.

Mr. Baring to Mr. Jocelyn.

...

Sir, Philibé, January 28, 1877. WITH reference to my telegram of this day's date, I have the honour to report that

the case of Metto Bektash was brought to a close yesterday.

In my despatch to Sir H. Elliot of the 19th instant, I gave an account of the evidence of certain Batak women against the prisoner, and stated that Pertev Effendi

was still of opinion that his guilt was not satisfactorily proved.

After Tossoun Bey's public trial was brought to a close on the 24th instant, the Commission proceeded to discuss Metto's case, and the depositions of the women mentioned above were read over, the important points of which I have already reported. I should, however, add that a woman named Zrapha deposed to having seen Metto butchering people on the Sunday in front of the Tchorbaji Triandophilos house, and she gave the names of twenty-six men who were then butchered before her eyes.

Another women named Fota deposed to having seen Metto with his bloody

apron on.

Serafin Georgio Oghlou Velo deposed to having seen Metto among the Bashi-Bazouks who were murdering people outside the church. This witness had given his evidence very unwillingly, and begged not to be asked about Metto, as he feared the vengeance

of the Mussulman villagers.

The President remarked that, on the whole, there were very few discrepancies in the evidence, as all the witnesses agreed about the main facts of the case; he also pointed out that the prisoner bore an indifferent character, as not a single soul had come forward to speak a good word for him, as had been the case with Alish Pehlivan and others.

Abro Effendi observed that the prisoner's guilt was so evident that he considered

further discussion unnecessary.

The President remarked, on the absence of all tendency on the part of the witnesses to aggravate the crimes of the prisoners, Metto was the only one against whom they had brought actual charges of murder, though it would have been easy for them to have accused Achmet Agha and others of having killed with their own hands.

Salim Effendi and Pertev Effendi still dwelt upon the discrepancies in the evidence, and the latter said that the story of Metto's having appeared before the women at the "Beylik Harman" with his bloody sword in his hand, was, in the last degree, improbable; he added that, looking to the gravity of the charges against the prisoner, the Commission should take ample time for reflection before passing sentence.

The discussion was consequently adjourned till the following day, but had to be again postponed till yesterday, on account of Pertev Effendi being occupied with other

business.

On the 27th instant, therefore, the discussion was resumed, and a long paper was read which Pertev Effendi had drawn up, and which was supposed to be a summary of the evidence, but which bore far more resemblance to the statement of an advocate for the defence than to the summing up of a judge. After the reading of this paper, he added that, though there was no doubt that the prisoner had killed people, it remained to be proved whether he had done so after the fighting was over.

The President and Yovantcho Effendi said that even if it were admitted, for the sake of argument, that there had been fighting on Sunday, it could not for a moment be said that there had been any on Monday, for on that day the Bashi-Bazouks had taken the women outside the village, which they could not have done if the villagers had still

been offering resistance.

Pertev Effendi remarked upon the different nature of the facts spoken to by the witnesses, some having spoken of the apron, some of the bloody sword; some of the massacre near the school; and others of that outside the village, the real truth being

that each of the witnesses had spoken of what had come under his or her individual notice.

As the President, however, insisted that the prisoner's guilt could not be doubted, Pertev Effendi eventually signified his agreement with his colleagues, and Metto Bektash was unanimously condemned to death, the sentence running as follows:-

"As it results from investigation that Metto Bektash Achmet, of Rakitovo, with malice prépense murdered men of Batak after the arms had been surrendered, he is condemned to death under Article 170 of the Penal Code."

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 156.

Mr. Baring to Mr. Jocelyn.

Philippopolis, January 28, 1877. Sir, FETHA, of Firgovo, of whom I have spoken in my despatches to Sir Henry Elliot

of the 15th and 26th ultimo, and 19th instant, was publicly tried on the 26th instant.

The depositions were read, the first being that of Sofia Vrankovitza, who had deposed that the prisoner had tied the arms of Tchorbadji Triandaphil, as described in my despatch of the 26th ultimo. The prisoner had also gone to her house with Mollah

Ali, the son of Achmet Agha, and a short pehlivan (wrestler) of Baratoun, and had robbed her of everything she had, Fetha taking a horse with him.

While they were searching her one of her children cried, upon which the "pehlivan" of Baratoun drew his knife and killed it. Unfortunately, she does not know this man's name. A zaptieh named Halim was arrested on suspicion, but on being confronted with

him she was unable to recognize him.

The Commission which was sent to the different Turkish villages to discover cattle and other property taken from Batak when at Nevrocop, found that a horse belonging to Vranko, the husband of Sofia, had been sold by Fetha to a man named Stoyo at Kotchan.

The prisoner's defence was a total denial of everything. He had not been to Batak for three years; he had not been to Kotchan for a year; he did not know Stoyo, and he had never sold a horse. When recognized by Ismail Effendi, a member of the Commission above mentioned, and by a zaptieh, he denied ever having seen either of them. He was a poor innocent man, who had never injured anybody, or, as he expressed it, "he had never thrown a stone at any one's hen."

Yesterday, after passing sentence on Metto Bektash, the Commission proceeded to discuss Fetha's case, and, after deliberating a short time, sentenced him to eight years' hard labour for robbery with violence.

It was impossible to convict him for his share in the murder of Triandaphil, as the

charge was not substantiated.

The deliberations on Tossoun Bey's case commence to-morrow. Postal communication with Constantinople is still interrupted.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 156.

Mr. Baring to Mr. Jocelyn.

Philippopolis, February 4, 1877. Sir,

MY time has been of late so fully occupied in reporting the proceedings of the Special Commission, with regard to the trials of the Bashi-Bazouks, that I have been unable to address any despatches to Her Majesty's Embassy on the subject of the general state of this province.

I regret to say that public security is still in a most lamentable condition, and though there are occasional lulls in Turkish ferocity and fanaticism, still the deeds of violence which are constantly being perpetrated prove that the lives and property of Christians are not much safer than they were in May last.

To prove my assertion, I will cite some of the worst cases which have been brought

to my notice. [376]

On the 18th ultimo, Pope Bortcho, while engaged in the religious ceremony of blessing the houses in the village of Strelja, was set upon by four Turks, viz.: Hadji Ibrahim Oghlou Suleiman, Tatar Muhterim, Hadji Oghlou Mehmed, and Zenel Oghlou Suleiman, and so fearfully beaten that he died at Otlou-Keui on the 26th ultimo.

Ibrahim Oghlou Suleiman and another Turk have been arrested, and I am using my endeavours to get the case tried here before the Commission, instead of at Tatar-Bazardjik, for at the latter place the Christian witnesses would be intimidated, and the

prisoners acquitted.

When the Commission visited Peshtera last September, I informed Saadoulah Bey that this same Ibrahim had murdered a man named Nenko Tartaroff at Strelja. His Excellency promised to have the matter inquired into, but still four months after Suleiman is able to murder another perfectly inoffensive Christian.

On the 24th ultimo, Stoiko Oghlou Stephan, a "baccal," at Bellova, was murdered

by a zaptieh named Djurji Oghlou Ismail, who is still at large.

On the 30th ultimo, at Yourtdjou, in the Nahié of Konousch, Osman Oghlou Yahoub and his brother Mehemet went to the house of one Kolis Oghlou Anastus, and asked for the loan of a sledge. On the latter replying that he wanted it himself, he was attacked by the Turks, and severely wounded with knives.

At Paparli, a short time ago, two Turks went to a Bulgarian wedding, and, without the smallest provocation, severely wounded a Christian. The malefactors are known, and orders have been sent for their arrest, but I have not yet heard whether they have been carried out or not.

At the beginning of last month two Bulgarian Catholics were killed, and two others wounded in the streets of this town by Turks.

A few days ago, a tchaoush of zaptiehs, in the presence of a Yuzbashi, beat a Chris-

tian in open day in Philippopolis.

It is a fact worthy of notice that the police, who, in most countries, are usually supposed to be the guardians of the public peace, in this province commit every act of outrage on the inhabitants, and are usually quite as much dreaded as an organized band of brigands would be.

When one brings these outrages to the notice of the authorities, they express regret, promise inquiry, and add that, after all, they are isolated acts which may happen in all countries.

The answer to this last statement is, of course, but too obvious. Crimes of violence may, indeed, happen everywhere, and perhaps there may be more assaults in the streets of London in a night than in those of Philippopolis in a week, but in these provinces we see a state of things which is unknown to other lands. In 99 cases out of 100, the murderer or robber belongs to one class, while the victims belong to another. The former is sure to be a Mussulman, the latter a Christian. There is no reciprocity in crime, if I may be allowed to use the expression.

It is only fair to state that the perpetrators of most of the crimes I have mentioned have been arrested, but what happens then. The case is tried before the local tribunal, which allows it to drag on for months, thus giving ample time for the friends and relations of the accused to intimidate the witnesses, who also are wearied out by the length of the so-called inquiry, and often give up prosecuting in order to return to their occuputions.

In my despatch to Sir Henry Elliot of December 11th, I mentioned the case of a zaptieh who had wounded an old man at Palanko. This case, which might have been

decided in a few days, is still being "inquired into."

It would not be right of course to blame the Commission for the acts of the local authorities, and it cannot be expected to try every case which comes under its notice, as its time is occupied with other matters; but I cannot help thinking that if Saadoulah Bey was to show a little more severity and to issue a somewhat more peremptory order, it would have the effect of rousing the Mutessarif and the Temyiz i Hukkuh from their present lethargy.

Opinions here differ vastly respecting the character of the Mutessarif, some of the Christians to whom I have spoken about him declaring that they are satisfied with him,

while others assert quite the contrary.

My own opinion of this functionary is that he is totally wanting in energy, and is rather too fond of shutting his eyes to the real state of things in this province. He is, moreover, much influenced by some resident Mussulmans whose hostility to the Christians is a matter of notoriety.

Another officer whose removal would be beneficial to the public, is the chief of the police, who, since I have been here, has given repeated proofs of utter incapacity.

I have mentioned in a previous despatch that attempts were being made to get the Bulgarians to join in signing an address to the Grand Vizier, thanking his Highness for

the promulgation of the Constitution, &c.

A meeting was held some time ago at the house of Hadji Ismail Bey, one of the leading Turks of this town, at which Mussulmans, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians and Jews were all supposed to fraternize. Many Turks and very few Christians attended, and I am told that the proceedings were simply farcical. After much discussion some of the Bulgarian notables have now signed the address, but the bishop has refused to do so.

The original idea was that the address should be sent to Constantinople while the Conference was sitting, in order to strengthen the hands of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, but I am assured that had it been then remitted to the capital, a counter address, numerously signed, would have been forwarded to the European Delegates by the

Bulgarians.

As the Conference has now come to an end the address has really no importance, and the Bulgarians have perhaps done well to sign it; but I do not suppose that any one will look upon it as a faithful expression of their feelings.

When ready some of the leading Turks are to take the address to Constantinople, but no Christian is to accompany them, and the Greeks, who quite rightly look upon

this as a slight, have as yet refused to sign.

One of the bearers of this address is Hodjazadi Mehemet Effendi, whose bad

reputation I have mentioned in my previous despatches to Sir Henry Elliot.

Ali Bey, the notable of Bazardjik, of whom I have also frequently had occasion to speak, died suddenly a few days ago, to the undisguised joy of every Christian in the place.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 5 in No. 156.

Mr. Baring to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Philippopolis, February 7, 1877.

I HAD the honour to inform you yesterday by telegraph that the deliberations on the case of Tossoun Bey had ended in his acquittal. I will now endeavour to lay before you some account of the discussions which led to this undesirable result, and which commenced on Monday, 21st ultimes

menced on Monday, 31st ultimo.

The President opened the discussion by giving a brief account of how the Bulgarians of Derbend had been instigated by the leaders of the insurrection to revolt, adding that the village was plundered and burnt, and a certain number of people killed, though it was difficult to say exactly how many; it would also not be easy to determine who actually set fire to the place.

Ikiades Effendi said that Tossoun Bey's plea, that he had merely gone to Derbend to parley with the insurgents, could not be accepted, as the "Sened" he had received, whether it was given to him before or after the destruction of the village, showed plainly

that he had some other object in view.

Yovantchow Effendi said that, though perhaps some of the Bashi-Bazouks had returned to their homes after the insurgents had been driven from the fortifications, others had undoubtedly entered the village, and had committed the crimes the Commission was called upon to judge.

Abron Effendi was of opinion that the Commission should first determine whether crimes had ever really been committed, and also whether there had been any fighting inside the village; but the President replied that all the fighting had taken place at the fortifications.

Pertev Effendi then read some depositions of Bulgarians, examined by Salim Effendi's Commission, who had stated that the insurgents of Avrat Allan had murdered the gipsies at that place, on hearing from the refugees from Derbend that their village had been burnt by other gipsies.

Ikiades Effendi remarked that the villagers of Derbend themselves would never have set fire to their houses, as, when they fled, they left a considerable number of old men, women, and children behind them. Neither could the gipsies have been the originators of the fire, as they had been imprisoned by the insurgents, and had only been released by the Bashi-Bazouks; and when they came out of their place of confinement, the village was already in flames. As regards the persons who had been killed, it was

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evident that they had met their death after the fighting was over, as even Tossoun Bey and those with him had declared that the fighting had only lasted half-an-hour, and they did not see a single corpse after the insurgents had fled from the fortifications. Besides, the corpses found in the village were those of old men, women, and children, who were incapable of bearing arms or of offering resistance.

The President replied that the evidence of the gipsies was not worthy of credence, and that they had very likely set fire to the village out of revenge for their imprisonment. He added that the fire may have originated in four different ways. It may have been caused by the villagers themselves, by the Bashi-Bazouks, by the gipsies, or it may

have been the result of an accident.

Yovantcho Effendi observed that it naturally originated with those men who, on the Tuesday morning, had arrived at Rahmanli with several cartloads of things taken from Derbend.

Pertev Effendi replied that some other band of Bashi-Bazouks might have gone from Rahmanli on the Tuesday, and that the persons who committed the pillage did not necessarily belong to Tossoun's band.

The sitting was then adjourned to the following day, the 1st instant. when the discussion respecting the origin of the fire was resumed, and much the same arguments

brought forward as had been made use of on the previous day.

Eventually it was agreed that it was impossible to decide how the village had taken fire, the President, Salim Effendi, Abro Effendi, and Pertev Effendi signing a decision, which ran as follows:-

"It is impossible to determine whether Derbend was burnt by the Revolutionary Committee of that place, by the gipsies, or by the Bashi Bazouks, or whether the fire was the result of accident."

Yovantcho Effendi and Ikiades Effendi signed a decision to the following effect:-"It is impossible to determine whether Derbend was burnt by accident or by the

malicious act of some evilly disposed person.'

The returns of the killed inside the village were then examined, and were found to give a total of fifty. Of these sixteen were old men past the age of 60; twelve males from 15 to 60 years of age; eleven women and eleven children.

This list does not include those who were killed in the neighbourhood of the village, nor those who are put down as "missing," but it shows clearly how utterly insignificant was the resistance of the insurgents, for nearly all those who perished were persons

incapable of offering resistance.

Some members of the Commission declared that men of over sixty were perfectly capable of bearing arms, but if this argument be admitted, it is but fair to consider that some of the twelve persons between 15 and 60 who were killed may have been invalids or cripples, and not able bodied men.

The next sitting was held on the 3rd instant, but little progress was made on

It was decided to send a telegram to Hafiz Pasha, who had gone to Derbend from Avrat-Allan, to ask him whether, on his arrival there, the village was partially or totally burnt.

The only remark worthy of note was one which fell from the President, who said that there was no doubt that the people killed at Derbend had not met their death at the hands of the Bulgarians, and moreover, that they had been murdered and not killed in fighting. The difficulty was to decide who had committed the crime, as there were no eye-witnesses to speak to it.

The Commission met again on Monday the 5th instant, and the President again remarked upon the difficulty of discovering the guilty, and proposed that they should

consider how far Tossoun Bey was implicated in the crimes committed.

Ikiades Effendi said that the question of the burning of the village need not be discussed any more, but as regards the massacre, he could not attribute it to the Bulgarians nor yet to the gipsies, for the latter had been disarmed when they were imprisoned. It must have taken place on the Monday, the day the village was attacked, as otherwise the victims would have found some means of escape.

Taking into consideration the evidence of the gipsies respecting the manner in which they had been released, and also the evidence of some witnesses who declared that they had seen some of Tossoun's men returning from Derbend with plunder, he could but be of opinion that on that day (Monday), some, or the greater part of the Bashi-Bazouks commanded by Tossoun Bey, had entered the village and committed the crimes in question.

Salim Effendi said this opinion was founded on probabilities only. The depositions of

certain witnesses were then read to the effect that they had seen the Bashi-Bazouks

returning with horses and waggons laden with stolen property.

A gipsy woman had deposed that when she was released from her captivity on the Monday, she saw some 25 or 30 men in turbans in the village of Derbend. Yovantcho Effendi observed that it would be better in the first place to determine whether the Bashi-Bazouks had committed pillage or not, as it would then be easy to fix the responsibility on the proper persons.

Ikiades Effendi said that it would appear strange to the world at large if a special Commission appointed by the Imperial Government to discover and punish the persons who had reduced one of the finest villages in the province to ashes, and had massacred a

number of the defenceless inhabitants, was unable to perform its task.

The President then proposed that the Commission should decide whether Tossoun Bey was responsible for having gone to Derbend to suppress the insurrection or not.

All the members answered in the negative, except Ikiades Effendi, who said that the prisoner was responsible for having gone to suppress the insurrection, and also for the excesses of his band. Being merely a private individual he had no right to take upon himself the duties of the Government unless expressly ordered to do so. He had stated that he had gone to Derbend merely to parley with the insurgents, and when the latter fired on his men he should have returned and reported the matter to the proper authorities. Tossoun Bey had acted in an utterly unjustifiable manner, and any tribunal in the world would be bound to punish him severely.

The President replied that Tossoun Bey had not gone to fight, but to parley with the insurgents, and on being fired on, had attacked them in self defence. Had it not been for the Bashi-Bazouks the insurrection would no doubt have spread over the whole country. He then proposed that the Commission should decide whether Tossoun Bey

was or was not responsible for the burning of the village.

Pertev Effendi said that question had already been disposed of.

Ikiades Effendi held that Tossoun was responsible for the burning of the village as well as for the other crimes.

Yovantcho Effendi observed that Tossoun's acts were justifiable up to the repulse of the insurgents. But he was responsible for all the excesses committed after that, because after the defeat and flight of the rebels it became his duty to protect the village. Abro Effendi dissented from this view, and said that as there had been no surrender of arms, Tossoun was not bound to take the village under his protection.

The sitting was then adjourned till the following day the 6th instant.

The President opened the proceedings by saying that there could be no doubt that Derbend had been pillaged by the Bashi-Bazouks, but that it was not probable that Tossoun Bey was responsible for it, as he had declared that he had returned to Karlovo on the Monday evening. As to the charge brought against him of having extorted money from the Tchorbaji, Hadji Yura of Sopat, it had not been sustained, the only witness being a gipsy woman who had contradicted her own evidence. Moreover, Hadji Yura himself had begged the Commission not to press the charge, saying that if it were regularly investigated he would himself deny it.

I was not aware that Hadji Yura had ever made this statement, but it is by no means improbable. When at Sopat I stayed two days in his house, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be induced to speak of what had happened in the spring, so fearful was he of the vengeance of Tossoun Bey. I was surprised, however, to hear Saadoulah Bey bring forward Hadji Yura's unwillingness to give evidence as a reason for not proceeding with a legal investigation.

Yovantcho Effendi repeated that Tossoun Bey was responsible for all crimes com-

mitted after the suppression of the revolt.

Albro Effendi held a contrary opinion, saying that the property of rebels was not entitled to protection, and Pertev Effendi supported his views.

The President also denied Tossoun Bey's responsibility.

Ikiades Effendi then made a powerful speech in favour of convicting the prisoner, repeating the arguments he had used at previous sittings, and ended by saying that the evidence was sufficient to convince him of Tossoun Bey's guilt, but if the other members still had doubts they should endeavour to collect fresh evidence.

Salim Effendi thought the evidence insufficient to convict Tossoun.

Pertev Effendi addressed the Commission at considerable length, and said that there was nothing to prove that the Bashi-Bazouks had burnt the village. As to the pillage, he was of opinion that the insurgents of Derbend had buried their property, as they had done in other places, for the insurrection was no sudden outbreak, but the result of carefully laid plans. He did not, however, state whether he thought the insurgents had

buried their live stock as well as their other property. Taking for granted, therefore, that the insurgents had concealed their goods, he said that it would have been impossible for the Bashi-Bazouks to have discovered it in one day (Monday), but that most probably it had been gradually carried off by other persons later on. He declared that it was not proved to his satisfaction that women and children had been murdered. If it was true that they had been killed they might perfectly have met their death while the fighting was going on, or, indeed, the insurgents might have killed them themselves, as they had done at other places.

This last argument is continually being used by those who endeavour to absolve the Bashi-Bazouks from the charge of having butchered innocent persons, and it is founded on the story of a man who, in the Church of Peroustitza, killed his wife and children. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that anything of the sort happened elsewhere, and those who are fondest of enlarging on it do not apparently see that, to say that men prefer killing their wives and children to allowing them to fall into the hands of the

Bashi-Bazouks does not speak well for the reputation of the latter.

Abro Effendi expressed opinions which agreed pretty well with those of the last speaker, and the Commission then proceeded to give its decision.

Two members, viz., Yovantcho Effendi and Ikiades Effendi, gave their votes in favour of punishing Tossoun Bey, but the other four decided that the evidence was insufficient to convict him, or the other prisoners, and they were consequently

As soon as the decision had been signed by the majority I rose, and informed the President that it would be impossible for me to attend any more sittings of the Commission till I had received instructions from you; the decision I considered objectionable and contrary to the evidence, and I must therefore decline to be associated with the Tribunal from which it emanated.

I then withdrew.

I am not prepared to say that the evidence against Tossoun is quite as clear as that on which Achmet Aga and Metto Bektash had been condemned to death, but still it was sufficient to convince any impartial person that he was responsible for the crimes committed at Derbend. As it is, murder, arson, and pillage have been committed in broad day and yet nobody is punished.

The acquittal of Tossoun Bey cannot but have a bad effect, as the Mussulman masses will never believe that insufficiency of evidence caused the Commission to come to their decision, but will simply think that the members were either influenced by fear or that

they approve the acts of the Bashi-Bazouks in suppressing the insurrection.

Moreover, the dangerous principle is laid down that any man in troublous times may organize armed bands and, without giving account of his actions to the authorities, may go about putting down revolts, real or imaginary, and then not be held responsible for any mischief that may be done.

I would have been perfectly willing to admit that had Tossoun been punished, the interests of justice would have been satisfied, and that there would have been no necessity to proceed further against the other prisoners, and even if the Commission had been disposed to take a merciful view of the case, and only to hold him responsible for the pillage, I should have been inclined to accept the sentence. As long as the criminality of his acts was admitted, it would not so much matter if he had been only leniently punished.

His acquittal has not surprised me, as it may be gathered from my despatches to Sir H. Elliot how difficult it was to obtain the condemnation of Achmed Agha and others against whom the evidence was so strong.

Both Yovantcho and Ikiades Effendi have throughout the discussions shown great independence of spirit and have worked hard in the interests of justice, but since Wassa Effendi was removed from the Commission they have been in a hopeless minority, and their efforts in the case of Tossoun have proved fruitless.

As far as I am personally concerned, I have throughout done all in my power to obtain the conviction of the different prisoners, and I can only regret that in the present

instance I should have been unsuccessful.

My presence in this place has now become unnecessary. Nothing more can be done here respecting the prisoners convicted of complicity in the Batak massacres; the Commission, as I have already had the honour to report, has passed sentence on them, and it is for the Porte to decide whether these sentences shall be executed or not.

The Commission may possibly stay on for some little time longer, but it is not

likely that it will try any more persons for the atrocities committed last year.

Ismail Agha and Adil Agha, who destroyed Boriovo and Dedovo, have never been

arrested, and their elder brother Tumbrushli Achmet Agha. who was arrested and examined for his share in the destruction of Peroustitza, will certainly not be punished, as it would probably be impossible to convict him without compromising Réched Pasha, and the Comission has always carefully avoided inquiry into matters in which the regular troops are in any way concerned. Thus no inquiry has been made into the conduct of Hafiz Pasha at Otlou-Keui and, though long ago, when the Commission was at Bazardjik, I strongly urged Saadoulah Bey to visit that place, he managed to avoid doing so.

For my part I consider Hafiz Pasha quite as guilty if not more so than Achmet Agha and Tossoun Bey, for his troops committed the most horrible excesses at Otluo, Keui, and he never made the smallest attempt to restrain their ferocity. On the contrary, it is said that he enriched himself considerably by the spoils of the two wealthy

villages he sacked.

If the Commission cannot be congratulated on the way in which it has administered justice, it must in all fairness be said that, as regards the rebuilding of the burnt villages, it has done well enough.

I have the honour to inclose a translation of an official return drawn up a short

time ago, from which it appears that considerable progress has been made.

This return I have shown to Mr. Stoney, who has visited more than half of the villages in the Cazas of Philippopolis and Bazardjik, and in most cases he declared that the figures given by the Commission tally pretty nearly exactly with his own. For some places the number of houses rebuilt was somewhat exaggerated, and in one or two instances it was understated. At Betovo (usually called Buta) the Commission claim to have built six houses, whereas, in reality, they were all constructed by Mr. Stoney.

I have no means of judging how far the returns from the Cazas of Slimnia, Isladi,

and Gabrova are correct.

Besides rebuilding houses the Commission has also given a certain amount of relief in grain, cattle, and blankets, and has also distributed some waggons among the people.

On the other hand, the attempts to get the stolen property restored have usually resulted in signal failure; a small amount of cattle has been got back but little else.

As regards the women and children carried off from Batak, I believe that the greater portion of them have now returned to their homes. One girl, the daughter of a priest, is still somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nevrokop, but she cannot be traced. Two other girls became Mussulmans and refused to return to their relations as reported in my despatch of the 23rd December. Others may very likely be missing, but I cannot speak positively on the subject.

By your telegram of the 3rd instant, you instructed me to draw up a very accurate return of the number of persons killed during the insurrection, adding that many who were missing had returned to their homes, and that the number originally given had

apparently been greatly overstated.

Without visiting the villages it is impossible to draw up a return of this description, and even then in the total absence of all reliable statistics a great deal must be done by guesswork. I have just received a copy of a Memorandum drawn up by Ismail Bey, on the subject of the insurrection, and I perceive that he puts the number of killed in this sandjak at 5,045, or at nearly double of what it was said to be by the earlier Turkish official reports.

To prove the general untrustworthiness of official publications in this country, I may say that the Mazbata sent to the Porte respecting the sentence on Ahmed Aga and his fellow prisoners, states that 118 Bashi-Bazouks were killed and 6 wounded in the attack on Batak! It is not necessary for me to attempt to disprove this assertion, which is

simply absurd.

I have no doubt that the figures I gave in my general report may now be somewhat reduced, though I should be surprised to see them dwindle down to 3,000. If the number of killed was at first exaggerated, the Turks are just as much to blame for the exaggeration as others are. When the insurrection was suppressed, the Mussulmans openly boasted that they had decimated the Bulgarian nation. Ahmed Agha said in this town that he had only left forty people alive in Batak, and his statement was received with every mark of approbation by the Mussulman members of the Medjliss. At Constantinople I myself overheard a Turkish officer saying that in Bulgaria 60,000 people had been killed and 300 priests hung. If the Turks then indulged in these wild statements, can it be wondered at if the Christians also were guilty of exaggeration?

For my part, I have always considered that the number of persons massacred had very little to do with the actual character of the atrocities, and whether 5,000 persons perished or 15,000, the sanguinary ferocity of those who suppressed the outbreak is

not diminished. The Bashi-Bazouks seem to have killed everybody they could lay hands on, and those who escaped owe their lives to their own good luck, and not to any particular feelings of clemency on the part of the Mussulmans

particular feelings of clemency on the part of the Mussulmans.

I have not as yet been able carefully to study the memorandum I have mentioned above, but I think that in all probability it may be necessary for me on a subsequent occasion to make a few remarks about it. Its publication before the cases of Ahmed Agha and Tossoun Bey had been decided is, at any rate, objectionable, and it also seems strange that one member of the Commission should have taken upon himself to publish a report upon the affairs that came under the consideration of the whole body without ever consulting those who for some time had been his colleagues.

I have, &c. (Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 6 in No. 156.

Official Return of Houses Rebuilt and in course of Construction.

Name of Village.				Houses before Insur- rection.	Houses Burnt.	Houses Rebuilt.	Houses in course of Construction.	Huts
Caza of Philippop	olis—					ļ -	-	~~~
Tcheumlik Yen	ikeui			307	307	203	11	
Leshnik	••	••	••	123	123	108	1	• •
Krastova	• •	••	••	93	76	53	5	••
Ouzoundja Gher		••	••	122	122	88	5	••
Zendjirli	••	••		182	182	115	24	• •
Cureľi	••	••	••	134	134	94	11	0.5
Aivadjik	••		••	70	58	58	1	25
Saradju		• •	• •	50	16	3	••	• •
Pastoucha	••	••	••	20	20	I .		• •
Kozarsko	•	• •	• •	84	-	18		• •
Peroustitza	• •	• •	••	325	84 205	42	36	• •
Asakhori	• •	••	••	137	325	193	49	74
Sare Gueul	••	••	• •		134	82	25	••
Strebitchko		••	• •	62 100	49	45	9	3
Boicovo	••	• •	••	59	84	42	38	• •
Prassadum Derv	·· zent	••	••	663	55 050	48		• •
Dedova		••	••		656	119	35	• •
Gundjelar	• •	••	•••	79 102	20	••	••	• •
	••	••	• •	102	9			•••
				2,712	2,454	1,311	248	102
aza of Tatar-Baza	rdjik—							
Mu-lim Bega	••	• •		57	56	56		
Ghaisi Muslim I	Bega.	• •		65	65	65	1	• •
Ali Hodja	• •	• •		70	69	69	••	••
Radilovo	• •	• •		160	160	130	••	• •
Chehcazi	• •	• •		41	41	36	••	• •
Ouyourdjilar	• •	• •	• • •	13	11	11	••	• •
Caramousal	• •	• •		174	132	118	••	• •
Lesitchovo	• •	• •		174	69	35	••	• •
Guelvere	• •	• •		242	109	56	••	• •
Tzerovo	• •	• •		195	68	51	••	••
Dere Harman		• •		29	27	27	••	• •
Sirt Harman	••			120	42	22	••	• •
Ganik Harman	••	••		172	10	10	••	• •
Shallar	••	• •		61	38	38	••	• •
Sterkovo	••	••		74	44	38 44	••	• •
Dink-keui	• •	••		56	51	51	••	• •
Keupeli	••	••		77	51	31	••	. •
Arnaout-keui	••	••		87	47		••	• •
Oordjelar	••	••	- 1	53	29	37	••	• •
Djumali	••	• •	••	54 54	29 48	26	••	• •
Batak	••			496		43	••	• •
Streldja.	••	••	••	310	496	300	• •	• •
Medjka	••	• •	••	112	266	50	100	
Poibrend		••	••		67	50		
Petrich	••	••	••	344	152	, 30		• •
Betova Baniasi	••	• •	••	340	243	30		••
Betova Daniasi	• •	• •	••	172	6	6		• •
Djafferli	• •	• •	••	77	6	6		• •
Plancin	• •	• •	• •	29	29	23	}	• •

Name of Village.				Houses before Insur- rection.	Houses Burnt.	Houses Rebuilt.	Houses in course of Construction.	Huts.
Dohanli	••	••		45	5	5		••
Okdjelar	••	••	••	45	43	32	:	• • •
Kalaglar	•••	••	• • •	160	113	85		••
Palanka	•••	•••	••	7	7			••
Bratchkovo	•••	••	•	490	7	7		••
Popentzi	••	••	•	126	25	•		• • •
Hissardjik	•••	•••		424	105	35		• • •
Otlou-keui	••	•••		1,606	118			• •
	••	••	••	1,000		<u> </u>		
				6,767	2,854	1,615	100	• •
Caza of Slimnia-	-					-{		
Boyadjik	••	••	••	Not stated	108	86	8	••
Caza of Isladi-								
Kamenitza	• •	• •	• •	Not stated	7	7		• •
Smolsko	• •	• •	• •	Ditto	21	21		• •
Raslovtcha	• •	• •	• •	Ditto	9	9		••
Rakovitza	• •	••	• •	••	97	97	.,	• •
Facouna	••	• •	••	Not stated	32	••	••	••
Caza of Selvi—					166	134		••
Yenikeui				1 100	015	_		
Denboya	• •	• •	• •	1,129	317	1) (••	••
Karadink	• •	••	• •	454	19		••	• •
Raradink Batoschovo	• •	• •	• •	269 645	118 56	No return	••	• •
Duchova	• •	••	•	120		given	••	• •
Gaba	••	• •	••		$\begin{array}{cc} & 6 \\ 25 \end{array}$	11 1	••	• •
Gapa	••	••	••	1,126			••	••
				3,743	641	••	••	••
Caza of Gabrova	-							
Guntera	••	• •	• •	494	11	No return S	••	• •
Guendjelar	• •	••	••	177	4] given {	••	••
				671	15	••	••	

No. 157.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, Constantinople, February 12, 1877.

WHEN I saw Safvet Pasha two days ago, I asked his Excellency what were the intentions of the Government with regard to the Mirdites, who had, it appeared, begun to create disturbances and to threaten a breach of the peace with the Ottoman authorities.

He explained to me that Prince Bib Doda, who had left this for his own country some months ago, had been requested to remain for a while at Scutari, in order to familiarize himself with the relations maintained between his tribe and the Porte.

This, however, he had not done, but had run away shortly after his arrival, and in consequence the Porte had appointed another Kaïmakam in his place.

He appeared to treat the recent disturbances very lightly, saying that the Mirdites had blocked up a high road, and that the Porte had been obliged to send a few troops to keep it clear for traffic.

I then told his Excellency what Mr. Consul Green has reported as to the objectionable character of Sali Pacha who, instead of conciliating this tribe according to his instructions, had been exciting the Mussulman element against the Christians, and making matters worse.

I gave him a sketch of Sali Pasha's character, and he said he would inquire into the

matter, and replace him by a more conscientious Commissioner.

He could not, however, promise to let Bib Doda command his tribe, as in the present excited state of the neighbouring country, and in view of the territorial cessions to be made to Prince Nicholas, the Porte, with one already on its hands, could not be expected

to assist at the creation of a second Montenegro.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 158.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 20.)

Constantinople, February 12, 1877. My Lord,

THE head of the Armenian Protestants and M. Azarian, the Vicar of Monsignore Hassoun, called upon me the other day and expressed their anxiety that the Porte should take steps to provide for the representation of their respective Churches in the Chamber of Deputies about to assemble next month.

The Protestant Armenians number about 40,000, and the Hassounists nearly 100,000, and as the Constitution makes no provision for any religious community, but only for the population at large, I took the opportunity of mentioning the matter

to Safvet Pasha.

His Excellency appeared to admit the justice of the claim, both as regards Protestants and Roman Catholics, and making a note of what I said, he promised to bring the subject before the Council which is to meet this week.

I have, &c.

NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

No. 159.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 20.)

Vienna, February 16, 1877. My Lord, I TOOK an opportunity this morning of communicating to Baron Orczy the substance of your telegram of yesterday,† acquainting me with the explanations which you had given to Count Schouvaloff, for Her Majesty's Government not answering immediately the Russian Circular of the 31st ultimo.

Baron Orczy said that he believed there was a general disposition among the Powers not to answer it hastily, and that Count Andrassy had as yet taken no decision as to how or when he would do so, his Excellency being apparently anxious to ascertain first the views of other Governments, and how far the question may be influenced by recent events.

> I have, &c. ANDREW BUCHANAN. (Signed)

No. 160.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20)

Vienna, February 13, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE made inquiries on the subject of the extent and cost of the relief afforded by the Austro-Hungarian Government to refugees from the Turkish provinces, who have escaped to the Slavonian and Dalmatian frontier, and I am informed that the sum expended in allowances for food to these persons, from the beginning of the insurrection to the present time, amounts to 2,800,000 florins, or at the present rate of exchange to about 240,000l., independently of expenses incurred in affording them medical relief, and in sending doctors to Montenegro and the Herzegovina during an epidemic brought on by destitution. I am also told that large quantities of old clothing, blankets, and tents for military stores were sent by order of the Emperor for the use of the refugees, and that as many as 4,500 blankets were forwarded on one occasion.

1 have, &c.

(Signed)

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 161.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Rome, February 17, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in an interview which I had yesterday with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I acquainted his Excellency with the

^{*} Substance received by telegraph, February 16.

terms of the reply given by your Lordship to the Russian Ambassador in London in reference to Prince Gortchakow's Circular of the 19th of January, as stated in your Lordship's telegram to me of the 15th instant, and his Excellency informed me that his reply to the Russian Ambassador here, which he had subsequently made known to the Italian Ambassador in St. Petersburgh, had been in the same sense.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. PAGET.

No. 162.

Messrs. Michaeloff, Totu, and Co., to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 20.)

Manchester, February 19, 1877.

MESSRS. MICHAELOFF, TOTU and CO. have the honour to inclose herewith a letter for the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, which they have this day received for "transmission" from their friends, Messrs. D. Zancoff and M. D. Balabanow, the late Bulgarian delegates.

Inclosure 1 in No. 162.

MM. Zankoff and Balabanow to the Earl of Derby.

Vienne, le 15 Février, 1877. Excellence,

AU moment où le Gouvernement Turc fait tant parler de sa Constitution, il n'est certainement pas sans intérêt d'apprendre comment ce Gouvernement en use avec la population Bulgare à l'effet de la contraindre à s'en déclarer complétement satisfaite.

Les deux délégués Bulgares, D. Zancoff et Marco D. Balabanow, qui ont eu déjà l'insigne honneur de présenter oralement à votre Excellence la triste situation, ainsi que les vœux légitimes de leur nation, viennent de recevoir des habitants Bulgares du district de Tatar-Bazardjik, qui a, comme on sait, le plus souffert des atrocités commises en Bulgarie par les Turcs, une supplique en six copies, avec prière de la remettre aux Six Grandes Puissances. Cette supplique, écrite en Bulgare et portant un grand nombre de signatures, est un des meilleurs commentaires des réformes factices, par lesquelles le Gouvernement Turc a cru pouvoir triompher des décisions unanimes des Grandes Puissances.

Nous acquitant du devoir sacré, dont nous sommes chargés de la part de nos mandants du district de Tatar-Bazardjik, nous nous empressons de mettre sous les yeux de votre Excellence, une des copies originales de cette supplique en la faisant accompagner de l'annexe d'une traduction Française. Nous avons la ferme conviction, que votre Excellence voudra bien en prendre acte dans l'intérêt de notre malheureuse nation, aujourd'hui encore sans cesse exposée, de la part de son Gouvernement même, à toute sorte de méfaits, de violences, d'excès, de perquisitions, de souffrances et de fourberies.

Nous prions votre Excellence de vouloir bien en agréer d'avance, au nom de cette Nous prions votre excenence de l'annual avons, &c., nation, notre plus profonde gratitude, et nous avons, &c., (Signé) MARCO D. BALABANOW.

D. ZANCOFF.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Vienna, February 15, 1877.

AT the time when the Turkish Government is talking so much of its Constitution, it is certainly not uninteresting to learn how this Government treats the Bulgarian population so as to force them to declare themselves completely satisfied.

The two Bulgarian delegates, D. Yancow and Marco D. Balabanow, who have already had the great honour to explain personally to your Excellency the sad condition of things, as well as the lawful desires of their nation, have just received from the Bulgarian inhabitants of the district of Tatar-Bazardjik, who have, as is known, suffered most from the atrocities committed in Bulgaria by the Turks, a Petition in six copies, begging us to forward it to the Six Great Powers.

This Petition, written in Bulgarian, and bearing a great number of signatures, is one of the best comments on the fictitious reforms by which the Turkish Government thought

they would triumph over the unanimous decisions of the Great Powers.

In acquitting ourselves of the sacred duty with which we are entrusted on behalf of our principals of the district of Tatar-Bazardjik, we hasten to place before your Excellency

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one of the original copies of this Petition, with a French translation annexed. We are firmly convinced that your Excellency will be good enough to take note of it in the interest of our unhappy nation, even now unceasingly exposed, on the part of its own Government, to all sorts of misdeeds, violence, excesses, executions, sufferings, and roguery.

Begging your Excellency to be good enough to accept beforehand our profound

gratitude in the name of this nation, we have, &c.

(Signed)

M. D. BALABANOW.

D. ZANCOFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 162.

Petition.

Excellence,

DE même qu'après tous les Actes et Firmans, émanés jusqu'aujourd'hui du Sultan, comme le Hati-Cherif du 1839 et le Hati-Houmaïoun du 1856, les méfaits et les actes de violence exercés toujours de la part de la population Turque contre nous autres Bulgares n'ont pas cessé; de même aujourd'hui encore, après la solennelle proclamation de la Constitution Ottomane, qui promet l'égalité de tous les sujets sans aucune distinction, ces méfaits et ces actes de violence continuent à s'exercer contre nous, et même avec une rage beaucoup plus grande qu'auparavant.

Entre nous Bulgares et les Musulmans il n'existe aucune égalité ni dans l'exercice de la foi, ni au point de vue de la vie nationale. Les Musulmans nous ont toujours considérés comme des êtres inférieurs à eux, comme leurs esclaves, sur lesquels ils se sont constamment cru le droit de pouvoir exercer toutes sortes de méfaits et d'excès de la

nature de ceux dont l'Europe a eu connaissance dernièrement.

Un grand nombre d'Actes et de Firmans ont été, à plusieurs reprises, promulgués jusqu'aujourd'hui par le Sultan, et un plus grand nombre encore d'ordres et d'instructions ont été expédiés aux gouverneurs; mais rien de tout cela n'a été tenu, rien n'a été mis à exécution. Le Sultan a toujours été représenté comme étant animé d'un profond amour de tous ses sujets sans distinction de race ni de religion. Toutefois nous soute-

nons que tout ça est toujours resté écrit seulement sur papier.

Maintenant encore, où, d'une part, le Sultan proclame l'égalité et la sécurité pour tous ses sujets, et, de l'autre, le Grand Vézir assure que tout cela sera exécuté, la pauver population Bulgare continue à être exposée à toute sorte d'abus de la part des Musulmans, et nous voyons que l'amour du Sultan pour tous ses sujets, si beau en théorie, revêtit dans la pratique la forme d'une constante oppression, traduite parfois en massacres. Malgré tout cela le Gouvernement Turc fait aujourd'hui des efforts, comme c'est son habitude après la promulgation d'un Firman quelconque, afin d'extorquer de ses sujets des adresses de remercîments pour la proclamation de la Constitution Ottomane. Une adresse de ce genre a été faite par la population Musulmane de notre région, et cette adresse, le Gouvernement a forcé les Bulgares aussi à la signer bon gré mal gré.

Toutefois nous, Bulgares, qui formons la majorité dans le district de Tatar-Bazardjik, quoique nous ayons, contre notre conscience, signé, sous l'empire de la force et de la peur, une pareille adresse, nous déclarons à votre Excellence que, n'ajoutant aucune foi aux promesses constitutionnelles du Gouvernement Ottoman, nous protestons contre la façon dont le Gouvernement Turc a usé pour extorquer forcément nos signatures que nous considérons, par conséquent, comme n'ayant jamais eu lieu. Nous avons la ferme conviction qu'en dehors des projets des Grandes Puissances, il ne peut pas y avoir d'autres réformes de nature à rendre la population Bulgare heureuse. Nous ne pouvons

jamais être contents de la Constitution Ottomane.

Nous prions très-humblement votre Excellence de prendre en considération les vœux et les convictions de toute la population Bulgare. Nous comptons sur les efforts d'humanité et sur les soins, dont font preuve à l'égard de notre nation les Puissances Européennes, et nous sommes en toute obéissance,

Les habitants Chrétiens Bulgares de Tartar-Bazardjik et de son district.

(Suivant un grand nombre de signatures de villages et de particuliers.)

(Translation.)

Excellency,

AS has been the case when after all the Acts and Firmans issued up to the present time by the Sultan, such as the Hatti-Sherif of 1839, and the Hatti-Humayoum of

1856, the misdeeds and acts of violence on the part of the Turkish population towards us Bulgarians have not ceased; so again now, after the solemn proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, which promises equality to all its subjects, without any distinction, we are still subject to these misdeeds and acts of violence, which are even more violent than before.

Between us Bulgarians and the Mussulmans there is no equality, either religious or political. The Mussulmans have always looked on us as beings inferior to themselves, as their slaves, on whom they have always thought they had the right to perpetrate all kinds of misdeeds and excesses, of the kind that Europe has lately become acquainted with.

A great number of Acts and Firmans have been from time to time promulgated up to the present time by the Sultan, and a still larger number of orders and instructions sent to the Governors, but none of them have been obeyed, none put into execution. The Sultan has been always represented as animated by a profound love for all his subjects without distinction of race or religion. We nevertheless assert that all this has

only remained written on paper.

And now, once more, when, on the one hand, the Sultan proclaims equality and security for all his subjects, and, on the other, the Grand Vizier gives the assurance that all this will be executed, the poor Bulgarian people are still exposed to all sorts of ill-treatment from the Mussulmans, and we see that the love of the Sultan for all his subjects, so beautiful in theory, assumes practically the form of continual oppression, sometimes resolving itself into massacre. Notwithstanding which the Turkish Government is now making efforts, as is their custom after the promulgation of any firman, to extort from its subjects addresses of thanks for the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. An address of this kind has been drawn up by the Mussulman population of our district, and the Government has forced the Bulgarians also to sign it, whether they like to do so or not.

Nevertheless, we Bulgarians, who form the majority in the district of Tatar-Bazardjik, who have, against our conscience, under the influence of force and fear, signed this address, declare to your Excellency that, putting no faith in the Constitutional promises of the Ottoman Government, we protest against the measures which the Turkish Government have employed to extort by force our signatures, which we consequently consider as never having been made. We believe firmly that outside the projects of the Great Powers there can be no reforms of a kind likely to make the Bulgarian population happy. We can never be content with the Ottoman Constitution.

We pray your Excellency very humbly to take into consideration the wishes and

convictions of all the Bulgarian people.

We count on the efforts of humanity and on the solicitude which the European Powers have evinced towards our nation, and we are, in all obedience, the Christian Bulgarians of Tartar Bazardjik and its district.

[Here follow a great number of signatures of villages and private persons.]

No. 163.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir, Foreign Office, February 20, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador informed me on the 18th instant that the Porte would have great difficulty in inflicting capital punishment on those convicted of massacres and atrocities in Bulgaria.

His Excellency expressed the hope that public opinion in England would be satisfied

with a minor punishment.

In reply, I instanced what had been done in the case of the Lebanon massacres, and I said that if Chefket Pasha, whom he mentioned, was guilty of the crimes attributed to him, nothing short of death would be considered adequate punishment here.

I added that if capital sentence is commuted, in the case of those most deeply implicated, to hard labour for life, there will be a general feeling of indignation, and no one will

believe that it is not intended to remit the sentence altogether in a short time.

I have to instruct you to warn the Porte seriously of the danger they will run by adopting such a course.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 164.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir, Foreign Office, February 20, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 19th instant on the subject of the peace negotiations between the Porte and Servia; and, in reply, I have to state to you that I authorize you to speak to the Grand Vizier in support of a Commission for the Drina frontier, if you think that it will facilitate an agreement.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 165.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 21.)

My Lord, Scutari, February 10, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have been informed that steps are being taken by the authorities here, in compliance with orders received from Constantinople, to find a suitable locality between the towns of Tirana and Durazzo for the establishment of a Circassian Colony, to consist of sixty families.

I understand that the inhabitants of the district in question are not much pleased with the prospect of having Circassians in their midst, especially as the Government has directed that the colonists are not to be weakened by being distributed in small batches in the Albanian villages.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 166.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, February 21.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 20 Février, 1877.

D'APRES nos renseignements, des bruits alarmants sur l'état de santé de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sont répandus dans toute la presse Européenne. Il y a quelque temps Sa Majesté souffrait d'un mal de dents; mais depuis, ce mal a disparu, et l'état de santé de notre auguste Maître est parfait.

Veuillez bien démentir formellement les bruits répandus à cet égard.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople February 20, 1877. ACCORDING to our information, alarming rumours as to the state of the health of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan are being circulated through all the European press. Some little time ago His Majesty suffered toothache; but lately the pain has ceased,

and the health of our august Master is perfect.

Be good enough to contradict formally the reports spread on this subject.

No. 167.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(Extract.) Foreign Cffice, February 21, 1877. THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me at length on the stage at which the question in regard to Turkey had arrived; and I have thought

it desirable to place the more important of his observations on record.

He said that the Russian Government were in a position of considerable difficulty. The expense and inconvenience of keeping up their armaments on the present footing was very great, and could not be continued indefinitely. On the other hand, unless public opinion could be satisfied by the announcement of some specific advantage that had been gained by the armament, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to proceed to demobilize the forces which had been placed on a war footing; and even the Minister of Finance, who was necessarily most alive to the disadvantages of the present situation, would prefer a speedy campaign to the alternative of disarmament, with the possible

necessity of a fresh mobilization next year.

Count Schouvaloff then spoke of the proposal made by Midhat Pasha to Sir Henry Elliot (and to which I had alluded in the House of Lords last night), that a fixed time, say a year, should be granted to the Porte for carrying out the reforms, and that if at the end of that period it were found that fair progress had not been made, the Turkish Government would be ready to submit to the appointment of an International Commission or such other form of control as might be held desirable.

His Excellency seemed to think favourably of the idea, and to believe that in some

arrangement of this kind the groundwork for a settlement might be found.

Count Schouvaloff said that he did not consider it necessary that in the reply to be given to the Circular of Prince Gortchakow there should be any indication of an intention to resort eventually to united measures of coercion against the Porte. It would, in his opinion, be sufficient that the reply should be so conceived as not to imply that Russia was to be left to herself to secure what advantages she deemed necessary for the Christian populations of Turkey.

No. 168.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 21, 1877. WITH reference to the report of my conversation with the Russian Ambassador contained in my other despatch of this day's date, I have to add that it is understood by Her Majesty's Government that the object of the Russian Government is to secure an

> I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 169.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 21.)

Constantinople, February 20, 1877, midnight. I COMMUNICATED substance of your telegram of the 18th instant* to Edhem Pasha, and he has offered the following explanations of the points on which information is required:

He considers that the 39th Article of the Constitution provides a sufficient guarantee against arbitrary removal of the Valis, and that the control of the Provincial Assemblies over the direct taxation is assured by the 110th Article, which, moreover, is

one of the provisions of the Andrassy Note, to which he adheres.

Orders have been already given to enrol Christian as well as Mussulman volunteers in the police force now being reorganized. The proportion between them will be regulated with a view to maintaining its efficiency—the best men alone being selected without regard to creed. Porte is still in search of foreigners to assist in this work, and I understand that both English and French retired officers have been applied to.

His Highness could engage, he said, that, as henceforth, no special allotments of land or other privileges generally given to colonists would be granted to Circassians; nothing in the shape of colonization would in future take place: but he could no more prevent Circassian families from changing their domicile, or purchasing property, than

any other subjects of the Sultan.

With regard to the amnesty, he must delay his answer until he had had time to

refer to the documents bearing on the subject.

honourable retreat from their present position.

Foreign Minister, however, was yesterday inclined to take your Lordship's view of the matter, and said that the more heinous crimes should be separately classified and dealt with later.

Commission of Control will be elective; but the Grand Vizier considers that there

will be no practical utility to be derived from it until the assent of Parliament has been given to the laws, regulations, and reforms it is intended to superintend.

I cannot answer the last paragraph of your telegram until I have seen Safvet

Pasha, who was unable to receive me to-day.

No. 170.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 21, at night.,

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, February 21, 1877.

THE Consuls of France and Italy concur with me in considering the state of affairs among the Christian tribes critical, and that continued dispatch of troops to the confines of Miridicia will probably lead to a speedy conflict; and they have telegraphed to their respective Governments this day, stating that the insurrection may shortly assume serious proportions if the authorities are allowed to pursue their present aggressive course.

No. 171.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, Salonica, February 10, 1877.

THIS town is quiet, and from all I hear, a similar state prevails in the surrounding country, where fewer violations of the law have been reported than during the previous month. It also seems that within the last three or four weeks a more friendly feeling has been generated between the Turks and Christians in this place.

The leading men with whom I have conversed, and the people in general here, manifest much surprise and some irritation at the sudden dismissal of Midhat Pasha from the Grand Vizierate, in whom they had full confidence that he would carry out

reforms.

The prevailing impression here is, especially among the Turks, that the fall of this popular statesman has been prepared and effected by the Sultan's immediate entourage.

In case there is any demonstration at Constantinople in favour of Midhat Pasha, the popular feeling at Salonica would, I think, coincide with it.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 172.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, extracts from two letters which I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, respecting the state of affairs in Thessaly.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. F. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 172.

Vice-Consul Suter to Consul Blunt.

Larissa, January 25, 1877.

DURING the recent Orthodox holidays, the Greek Archbishop here, while making his round of visits in the Christian quarter, was jeered at by a knot of Turkish small boys, very children, The reverend prelate himself took no notice of the fact, as utterly insignificant, but it gave offence to some officious worthies of his flock, who made a business of it, and complained to the authorities, who promptly afforded redress not by punishing the almost infant delinquents, but some of their parents, with imprisonment. The incident was a trivial one without any importance whatever, but there is no lack here

^{*} Repeated to Rome and Constantinople.

of busy-bodies anxious to make capital out of everything to prejudice the Turks, and as these have tried to make a notice about and magnify the affair, I mention what occurred, lest idle and exaggerated rumours connected with it "of disturbances here" may chance to have reached you. We in fact, on the contrary, are continuing to enjoy quiet in all directions, nor is there so far, any indication of change in this respect.

Nothing certain yet transpires of what turn affairs will take, and a general uneasy feeling prevails in consequence; but everybody seems content to wait patiently the

upshot.

While Hellenic preparations continue to be talked of, none seem apprehended by the Porte.

Seven battalions form the whole of the regular troops at present in Thessaly, a force totally inadequate to face any aggressive movement, were such feared on this side.

Inclosure 2 in No. 172.

Vice-Consul Suter to Consul Blunt.

(Extract.) Larissa, February 8, 1877.

There have been rumours current of reviving brigandage on this side of the Turco-Greek border, but diligent inquiry assures they are unfounded or exaggerated, and have arisen from sheep-stealing or petty depredations of the half-nomad dwellers near the boundary, who more or less always are, and always will be, laying their agricultural

village neighbours under that sort of contribution.

Last week some excitement was created at Volo, by a report spread that a brigand from Greece, Photi by name, with several followers, had landed there not far from the town, and meditated carrying off hostages for ransom from the local boys' school. A battue of the troops, gendarmes, and some inhabitants, scoured the country then and for several days after in vain search of these marauders, and as no trace of them has been come at, and they have done no act, it seems clear that the scare must have been due to some panic or mistake, if not to an absolute hoax.

No. 173.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .— (Received February 22.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 11, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th instant, I have the honour to inclose copies of further telegrams exchanged between the Porte and Montenegro respecting the bases of negotiation.

These telegrams were only communicated to Colonel Thömmel and myself by the Prince's Secretary this afternoon.

> I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 173.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 8 Février, 1877.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir le télégramme de votre Altesse, en date du 7 Février. La Sublime Porte a pris acte avec satisfaction des dispositions de votre Altesse au sujet du rétablissement de la paix sur la base du status quo ante bellum, avec rectification des frontières. Quant aux propositions mentionnées dans mon premier télégramme, et sur lesquelles nous nous sommes engagés à nous entendre définitivement avec votre Altesse, elles sont spécifiées dans la lettre adressée au Grand Vizierat ²¹ Juin, 1875.

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ces explications à votre Altesse, et jattends sa

réponse pour résoudre aussi le point relatif à l'envoi de délégué.

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(Translation.)

Constantinople, February 8, 1877. (Telegraphic.) I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Highness' telegram under date of the 7th February. The Sublime Porte has noted with satisfaction your Highness' inclinations on the subject of the re-establishment of peace on the basis of the status quo ante bellum, with rectification of the frontiers. As to the proposals mentioned in my first telegram, and on which we have engaged ourselves to come to a definite understanding with your Highness, they are specified in the letter addressed to the Grand Vizierate,

I have the honour to transmit these explanations to your Highness, and I await

your reply in order to decide also the point relative to the sending of a Delegate.

Inclosure 2 in No. 173.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

Cettigné, le 10 Février, 1877. (Télégraphique.)

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre dépêche du 8 courant, et viens informer votre Altesse que je suis toujours disposé à traiter sur la base du status quo ante bellum, moyennant modification des frontières, et de conclure un mode de vivre dans l'esprit de mes propositions du Juin 1875. J'espère que la Sublime Porte voudra bien prendre une décision prochaine en faveur des négociations à Vienne par l'intermédiaire de son Ambassadeur.

(Translation.)

Cettigné, February 10, 1877. (Telegraphic.) I HAVE had the honour of receiving your telegram of the 8th instant, and proceed to inform your Highness that I am still disposed to treat on the basis of the status quo ante bellum, with the addition of modification of the frontiers, and to conclude a modus vivendi in the spirit of my proposals of July 1875. I hope that the Sublime Porte will be good enough to decide shortly in favour of the negotiations at Vienna through the medium of its Ambassador.

No. 174.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received February 22.)

Cettigné, February 12, 1877. My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, reporting a conversation which I had had with Prince Nicholas respecting the mutilations of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins, I have the honour to state that Colonel Thömmel informs me that he has addressed a full report to Count Andrassy upon this subject, upon which his presence at the Prince's head-quarters during most of the campaign, and his acquaintance with the country for the last twenty years enable him to speak with more authority than I can pretend to claim.

I have reason, however, to believe that the gist of his opinion, formed from personal observation and the information of trustworthy individuals, is to the effect that comparatively little reproach on the score of inhumanity can fairly be made against the Montenegrins for their conduct in the recent combats; and that he substantially confirms the

Prince's statements as I have reported them.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 175.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

Athens, February 15, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, a copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Acting-Consul in Crete, relative to the state of affairs in that island.

M. Contostavlos informed me on Monday last, that the accounts which he had just

received from the Hellenic Consul at Canea also represented that there seemed no longer reason to apprehend any immediate outbreak on the part of the Christian population, and I believe that the Hellenic Government have been really anxious to prevent any such outbreak, which would be a serious embarrassment and danger to Greece under present circumstances.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure in No. 175.

Acting Consul Barker to Mr. Stuart.

Canea, Crete, February 5, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 20th ultimo, addressed to Mr. Consul Sandwith, and to say that there are different versions given of the Oath of Brotherhood, as I had the honour to report to the Earl of

Derby by last post.

They, the Christians, declare this oath to have for object to bind one another from committing depredations on one another's property in sheep, cattle, &c. because a great number of the rural population have been punished by exile for such acts, and now, on their return, declaring their innocence, have given and exacted from their brethren, an oath of mutual fraternal abstinence from cattle lifting.

At present there does not appear to be any symptoms of insurrection, the signal for which (all here agree) must come from Athens. The Governor-General does not apprehend any disturbances. He has taken precautionary measures which he thinks quite

sufficient.

His Excellency will not remain here; he declares he will send in his resignation if he be not relieved from this onerous charge, under which he has been placed for the third time.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

No. 176.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 22.)

(Telegraphic.)

Pera, February 21, 1877, 11.50 p.m.

I COMMUNICATED to Safvet Pasha this morning the substance of your telegram of yesterday respecting the execution of capital sentences on the authors of Bulgarian atrocities, and as I thought it might be desirable that the Sultan should be directly informed of the feeling prevailing in England with regard to these executions, I caused a summary of the telegram to be communicated through a confidential channel to His Majesty, whose reply was that "every attention should be paid to Lord Derby's representations."

No. 177.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

I HAVE placed in the hands of the Russian Ambassador two memoranda, of which I inclose copies herewith, giving the substance of the information which the Turkish Government have furnished, partly to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, and partly to me through the Ottoman Ambassador here, as to the reforms which are now in course of execution in the disturbed provinces.

Count Schouvaloff said he would bring these reports to the knowledge of his Government, and he seemed to think that they would produce a favourable impression.

I am, &c (Signed) DERBY.

S 2

Inclosure 1 in No. 177.

Memorandum of Information given by the Turkish Government of Reforms in course of execution.

STEPS are being taken for the division of the provinces into communes, and the election of provincial Assemblies.

The remission of arrears of taxes for the disturbed provinces is granted.

The carrying of arms without special authorization has been henceforth prohibited, and the authorities have received categorical instructions in consequence.

The necessary measures have been taken to prevent, for the future, the colonization of Circassians in Roumelia en masse.

The regulations for the new gendarmerie, to be composed of Mussulmans and Christians, are already completed, and the organization of the corps is only waiting for the appointment of officers of instruction.

It has been decided that irregular troops shall not be employed for the future, except in a case of inevitable necessity (the absence of regular troops under very critical circumstances).

Inclosure 2 in No. 177.

Memorandum of further Explanations given by the Grand Vizier in regard to Reforms in the disturbed Provinces.

THE Grand Vizier considers that a control by the Provincial Assemblies over a part of the proceeds of direct taxation is secured by the 110th Article of the Constitution, and it is, moreover, one of the provisions of the Andrassy Note, to which he adheres.

Orders have been already given to enrol Christian as well as Mussulman volunteers in the police force, which is being reorganized. The proportion between them will be regulated with a view to maintaining the efficiency of the force, the best men being selected without reference to creed. The Porte is still in search of foreigners to assist in the reorganization, and Mr. Jocelyn learns that retired officers of foreign armies have been applied to.

As regards the colonization of Circassians in Roumelia, the Grand Vizier said he could engage that henceforth no special allotment of land, or other privileges generally given to colonists, would be granted to Circassians; nothing, therefore, in the shape of colonization, could in future take place, but he could not prevent Circassians, any more than other subjects of the Porte, from changing their domicile or purchasing property.

There will be an elective Commission of Control to superintend the execution of the reforms, under the Presidency of a member of the Turkish Government; but the Grand Vizier considers that there will be no practical utility to be derived from it until the laws which it is intended to superintend have received the assent of the Turkish Parliament.

No. 178.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.*

WITH reference to your telegram of the 21st instant, reporting the critical state of affairs among the Christian tribes, I have to instruct you to use your best efforts to secure a prudent and conciliatory course on the part of the Turkish authorities.

I have sent telegraphic instructions to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, directing him to communicate the substance of your telegram to the Turkish Government, and strongly to press the matter on their attention.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY,

No. 179.

The Earl of Derby toMr. Jocelyn.*

(Extract.) Foreign Office, February 23, 1877.

I HAVE to instruct you to communicate to the Turkish Government the substance of Mr. Green's telegram respecting the critical state of affairs among the Christian tribes which was repeated to you this morning, and to press strongly upon the Porte the expediency of avoiding any steps that may be likely to lead to a renewal of bloodshed in any part of European Turkey.

No. 180.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby. †—(Received February 24.)

My Lord, Belgrade, February 16, 1877.

I ENGAGED my passage from Constantinople by the first steamer leaving for Varna after the departure of the Marquis of Salisbury; this boat was delayed twenty-four hours, owing to the state of the weather. On that very day Her Majesty's Ambassador instructed me, by your Lordship's desire, to use my best efforts at my return to Belgrade with a view to induce Servia to resume peaceful relations with the Suzerain State; his Excellency further pressed me to make some stay for that purpose at Belgrade, and informed me that a Turkish official was about to proceed to that city to make overtures for peace.

Midhat Pasha gave a letter of introduction to Pertew Effendi; this having been delivered to me by a messenger from Semlin, I sought an interview with M. Ristitch, who showed himself willing to enter into negotiations with Pertew Effendi, and it was evident that the Servian Government would have been glad if peace could have been

entirely negotiated here.

The instructions of the Porte precluded anything of the kind, and those of Pertew Effendi limited his mission to the task of inducing Prince Milan to send an Envoy to

Constantinople with power to conclude peace there.

The Servian Government had been in the meantime greatly alarmed, as your Lordship is aware from the despatches and telegrams of Mr. Acting Agent and Consul-General St. John, by the guarantees demanded from them by the Porte, a circumstance which, combined with the action of foreign intrigue, would have been by itself sufficient to imperil the progress of these negotiations, even if Midhat Pasha had been still in power, as the instructions of Pertew Effendi were chiefly verbal ones derived from the powerful Grand Vizier who had fallen from power forty-eight hours before his Envoy had arrived in Belgrade.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with a detailed account of these proceedings here, which at one moment threatened a rupture of the negotiations, but in which I am happy to bear a testimony to the perfect tact and judgment displayed by Pertew Effendi throughout

these most difficult circumstances.

These were carried on principally at my house, between Pertew and M. Ristitch, one

evening as late as three the next morning.

As soon as it was known that the Porte had reduced the guarantees originally demanded from Servia to the six points, as recorded in your Lordship's telegram of the 7th instant, it became evident that Servia would be disposed to treat; the Prince was desirous that some form should be found to record in writing the points upon which a mutual agreement has been arrived at in Belgrade in these negotiations. The exchange of notes having been suggested, and indeed these had been drawn up and agreed upon by M. Ristitch and Pertew with a view to their transmission by telegraph for the approval of the Porte, but some modifications having been subsequently introduced by the Servian Government this plan had to be abandoned.

Of the six points Servia ultimately accepted the four concerning the fortresses, and relating to non-allowing of armed bands, or of secret societies to disturb the peace of the

adjoining Turkish Provinces, proposing only certain verbal modifications in them.

As regards the civil rights of Jews it was objected that this was a matter of internal legislation, and with respect to the admission of an Ottoman Agent at Belgrade, it was pointed out that his position and character must be strictly defined, that he could not be

accepted as a Commissioner but merely with a Diplomatic or Consular character on an

equal footing with the other foreign Representatives residing here.

On these two last points the Porte sent reassuring explanations to Pertew Effendi, an extract of which, as also a copy of the original six points, to the Prince of Servia, and this form of communication was substituted in lieu of the exchange of notes originally proposed, to which the new Grand Vizier had seen some objection.

At one moment the Prince had expressed a wish that the negotiations should be carried on at Vienna instead of at Constantinople, and that other points conducive to the establishment of good relations between the Principality and the Porte should be reserved for discussion at Constantinople, but His Highness ultimately consented to send two delegates (MM. Philip Christitch and Matitch) to settle matters, and to conclude peace at Constantinople, and they accordingly took their departure, accompanied by Pertew Effendi, as recorded in my telegram of the 14th instant.

I trust your Lordship will have reason to be satisfied with the result of these Turco-

Servian negotiations as far as they have been conducted here with my assistance.

The ground has been satisfactorily broken, the points of difference have been reduced, and the peace party in Servia has been greatly strengthened thereby.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. A. WHITE.

No. 181.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord, Salonica, February 12, 1877. I HAVE the honour to inclose a translated copy of the Circular letter, as published in the local Government paper "Selanik," of the 10th instant, which Edhem Pasha has addressed to the provincial authorities relative to his elevation to the Grand Viziership.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT,

Inclosure in No. 181.

Edhem Pasha's Circular Letter, dated February 6, to the Provincial Governors, from the "Selanik" of February 10, 1877.

(Traduction.)

SA Majesté le Sultan, par sa haute volonté, m'a confié le poste de Grand Vézir. A dater de ce jour, je commence à diriger les affaires de l'Etat. Puisse Dieu en qui je me confie m'aider de ses lumières!

Attendu que l'œuvre la plus éclatante de Sa Majesté Abdul Hamid, notre auguste Souverain, est la promulgation d'une Constitution qui crée de nouveaux devoirs à tous les

fonctionnaires de l'Empire.

Attendu que les degrés de responsabilité attachée à ces devoirs sont nettement indiqués par cette même Constitution; attendu que les plus ardents désirs de notre auguste Souverain sont de consacrer, de protéger les droits et la tranquillité de tous les sujets Ottomans, désirs qui ont été renouvelés plus fermes que jamais, dans le dernier Hatt qui vous a été communiqué.

Il est urgent que tous les fonctionnaires de quelque grade qu'ils soient fassent tous leurs efforts pour accomplir scrupuleusement les nouveaux devoirs qui leur sont imposées. Le bien de l'Etat et la volonté souveraine l'exigent.

(Translation.)

February 6, 1877. HIS Majesty the Sultan, by his good will, has entrusted to me the post of Grand Vizier. From this day's date I commence the direction of the affairs of State. May God, in whom I trust, aid me.

Seeing that the most striking work of His Majesty Abdul Hamid, our august Sovereign, is the promulgation of a Constitution which creates new duties for all the officials of the Empire; seeing that the degrees of responsibility attached to these duties are clearly indicated by this same Constitution; seeing that the most ardent desire of our august Sovereign is to protect and preserve the rights and tranquillity of all Ottoman subjects, a desire which has been renewed more firmly than ever in the last Hatt communicated to you; it is urgent that all functionaries of every grade should use all their efforts to fulfil scrupulously the new duties imposed on them. The good of the State and the Sovereign's will require this.

No. 182.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE urged Commander-in-chief to maintain for the present a conciliatory attitude.

His Excellency showed me letters that he was dispatching to Bib Doda and the other Chiefs, in which he summoned them to return to their allegiance, giving them two days' delay for consideration, and promising them future advantages in the event of their obedience.

I endeavoured to induce my French, Austrian, and Italian colleagues to write to Doda at the same time as myself, pressing him to take under serious consideration the Commander-in-chief's communication. The French Consul's instructions did not authorize him to act in the matter, and my other colleagues would not move without formal invitation on the part of the Commander-in-chief. I have, therefore, little hope of Mirdites giving way before my unsupported action, and the Pasha tells me that in two days active operations will be certainly commenced against them.

No. 183.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that Zia Pasha, the newly-appointed Governor-General of Syria, arrived at Beyrout on the 8th instant, and on the 9th received the official visits of the members of the Consular body, which he returned on

the following day.

His Excellency's suavity of manner and liberal ideas have already made a favourable impression in Beyrout. He will leave for Damascus on the 16th instant, provided the

road is free from snow.

In my despatch of the 6th instant I reported the appointment of Kiamil Pasha to the post of Governor-General of Kossova, but the same day his Excellency received his official appointment as Governor-General of Aleppo, where his nomination has caused great rejoicings, if one may judge by the number of congratulatory telegrams addressed to him; he is well known in Aleppo, where, about seven years ago, he filled the post of Mutessariff during two or three years. His Excellency will leave for his new post by the first opportunity.

Telegraphic intelligence has been received that Raef Effendi, whose removal from Beyrout I reported in my despatch of the 14th of March last to Sir Henry Elliot, has been reappointed as Mutessariff of Beyrout; this appointment has given universal satisfaction here, where he was most deservedly popular with all classes, and his departure was universally regretted, and it was only compensated by the subsequent nomination of

Kiamil Pasha, whose promotion makes way for the equally worthy Raef Effendi.

In the course of my somewhat long experience in Syria, I have never met with men in an official capacity whose merits equal those of my two friends, Kiamil and Raef.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 184.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 16, 1877.
WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, respecting the direct negotiations for peace, I have the honour to inclose copies of further telegrams exchanged between the

Porte and Montenegro, on the subject of the place most suitable to be selected as the seat of those negotiations.

> I have, &c. (Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 184.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 11 Février, 1877. J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la dépêche de votre Altesse en date du 10 courant. Son contenu me fait voir que l'entente est établie en ce qui concerne les bases des négociations. Quant au lieu où le délégué de votre Altesse devrait se rencontrer avec celui de la Sublime Porte, la nature tout-à-fait spéciale des points à régler nous fait craindre que si Vienne était choisie comme siége des négociations celles-ci rencontreraient bien des retards par suite de la nécessité où notre délégué se trouverait de référer à Constantinople, où se trouvent tous les documents et toutes les personnes pouvant faciliter la tâche du Gouvernement Impérial, et, en un mot, tous les éléments qui pourraient favoriser une prompte entente.

C'est pour ces considérations, dont l'esprit éclairé de votre Altesse appréciera bien certainement toute l'importance, qu'il serait très désirable qu'elle voulut bien envoyer le plustôt possible à Constantinople la personne qu'elle se proposait d'envoyer à Vienne.

J'espère que par là on s'épargnera bien des lenteurs, et que les négociations pourront ainsi être rapidement acheminées vers le bout désiré.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 11, 1877. I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Highness' telegram dated the 10th

instant. Its contents show me that the understanding is established as regards the bases of the negotiations. As to the place where the Delegate from your Highness should meet the Delegate from the Sublime Porte, the entirely special character of the points to be settled makes us fear that if Vienna were chosen as the seat of negotiations, the latter would encounter numerous delays, in consequence of the necessity under which our Delegate would find himself of referring to Constantinople, where are to be found all the documents and all the persons capable of facilitating the task of the Imperial Government, and, in a word, all the elements which could favour a speedy understanding.

It is on account of these considerations, of which the enlightened mind of your Highness will most certainly appreciate all the importance, that it would be very desirable that you should send as soon as possible to Constantinople the person whom you proposed to send to Vienna.

I hope that by this means many delays will be avoided, and that the negotiation will thus become capable of being rapidly conducted to the desired end.

Inclosure 2 in No. 184.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

Cettigné, le 12 Février, 1877. EN réponse au télégramme de votre Altesse d'hier, je m'empresse de vous dire avec quelle satisfaction je vois que nous sommes d'accord sur le point de départ des négociations. Je regrette beaucoup, seulement, que nos vues sur le lieu restent divergentes. En effet, les bases étant admises, je ne trouve pas, permettez-moi de le dire, que les raisons données par votre Altesse en faveur de Constantinople contrebalancent l'avantage que présente Vienne pour la promptitude et l'efficacité des négociations. J'espère que la Sublime Porte voudra bien prendre en favorable considération la proposition sur laquelle je crois devoir insister et consentir à traiter à Vienne.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigne, February 12, 1877. IN reply to your Highness telegram of yesterday, I hasten to tell you with what satisfaction I see that we are agreed as to the starting point for the negotiations; only I greatly regret that our views as to the place remain divergent. In fact, the bases being admitted, allow me to say that I do not find that the reasons advanced by your Highness in favour of Constantinople counterbalance the advantage offered by Vienna for the rapidity and efficiency of the negotiations. I hope that the Sublime Porte will be good enough to take into favourable consideration the proposal upon which I think I ought to insist and consent to treat at Vienna.

Inclosure 3 in No. 184.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

Constantinople, le 14 Février, 1877, 3.5 P.M.

LE but du Gouvernement Impérial en proposant l'envoi d'un délégué à Constantinople n'était que de faciliter les négociations le plus possible, mais à la suite du télégramme de votre Altesse en date du 12 courant, le Gouvernement Impérial pense ne pouvoir mieux répondre au désir réciproque d'entamer les négociations un moment plus tôt qu'en laissant au choix de votre Altesse de fixer le siége des négociations dans une localité convenable, soit du côté de Scutari, soit du côté de l'Herzégovine. Comme le terme de l'armistice doit expirer le dernier jour de ce mois, j'attends la réponse de votre Altesse pour désigner les Délégués Ottomans qui auront pour mission de s'entendre avec ceux de votre Altesse.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, February 14, 1877, 3.5 p.m.

THE object of the Imperial Government in proposing that a Delegate should be sent to Constantinople was only to facilitate the negotiations as far as possible, but in consequence of your Highness' telegram dated the 12th instant, the Imperial Government think that they cannot better respond to the desire felt on both sides to begin negotiations at once than by leaving to your Highness the choice of fixing the seat of the negotiations in a suitable locality, either on the side of Scutari or on that of the Herzegovina. Since the term of the armistice is to expire the last day of this month, I await your Highness' reply in order to name the Ottoman Delegates who will be intrusted with the mission of coming to an understanding with those of your Highness.

Inclosure 4 in No. 184.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

Télégraphique.)

JE m'empresse de remercier votre Altesse des termes obligeants de sa dépêche du 14. Tout en continuant à penser que Vienne serait un lieu de négociation infiniment préférable, je tiens à prouver mon désir de répondre aux bonnes intentions de la Sublime Porte. Puisque votre Altesse veut bien me laisser le choix, je me décide en faveur de Cattaro comme le point le plus favorable pour la prompte marche des négociations.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HASTEN to thank your Highness for the obliging terms of your telegram of the 14th. Whilst continuing to think that Vienna would be infinitely preferable as a place of negotiation, I am anxious to prove my wish to respond to the good intentions of the Sublime Porte. Since your Highness is good enough to leave the choice to me, I decide in favour of Cattaro as the most favourable point for the rapid progress of the negotiations.

Inclosure 5 in No. 184.

The Grand Visier to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.)

LE télégramme de votre Altesse en date du 14 courant que je viens de recevoir et dans lequel votre Altesse propose comme lieu de réunion des Délégués la ville de Cattaro [376]

me fait croire bien à regret que mon télégramme en date du même jour n'a pas dû être explicite. La Sublime Porte a entendu et entend laisser au choix de votre Altesse de désigner comme siége des négociations la localité qu'elle juge le plus convenable à cet effet dans les Provinces de Scutari et de l'Herzégovine. La Sublime Porte s'en rapporte entièrement à son choix. Votre Altesse appréciera, je n'en doute pas, les intentions du Gouvernement Impérial qui, en présence des hésitations qu'a rencontrées l'envoi d'un Délégué à Constantinople, s'est empressé de porter le siége des négociations sur un point tout-à-fait rapproché de la Principauté. Je prie en conséquence votre Altesse de me faire connaître quelle est la localité située en Herzégovine ou dans le Vilayet de Scutari qui lui semble devoir être le siége des négociations.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

YOUR Highness' telegram under date of the 14th instant, which I have just received, and in which your Highness proposes the town of Cattaro as the place of meeting for the Delegates, makes me believe, with much regret, that my telegram dated the same day could not have been explicit. It has been and is the meaning of the Sublime Porte to leave to your Highness' selection the naming of any locality as the seat of the negotiations in the provinces of Scutari and the Herzegovina which may seem to you best suited to that purpose. The Sublime Porte trusts entirely to your choice. I doubt not that your Highness will appreciate the intentions of the Imperial Government, which, in face of the hesitation which the dispatch of a Delegate to Constantinople has encountered, has hastened to transfer the seat of the negotiations to a point in the immediate neighbourhood of the Principality. I accordingly beg your Highness to inform me which is the locality suited in Herzegovina or in the vilayet of Scutari which would appear to you to be suited to be the seat of the negotiations.

No. 185.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 26.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 14th instant, I have again spoken to Baron Orczy of the pressure said to be brought to bear upon the refugees in Dalmatia by Slav sympathizers to prevent them returning to their homes. I acquainted him also with your Lordship's observations as to the improbability of the efforts of the Powers for the pacification of the Herzegovina being successful if the insurrection is encouraged by Slav sympathizers holding influential position in Dalmatia under the Austro-Hungarian Government.

Baron Orczy merely observed in reply that all the Slav population in Dalmatia were well-wishers of the insurgents. This did not, however, he said, prevent them being now extremely anxious to get rid of the refugees, who, I might rest assured, would receive no encouragement to remain. He repeated, also, what I reported in my despatch of the 1st instant as to the better class of them being disposed to return if the amnesty granted last year were extended, a measure which, he said the Turkish Ambassador had promised to recommend to the Porte.

He said what principally, however, deterred the refugees from returning home is the fear of ill-treatment from insurgent bands who appear from time to time in different parts of the country, a state of things which may be expected to last until peace is reestablished between Montenegro and the Porte, and Prince Nicholas engages to use his influence with the insurgents to induce them to lay down their arms.

No answer appears to have been as yet received from Constantinople to the Turkish Ambassador's recommendation, and it is not improbable, therefore, that the question of prolonging the period of the amnesty which has been offered will be arranged during the negotiations for peace about to be commenced between the Porte and the Prince of Montenegro.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 186.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord, Vienna, February 22, 1877.

MR. MONSON was unable by the last post from Cettigné to forward a report of his communications with the Prince of Montenegro, which have resulted in his inducing His Highness to send Delegates to Constantinople to treat for peace.

From a private letter, however, which I have received trom him, he appears to have strenuously endeavoured, before receiving your Lordship's telegram of the 14th instant, to impress upon the Prince the expediency of his deciding to do so, though he only eventually succeeded on communicating your instructions to His Highness.

Colonel Thömmel, the Austrian Military Agent, appears to have acted cordially with him in impressing on the Prince, that it was his interest to remove rather than to raise obstacles to an arrangement.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 187.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, April 25, 1877.

THE Governor and the Commander-in-chief have this day written to Mirdite Chiefs to say that Marco will be released provided the blockade of the high roads is raised.

No. 188.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, February 26, 1877.
WITH reference to your telegram of the 21st instant, I have to inform you that
Her Majesty's Government approve your having communicated to the Sultan the
substance of the instructions which were telegraphed to you on the 20th instant
respecting the execution of capital sentences on the authors of atrocities in Bulgaria, who
have been convicted by the Commission.

You cannot too strongly impress upon the Porte the feeling which prevails among all classes in England with regard to those outrages.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 189.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, February 26, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador mentioned to me this afternoon the substance of a telegram which he had received from Prince Gortchakow.

Prince Gortchakow stated that there was no truth in the rumour that any decision had been taken in the Councils which had been held on Thursday and Saturday, under

the presidency of the Emperor.

Russia, his Highness continued, had now 500,000 men under arms, and ready for action. Nevertheless she preferred a pacific solution. But for this purpose the Russian Government must have some serious grounds to justify their disarming, after the sacrifices which had been imposed on the country. It depended on the Powers to render such a solution possible, by maintaining the necessity of a real improvement in the condition of the Christian population of Turkey, and by declaring that when the term allowed for carrying into effect the reforms had expired without sufficient result, they would seek the means of imposing them.

The improvement of the condition of the Christian population would thus, Prince

Gortchakow said, remain under the guarantee of Europe, and there would be no necessity for Russia to separate herself from the rest of the Powers.

I am, &c. DERBY.

(Signed)

No. 190.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.*

Foreign Office, February 26, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE this day caused to be repeated to your Excellency a telegram, dated the 25th instant, from Consul Green, in regard to the present state of Mirdite affairs, in which he states the nature of his communications with the Commander-in-chief, in order that, if possible, a conciliatory course might still be pursued towards the insurgents, and reports his representations to his French, Austrian, and Italian colleagues, with a view to a joint action with the same object.

As, however, it further appears from Mr. Green's telegram that none of the Consular Officers above named felt themselves justified in moving in this matter without further instructions, I have to request that your Excellency will, in communicating to the French Government the substance of the accompanying telegram, express the hope entertained by Her Majesty's Government that the necessary authority may be given to their Representative to act in concert with Mr. Green in his conciliatory recommendations.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 191.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. White.

Foreign Office, February 26, 1877. Sir, I HAVE received your despatch of the 16th instant, reporting that the preliminary negotiations between the Porte and Servia had been satisfactorily concluded, and that the Servian Delegates had left for Constantinople; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct with regard to these negotiations, and the assistance which you gave to M. Ristitch and Pertew Effendi in coming to an agreement.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 192.

Lord Tenterden to MM. Zancoff and Balabanow.

Foreign Office, February 26, 1877. Gentlemen, I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, inclosing a petition from the Christian inhabitants of Tatar-Bazardjik, denouncing the petitions of thanks to the Sultan for the grant of a Constitution.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

TENTERDEN.

No. 193.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 17, 1877. HAVING forwarded yesterday in my despatch of that date complete copies of the telegrams which have lately been exchanged between Constantinople and Cettigné. respecting the choice of a suitable place as the seat of negotiations, it becomes my duty

^{*} A similar despatch was sent to Sir A. Paget and Sir A. Buchanan.

to report succinctly to your Lordship the course of events here which has led Prince Nicholas to announce to the Grand Vizier, in the telegram of which the inclosed is a copy,

that he consented to send his Delegates to Constantinople.

The Prince had, as I reported to your Lordship, been for some days absent at his country residence, more than twelve hours distant from Cettigné. Upon his return three days ago I found that his dislike to begin the negotiations on Turkish soil was as great as ever, so great, in fact, that I had but little hope of his giving way under any pressure. When the Grand Vizier sent a telegram so indefinitely worded that, while precluding Vienna, it yet gave the Prince the choice of any place in Dalmatia, His Highness, after hesitating between Ragusa and Cattaro, decided in favour of the latter. This decision was telegraphed at midnight of the 14th instant. The next morning I went to the Palace, and had more than two hours conversation with the Prince, and another of equal length during the afternoon, at the latter of which I was able to communicate to His Highness the advice contained in your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, without, as I feared at the time, making much impression against his determination. The telegram from Edhem Pasha, excusatory of the vagueness of his previous message, arrived late in the evening of the 15th. The Prince sent at once to Colonel Thömmel and to me, requesting us to come to the Palace. We found His Highness very much annoyed at the reply of the Grand Vizier, which he read to us in the presence of the Secretary of the Russian Consulate, the President of the Senate, the Director of the Diplomatic Chancellerie, and His Highness' own private Secretary. He then asked us what we advised him to do. As it seemed to me that negotiations either at Scutari, Trebigné, or Mostar, would be attended with many disadvantages, I told His Highness that in selecting any of these places, he would have to negotiate with subordinates instead of directly with the Ministers of the Porte, and most probably also with subordinates badly disposed towards himself. Moreover I thought it would be more consonant with his own dignity to treat at Constantinople than at a provincial town. If, therefore, His Highness could bring himself to make a concession, which I thought he might now reasonably decide upon doing, and consent to treat on Turkish soil, I should advise him, and I thought that Her Majesty's Government would advise him, to send his Delegates to Constantinople.

Colonel Thömmel, who has received no hint of the wishes of his Government, gave

His Highness similar counsel.

The Russian Secretary said a few words in favour of maintaining the preference for

Vienna, and His Highness' immediate advisers seemed to prefer Scutari.

The Prince, having listened attentively to all of us, terminated the discussion by saying, "I decide for Constantinople"; and as it was then midnight, His Highness added that he would not despatch his telegram until the following morning.

The President of the Senate will leave Cattaro by the steamer of the 21st instant;

and will be accompanied, I believe, either by M. Radonich or M. Duby.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 193.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.)

J'AI l'honneur de répondre à la dépêche de votre Altesse en date d'hier. Je crois mutile de revenir sur les avantages évidents qui m'avaient fait préférer Vienne ou au moins Cattaro pour l'ouverture des négociations de paix. Puisque la Sublime Porte ne peut absolument pas entrer dans ces considérations, je me détermine à lui donner une nouvelle preuve de mes dispositions conciliantes, et pour entrer dès lors plus entièrement dans ses vues, je me décide à faire partir mes délégués pour Constantinople même par le premier bateau à vapeur.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE the honour to reply to your Highness' telegram of yesterday. I think it useless to recur to the evident advantages which had made me prefer Vienna, or at all events Cattaro, for the opening of peace negotiations. Since the Sublime Porte is absolutely unable to enter into these considerations, I am resolved to afford it a fresh proof of my conciliatory inclinations, and in order henceforward to enter more entirely into its views, I have decided to dispatch my Delegates to Constantinople itself by the first steamer.

No. 194.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 27.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 26, 1877.

M. CHRISTICS strongly opposes the Porte's demand for the insertion of a clause respecting Ottoman Agent at Belgrade, in the note to be addressed to the Porte by Servia.

Such a concession would, he says, be certainly ill received by the Servian Assembly, and would inevitably provoke fresh intrigues to compromise the stability of a peace concluded under such conditions.

He is anxious that your Lordship should urge Porte to forego this point.

A Protocol will also be signed by both parties in which the amnesty will be mentioned; and, should difficulty respecting Agent be overcome, the preliminaries of peace can be signed forthwith.

No. 195.

The Earl of Derby to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur, Foreign Office, February 27, 1877.

FROM information which I have received by telegraph from Constantinople, it appears that the negotiations for peace between the Porte and Servia are being impeded by the demand for the insertion of a clause respecting the appointment of an Ottoman Agent at Belgrade, which is considered likely to provoke opposition in the Servian Skuptschina, and thus to prevent the conclusion of a satisfactory and lasting settlement. On the other hand, if this difficulty could be overcome, the preliminaries of peace might be signed forthwith.

Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that the Porte attaches much real imporance to this question of an Agent at Belgrade, and they feel therefore that they are acting in a friendly spirit as mediators, in counselling the Turkish Government to show themselves conciliatory on the subject, and thus admit of the conclusion of peace, the importance of which to the Ottoman Empire cannot be exaggerated.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 196.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 27, 6.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your despatch of the 29th ultimo, Safvet Pasha wished to ascertain the opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to the effect to be given to your Lordship's suggestions to Odian Effendi, respecting the sentences passed upon the convicted Turks and Bulgarians.

The question of the extent to which the amnesty is to affect prisoners now under sentence embarrasses the Porte's action, and he has commissioned me to ask whether your Lordship would recommend that only those condemned to death should undergo sentence, or whether some under minor sentences should be included in the same category, and if so, where the line should be drawn.

I promised to refer the question to your Lordship.

No. 197.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I have, under your Lordship's permission of the 7th instant, been using my best endeavours to induce the Turkish authorities to avail themselves of my good offices for coming to a satisfactory arrangement with the Mirdites, but that, up to this day, notwithstanding reiterated expressions by these authorities of

their desire for an amicable settlement, they have followed a course only calculated to

attain an opposite result.

They have reverted to the system of spreading mythical reports of the pacification of Mirdicia, and pretending that only Prenk Bib Doda and some of his retainers are, under foreign instigation, manufacturing a fictitious insurrection; whilst, in reality, the high roads through Mirdicia continue to be closely watched by large bodies of mountaineers who prevent everybody and everything connected with the Turkish Government from passing, and the Moslem prisoners are still held as hostages at Orosci.

I believe that the above conduct of the Turkish authorities is governed by the wish to keep matters in their present state until the expected peace with Montenegro is concluded, when it is hoped that an expedition with an overwhelming military force will be able to

crush, once and for ever, the Mirdite organization.

Past experience ought, however, to make the Turks very doubtful of the success of an undertaking of this nature, and which would at once lend colour to Prenk Bib Doda's

assertion of planned massacres.

From the inclosed copy and translation of a letter received by me yesterday from Capitan Marco, one of the Chiefs alluded to in my despatch of the 3rd instant, your Lordship will observe that a favourable opening is afforded for bringing about the desired understanding between the Turkish authorities and Prenk Bib Doda; but, as I have said before, I have not yet been able to induce the former to avail themselves of it. I have only succeeded in obtaining a promise from Dervish Pasha, the Commander-in-chief, and who appears the most disposed towards conciliation, that he will delay as long as possible the execution of an order he says he has received from the Porte to commence military operations against the Mirdites; but, as his promise has bound him to no fixed time, and, as I understand, he has already increased the force around Mirdicia, the present inaction may cease at any moment.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIKBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 197.

Capitan Marco to Consul Kirby Green.

(Translation.)
Mr. Consul,

Orosci, February 12, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your respected letter of the 2nd of the current month, which arrived rather late, owing to the many stations on the way, and I am exceedingly grateful for your valuable mediation with the authorities of Scutari, whereby I and my son may now return to our usual occupations and duties. His Excellency Dervish Pasha writes to me in the same sense, consequently I do not know how to express to you my gratitude except by awaiting to be able to demonstrate it by acts and through deeds.

As soon as I received your letter I did not fail to make his Excellency Prenk Pasha observe and seriously consider that it was high time that he should put himself in good harmony with the Imperial Ottoman authorities, and forget all misunderstanding or suspicions, fomented probably by evil-intentioned people who had no other object but to create dissensions in order to compass their own profit and ends, and, at the same time, I inspired him with the certainty that you, with that goodness which so distinguishes you, would not refuse to use your powerful mediation in order to arrive at a loyal and frank arrangement with the Imperial Ottoman authorities.

Convinced by my arguments, he replied that he had no other wish but to find himself on the same footing towards the Imperial Government of good harmony, concord, and devotion as had been held by his ancestors, and he showed himself much disposed to fall in with the instructions conveyed to me, as I was leaving Scutari, by his Excellency Dervish

Pasha.

In view of the good turn things are taking, I have thought it well to announce the fact immediately to you and to his Excellency Dervish Pasha (to whom I have also written to-day on the subject), and to remain here until the arrival of the new instructions you

may have both to give me.

I have also the honour to inform you that I have been most careful to bring under his Excellency Prenk Pasha's notice the efficacy and validity of your good offices, and which are calculated to deprive him of the slightest misgiving as to the paternal intentions regarding him of the Imperial Government; and, believing that I have acted according to the wishes of the latter, I have put off my return to Scutari for some days longer

Under the present circumstances, and for the purpose of giving a greater impulse to my proceedings, I think it would be well that the authorities of Scutari should avail themselves of the good dispositions awakened by me to send some kind of pecuniary aid, in order to do away with the backslidings which might possibly be fomented by some one who has access to the young Pasha.

Persuaded that you will be pleased to favourably consider the foregoing, I

have, &c.

(Signed and Sealed)

CAPIDAN MARCO.

No. 198.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received February 28.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February 27, 1877, 11 p.m.

THE Porte has given way upon the question of the Agent at Belgrade, and peace may be regarded as settled as soon as the necessary Firman is issued.

No. 199.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Skuptschina voted unanimously this morning in favour of peace, and was dissolved immediately afterwards.

Belgrade, February 28, 1877.

THE Skuptschina voted unanimously this morning in favour of peace, and was dissolved immediately afterwards.

No. 200.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received February 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

A TELEGRAM was sent last night to the Prince of Montenegro, proposing a prolongation of the armistice to the 21st of March.

Delegates are expected to-morrow.

No. 201.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

I HAVE received your telegram of the 27th instant, and I have to point out in reply that the suggestion which I made to Odian Effendi must have been misunderstood. I did not recommend that any persons convicted of having been concerned in the massacres in Bulgaria should be respited or exempted from punishment.

The suggestion was that an amnesty should be granted to a large number of those imprisoned for being concerned in the insurrection as political offenders.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 202.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, February 28, 1877.

MR. KIRBY GREEN, in his despatch of the 10th instant, of which he has furnished you with a copy, reports that steps are being taken by the Turkish authorities to fix upon a locality between the towns of Tirana and Durazzo, for the establishment of a Circassian Colony, to consist of sixty families.

* Repeated to Embassies.

Her Majesty's Government regret that the Porte still persists in introducing among the Christian population of European Turkey, large bodies of Circassians, and you will not fail to remonstrate, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, against so unwise a step and one so certain to lead to misunderstanding.

I am, &c. Signed) DERBY.

No. 203.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 12th instant, forwarding Mr. Baring's final reports as to the proceedings of the Philippopolis Commission, and stating that in accordance with your instructions he had returned to Constantinople, I have to instruct you to convey to Mr. Baring the high approval of Her Majesty's Government for the manner in which he has discharged the difficult and laborious duties entrusted to him.

His clear and exhaustive reports have been read with great interest, and Her Majesty's Government feel assured that in the cases where sentences of condemnation have been passed upon the persons guilty of the massacres in Bulgaria, those sentences have been mainly due to the close attention with which Mr. Baring has watched the proceedings of the Tribunal, and to the control which his firmness and knowledge of the language have enabled him to exercise over the members of the Commission.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 204.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Foreign Office, February 28, 1877.
WITH reference to your despatch of the 17th instant, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the advice you gave to Prince Nicholas, to select Constantinople as the place for carrying on negotiations, with the view to bringing about peace between the Porte and Montenegro.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 205.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd instant, I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government has learnt with satisfaction Mr. Monson's successful efforts so far to bring about an understanding between the Prince of Montenegro and the Porte.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 205*.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.* - (Received February 28, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, February 28, 1877, 6:30 P.M.

THE Protocol and Note, which have been approved by the Skuptschina, will be signed at the Porte to-morrow morning by the Servian Delegates.

No. 206.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

Erzeroom, January 30, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch addressed to day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, giving some details on the disturbed state of the district of Bitlis, and the menacing attitude of the Mootkan Koords.

I have, &c. JAS. ZOHRAB. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 206.

Consul Zohrab to Sir H. Elliot.

Erzeroom, January 30, 1877. Sir, I HAD the honour to inform your Excellency yesterday, by telegraph of the

disturbed state of Bitlis, as follows:-

"Panic in Bitlis district, several murders, many villages devastated, others deserted by inhabitants from dread of Koords, who threaten the town. Inhabitants, Mussulman, Christian, watch armed in their barricaded houses."

I received a letter from the Reverend Mr. Knapp, American Missionary at Bitlis, dated 13th January, in which that gentleman gives me details of a very distressing nature. Later letters and information I have gathered here show that Mr. Knapp has been very modest in his statements, and that Bitlis, instead of being troubled with a passing excitement or paroxism, is threatened with serious dangers.

It appears that the Koords of Bitlis, Moosh, and the Mootkan district have agreed to take advantage of the disorganized state of the country and the weakness of the Government to commence raids on an extensive scale, and though the country is still

covered with snow they have commenced operations in the district of Bitlis.

The Christian village of Pakhant, about five miles from Bitlis, was attacked about the 8th instant, two of the inhabitants were killed, and all the property of the villagers carried off; the villagers sought refuge in Bitlis. This attack was followed by raids on other villagers in the Mootkan district, resulting in a general flight of the inhabitants The Koords, it appears, have told the Christians that they will be left unmolested in their villages if each Christian man will pay a yearly fine of 200 piastres to the Koord Chiefs, but this the Christians consider as a snare to get them back to their villages, there to become an easy prey to Koordish lust and greed.

In Bitlis the alarm is great, several night attacks on private houses in the town by bands of twenty and thirty Koords have terrified the people, and reports that the Koords of Mooktan have collected in force and intend to make a general attack on the town, have spread consternation. The houses are barricaded, the inhabitants are armed and keep nightly watch on the roofs of their houses, and on two or three occasions the bazaars have been abandoned at midday, the people, Mussulman and Christian, fleeing to and barricading themselves in their houses, on the alarm that the Koords were approaching.

As yet nothing beyond isolated cases of house-breaking and levying of black-mail has happened in Bitlis, but the people appear to dread an attack in force by the Koords, against which they could not offer much resistance, and it is more than probable that such an attack will result in leaving a heap of ruins to indicate where Bitlis stood.

I called the attention of the Governor-General and of Samih Pasha to this state of affairs; they did not seem aware that matters were so serious, and though Bitlis no longer depends on this Pashalik (it belongs now to the new vilayet of Van) they both telegraphed to the authorities there and at Moosh for full details, and they promised that their best efforts would be employed to check further disorder.

Samih Pasha told me very candidly that he could not spare troops to be stationed at Bitlis, for, he said, if he gave soldiers to protect every town which was now menaced by Koords, he would be left without an army to protect the frontier or garrison the fortresses; all he could do was to station a battalion at Bitlis for a few days to overawe the Koords, but the people of each town must create their own police force, and thus provide for their own protection.

I told his Excellency that I feared the mere temporary presence of a few troops at menaced points and the organization of local defence corps would prove futile in over-aweing tribes which could muster thousands of men, and I apprehended shortly that Bitlis and other towns situated near the Koord countries would be unsafe, even if protected by ten or fifteen battalions. His Excellency said he was aware that the country was in a state of great danger, but his powers were limited, and the people would have to learn that they must, in a great measure, look to themselves for protection and the means of holding the Koords in check.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 207.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby. — (Received March 1.)

My Lord, Trebizond, February 7, 1877.

THE news of the breaking off of the Conference, and of the departure of the Delegates, as well as of the Ambassadors of the Six Great Powers, which was wired to the Pasha on the 25th ultimo, and according to orders published immediately in the local Turkish paper, has elicited feelings which I consider it my duty to report for your Lordship's information.

The Pasha, whom I saw shortly after, was in great anxiety. He explained to me that the Turkish Government had always used towards the Mussulman populations, even exaggerating its consequences, the fear of incurring the displeasure of Europe, as a means for keeping them under control; and that as this displeasure had at last been incurred, and this powerful instrument of coercion was lost, he was in dread that the Mussulmans should be impressed with the idea that no worse could befall them, and become unmanageable in a moment so critical as the present. He added, that he detected in the wording of the telegram of the Porte a similar anxiety, and that he was using his utmost endeavours to prevent the idea from taking ground.

I cannot say how far the view taken by the Pasha is correct, but the first impression produced among the Mussulmans was certainly strong, although it would be difficult for me to describe its exact nature.

It was a sentiment of astonishment mingled with disquietude as to what might be the next step of Europe, and with unfriendliness towards the Christians in general, and the Europeans in particular.

According to the popular notions in this quarter the departure of an Ambassador amounts to a declaration of war; the Ambassadors of the Six Great Powers had left at the same time; the Turks expected, and were decided to fight with Russia; but they had never dwelt upon the eventuality of having to contend against all Europe.

In a short time, however, they came round, and considered that things were not so gloomy as they appeared to be at first; Chargés d'Affaires having been left at Constantinople, diplomatic relations were not broken off; and the popular good sense told them, besides, that the interest of the European Powers, in general, was not to fight against them for the promotion of Russian views. They came, therefore, to the conclusion that what Europe might do after all was, as they expected, to remain neutral, leaving them to adjust themselves by arms their quarrel with Russia.

Having been confirmed in this opinion by the perusal of the Turkish papers of Constantinople, they have now resumed their former equanimity, and are elated at the success which they consider their Government to have obtained on European diplomacy.

After having seen in the papers the attitude assumed by the heads of the different Christian communities in the Great National Council, their relations with the native Christians have become from day to day more and more friendly, and they live now on the most cordial terms with them. They continue, however, to look with suspicion on Europeans, and vent their feelings by occasional contemptuous language.

The Christians, on their side, are glad of the turn which events have taken; they seem to think that their aspirations, which, according to them, were blighted of late, are now entering on a more hopeful path. The intelligent Greeks look forward to England, not for the overthrow of Turkey, but for their being placed on a real footing of equality with the Mussulmans, when they expect, in the course of time, to supersede them in the direction of the Government.

The real tie between the Mussulmans and the Christians at present is their common hate of Russia.

I have, &c. (Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

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No. 208.

Edhem Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

Sublime Porte, le 14 Février, 1877. My Lord,

LE Gouvernement Impérial est résolu à accomplir toutes les réformes dont le principe a été solennellement proclamé, et à doter le pays des institutions qui découlent de la Constitution. Il s'est mis à l'œuvre et poursuivra sa tâche avec la plus grande persévérance.

La branche la plus importante de l'Administration, celle qui s'impose particulièrement à la sollicitude du Gouvernement Impérial, est évidemment l'organisation des Tribunaux, qui doit assurer la justice à tous suivant les prescriptions de la Constitution.

C'est pourquoi la Sublime Porte s'est décidée à faire étudier avec tout le soin que comporte l'importance de la matière, les systèmes d'administration judiciaire en usage dans les différents pays de l'Europe, afin d'en retirer les notions nécessaires pour la réorganisation de nos propres institutions judiciaires.

Cette mission a été confiée à Vahan Effendi, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Ministère de la Justice, que je prends la liberté d'introduire auprès de votre Seigneurie et que ses connaissances spéciales, son expérience, et sa capacité recommandaient au choix du

Gouvernement Impérial.

Vahan Effendi trouvera, je n'en doute pas, auprès de votre Seigneurie, un accueil bienveillant et toutes les facilités désirables pour l'accomplissement de sa mission. Ce fonctionnaire, qui est naturellement au courant des vues et des sentiments du Gouvernement Impérial, est chargé en même temps de fournir à votre Seigneurie des informations sur les efforts de la Sublime Porte pour accomplir son œuvre de régénération et sur l'état général des choses à Constantinople.

Dans la conviction que votre Seigneurie voudra bien lui accorder la même confiance dont elle a honoré Odian Effendi, je suis heureux de saisir, &c.

(Signé) EDHEM.

(Translation.)

My Lord, Sublime Porte, February 14, 1877.

THE Imperial Government is resolved to accomplish all the reforms of which the principle has been solemnly proclaimed, and to give the country the institutions which devolve from the Constitution. It has undertaken, and will pursue, its task with the greatest perseverance.

The most important branch of the Administration which particularly calls for the care of the Imperial Government is evidently the organization of the Law Courts, so as

to insure justice to all who follow the regulations of the Constitution.

The Sublime Porte has, therefore, decided to have the system of law in use in the different countries of Europe studied with all the care that the importance of the subject requires, so as to acquire the necessary foundation for the reorganization of our own judicial institutions.

This mission has been confided to Vahou Effendi, Under-Secretary of State to the Department of Justice, whom I take the liberty of introducing to your Highness, and whose special knowledge, experience, and ability recommended for the post to the

Imperial Government.

Vahou Effendi will receive from your Highness, I do not doubt, a kind reception, and all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of his mission. This official, who naturally is acquainted with the views and feelings of the Imperial Government, is instructed at the same time to furnish to your Highness information with respect to the efforts of the Sublime Porte to accomplish its work of reform, as well as on the general state of affairs at Constantinople.

Trusting that your Highness will extend to him the same confidence as that with which you honoured Odian Effendi, I am, &c.

(Signed)

EDHEM.

No. 209.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 1.)

(Extract.) Cettigne, February 18, 1877. IN my despatch of yesterday's date I have had the honour to report to your Lordship the result of the discussions in which I have taken part respecting the choice of the seat of the negotiations for peace between Turkey and Montenegro.

I have not thought it necessary to occupy your Lordship's time by a detailed account of the lengthy conversations which I have recently had with the Prince, and in which I have adduced such arguments in favour of a conciliatory policy as I have thought would be most calculated to produce upon His Highness's mind the impression desired by Her Majesty's Government.

I hope that your Lordship will nevertheless believe that I have, to the best of my capacity, taken advantage of every occasion to give such advice as I understand that Her Majesty's Government would wish me to offer; and that I have at the same time scrupulously avoided using any language which could be construed into pledging them to any direct interference in the negotiations which the Delegates of the Prince will shortly

commence at Constantinople.

In advising the Prince to concede the point as to the seat of the negotiations, I did, however, state to him that I had received your Lordship's renewed orders to urge upon him the expediency of raising no unnecessary difficulties, and, consequently, when His Highness asked me, the day before yesterday, to telegraph to Her Majesty's Government that he had been greatly influenced by their opinion, and hoped that they would not object to press upon the Porte the policy of treating him with generosity, I readily undertook to convey the message, without, of course, saying a word that could imply that I was, or that I could be, authorized to make any promises in the sense he desired.

Your Lordship's telegram, in reply, reached me last night, and I went to the Palace this morning and communicated its tenour to the Prince, who expressed himself as much gratified at the instructions which your Lordship has addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé

d'Affaires at Constantinople.

His Highness had also received a telegram from Prince Gortchakow congratulating him upon his decision, and wishing success to the negotiations.

No. 210.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

THIS morning, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I communicated to the Duc Decazes the substance of Mr. Consul Green's telegram of the 25th instant, respecting the summons dispatched by the Turkish Commander-in-chief to the Mirdites; and I expressed to his Excellency the hope of Her Majesty's Government that he would instruct the French Consul at Scutari to unite with his English colleague in urging conciliatory

advice.

The Duke has this evening spoken to me on the subject.

He says that he feels a difficulty in sending instructions to the French Consul to act as Mr. Green appears to have done, and to press the Mirdites to take the communication of the Turkish Commander-in-chief into serious consideration. He tells me, however, that he has been for some time in possession of information respecting the proceedings of the Turks towards the Mirdites, and has urged the Porte to send orders to put a stop to them.

No. 211.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

My Lord, Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 27 Février, 1877.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de la note confidentielle de votre Excellence d'aujourd'hui, relative à la question d'un Agent du Gouvernement Impérial à Belgrade, et dont j'ai immédiatement télégraphié la teneur à son Excellence Sasvet Pacha.

J'ai, &c. (Signé) MUSURUS.

(Translation.)

My Lord, Imperial Ottoman Embassy, London, February 27, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's confidential note of this day, relative to the question of an Agent of the Imperial Government at Belgrade, the substance of which I at once telegraphed to his Excellency Safvet Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

MUSURUS.

No. 212.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 1, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the Porte announces extension of the armistice until 21st instant exclusively. Prince Nicholas intends to consult Prince Milan before replying to the Porte's communication.

No. 213.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1.)

(Telegraphic.) Vienna, March 1, 1877.

I AM informed, with reference to the Mirdite difficulty, that the delegates have been released, and that the difficulty is got over for the present.

No. 214.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 1, 5.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, March 1, 1877, 4·15 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 26th ultimo, the Italian Consul at Scutari has been instructed to join his English colleague in recommending the Turkish authorities to act with prudence and conciliation.

No. 215.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 1, 1877.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 28th ultimo, I have to express the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt the result of the negotiations for peace between the Porte and Servia; and I have to convey to you their approval of your efforts to assist in arriving at the present arrangement.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 216.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 1, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

I AM informed that the Mirdite Chief Markos, whose imprisonment at Scutari was the principal cause of the disturbances, has been liberated to-day and allowed to return to his tribe. Grand Vizier has only now sent orders to liberate him unconditionally, which he promised to do some days ago.

No. 217.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

IN support of the opinion expressed to your Lordship in all my recent reports concerning the attitude that would be probably assumed by the P. Cort reports concerning the attitude that would be probably assumed by the P.

cerning the attitude that would be probably assumed by the Roman Catholic tribes of North Albania, I have the honour to transmit herewith the translation of a letter addressed by an Italian missionary to my Italian colleague, M. Berio.

I will not trouble your Lordship with details of the incidents alluded to in the missionary's letter, and will merely state that the mountaineers have thought the Turkish authorities here have attempted to trick them out of the right to be governed by Christian Mudirs, which, they understood, was conceded through the new Constitution.

Having ascertained from more than one trustworthy source that this information was not exaggerated, I called upon Dervish Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief, the Valibeing unable to attend to business owing to serious illness, and urged him to take steps for calming the excited mountaineers.

His Excellency said that the authorities had been deceived by some of the chiefs, who had led them to believe that their tribes wanted to be governed by Moslem Mudirs, but as the Government had no other wish than to satisfy the mountaineers, he would endeavour to obtain the speedy cancelling of the appointments of the obnoxious sub-governors.

Although there is no doubt that what may be termed a revolutionary feeling is making itself aparent among the Roman Catholic tribes, still, I trust, Dervish Pashas promised conciliatory measure will restore temporary, if not permanent, tranquillity.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 217.

Letter addressed by an Italian Missionary to M. Berio.

(Translation.) Sir,

I BELIEVE that you will be desirous to receive some information regarding these tribes of ours, and here I am to give you a few but exact details, and they concern all the tribes of Pulati without exception.

All the youth, and the greater part of the chiefs, as soon as they heard the Sultan had conceded that the Catholics might have a Catholic Governor, decided that they no

longer would have a Turk (Mahommedan), but a Catholic.

When during the first days of the current month they were summoned to Scutari by the Pasha, the few who decided to go were recommended by the maltitude (majority) not to bring to the mountains a Turkish (Mahommedan) Governor, threatening that if one was brought he would not be allowed to remain, and would be driven off ignominiously. The famous Mark Lula, with a few of his adherents, wished to have his own way and not that of the people, but the latter maintained what they had said and drove back the unacceptable Governor. (And about this matter, I believe, you have been minutely informed by others.)

It would now be well that his Excellency the Pasha should be advised not to treat these people with harshness but with the greatest softness, setting at liberty the poor men who are unjustly detained (as hostages), and granting them a Catholic Governor, and he may, possibly, by this means, congratulate himself on having them on his side. Acting in any other way he may be sure that these people will take other determinations which

will not be pleasant for his Excellency.

I give you this information privately.

At this very moment, whilst I am writing to you, a deputation to me of the youth of Scialla and Sciosci has arrived, and begs me to communicate to you what I have tol you above also in its name, and that the resolution of wishing to have a Catholic Governor is immovable, and further, that these peoples have great faith in your assistance. This is the information I give you, and you can make whatever use of it you may think most opportune.

In the meantime I am, &c.

No. 218.

M. Zankof to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 2.)

Bucarest (Roumanie), Calea Mosilor, 105, le 25 Février, 1877. Excellence,

LE Soussigné a l'honneur de remettre à votre Excellence ci-inclus, de la part de plusieurs districts de la Bulgarie, une pétition adressée au Parlement Anglais en langue Bulgare et signée par les notables de ces districts, ainsi qu'une traduction Anglaise de cette Pétition.

L'initiative qu'a bien voulu prendre le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre pour l'amélioration du sort de la nation Bulgare est une preuve assez éclatante pour que cette nation ait toujours les regards vers l'Angleterre. Le peuple Bulgare comprend déjà que le résultat de l'initiative Anglaise, les propositions de la Conférence de Constantinople, ne sera exécuté que par ce même grand peuple d'Angleterre.

Voilà pourquoi le peuple Bulgare ne s'adresse pour l'exécution prompte des propositions de la Conférence qu'au peuple Anglais, et votre Excellence daignera, le Soussigné l'espère, en soumettant au Parlement les vœux des pétitionnaires, employer son influence bienveillante pour l'accomplissement de l'œuvre commencé avec tant de bienveillance de cette Angleterre qui se fera un titre de plus de reconnaissance d'un peuple si intéressant sous tous les rapports.

Le Soussigné a ajouté au mot exécution l'adjectif prompte, parce que, d'après les rapports qu'il reçoit tous les jours, l'Administration Turque est devenue pire qu'avant la Conférence de Constantinople et que les Turcs n'entendent autre chose, par leur fameuse Constitution, que le retour au Chériat et par conséquent les malheurs des Bulgares

augmentent de jour en jour.

Le Soussigné, en signant tout seul cette lettre, doit remarquer à votre Excellence qu'en attendant que les affaires s'arrangent en Bulgarie, mon collègue, M. Balabanow, s'est établi à Vienne, et le Soussigné à Bucarest, où il a reçu la susdite Pétition.

Le Soussigné désirait adresser cette Pétition à votre Excellence par l'intermédiaire de l'Agent Diplomatique d'Angleterre à Bucarest, mais il se trouve dans ce moment à

Roustchouk.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) D. ZANKOF.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

THE Undersigned has the honour to transmit to your Excellency herewith on behalf of several districts of Bulgaria a Petition in the Bulgarian language addressed to the English Parliament, and signed by the notables of the said districts, together with an English translation of the Petition.

The initiative which the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England was good enough to take in favour of the amelioration of the condition of the Bulgarian nation is a sufficiently striking proof to induce that nation to look always to England. The people of Bulgaria already understand that the result of the English initiative, namely, the proposals of the Constantinople Conference, can only be carried by the same great English nation.

Therefore the people of Bulgaria address themselves only to the English nation to obtain a prompt execution of the proposals of the Conference, and the undersigned trust that your Excellency will condescend, when submitting the prayer of the petitioners to Parliament, to employ your benevolent influence for the accomplishment of the work begun with so much good-will on the part of England, which will establish a yet further claim to the gratitude of a people so interesting in all respects.

The undersigned has added to the word "execution" the adjective "prompt," because, according to the reports which he receives daily, the Turkish Administration has become worse than it was before the Constantinople Conference, and the Turks understand nothing by their boasted Constitution but a return to the "Chériat;" and in consequence the misfortunes of the Bulgarians increase from day to day.

The undersigned, in signing this letter alone, begs to observe to your Excellency that, until affairs are settled in Bulgaria, his colleague, M. Balabanow, has established himself at Vienna, while the undersigned is at Bucharest, where he has received the said Petition.

The undersigned wished to have addressed the Petition to your Excellency through the English Diplomatic Agent at Bucharest, but that gentleman is just now absent at Rustchuk.

(Signed)

D. ZANKOFF.

Inclosure in No. 218.

Petition.

(Translation of the Bulgarian.)

To the Honourable and most respectful Gentlemen, Representatives in both Chambers of the English Parliament.

My Lords,

THE Bulgarian nation believed that the Conference summoned in Constantinople by the Plenipotentiaries of the six Great Powers will dry up once for ever the spring of its sufferings and groanings, and will open to it the way of peace and prosperity; but its conspired enemy paralyzed its hope by refusing to accept the propositions of this Conference.

The Turkish Government rejected the propositions of the Great Powers by placing before them the Constitution extemporized by Midhat Pasha. And what good did the wretched nationalities in Turkey derive from it? This Constitution has been officially published two months ago, that is, on the 25th of December, 1876, and until the present day we do not see any change in the administration of the Turkish Empire, as well as in the general tendency of the spirit of the Mussulmans. The threatening of new massacres, the plunder, the murders, the rape, are deeds which never have ceased. Everywhere the nation complains of the wrongs committed by the Councils, and of the heavy taxation and compulsory assistance of the zaptiehs (police officers), and of the soldiers who are called to arms, &c., &c. Everything is going on worse and worse than it was before the proclamation of the Constitution.

When Turkey was not a Constitutional Government, we, the Bulgarians, enjoyed at least ecclesiastical sovereignty, obtained with so much trouble and sacrifices after a long and obstinate controversy with the Greek clergy; while now they try to deprive us from

it, because the Exarch has not been willing to express his thanks for the Constitution, having said that beforehand he desires to see the exact realization of its laws and its good

results already promised.

Indeed, according to the Constitutional law, several individuals were chosen from the Bulgarians also, some for delegates in the Parliament, others for Kaïmakams (governor of a secondary county), for Mudirs (petty governor of district), but this was done without the least knowledge of the population; consequently the Bulgarian nation does not expect any good from the former as well as from the latter, both being chosen by the Government and being men belonging to the Government and not to their country, and as such they will follow the policy of the Government and little will they care for the interest of their own countrymen. Besides that the number of the Turkish representatives being comparatively greater than that of the Christians, the majority in the Parliament will be always on the side of the Turks, so that even if we suppose that among the latter will be found such who will energetically defend the interests of the nationalities to which they belong, again their voice will be void because the majority of the Turks will be always against it.

Therefore, it is a great error if the Bulgarian nation expects any good from the new-proclaimed Constitution. It sees that this Constitution is nothing more than a mere reiteration of the Hatti-Humaïouns and Hatti-Sherif which never have been carried out. Consequently the Bulgarians are contented with no reforms promised by the Turkish Government without being obliged to guarantee for them before the Great Powers.

In consequence of that the Bulgarians, encouraged by the warm-hearted sympathy which the great English nation has testified lately towards their unfortunate condition, and by the promptness with which it came to their help, as well as by the cordial reception of their delegates, take the liberty to have recourse to you, gentlemen, its distinguished representatives, and beg most humbly of you to stretch your helping hand to

them by inducing the Porte to receive the propositions of the Conference.

It is not a foreign instigation, as some are wont to believe, which has made the Bulgarian nation to undertake to seek a remedy for its intolerable condition, and to have recourse to the most desperate means. A nation, which has historical traditions more or less glorious, with a numerical importance, and which has been treated for five centuries as slaves in the true sense of the word, is it not entitled to claim a better and more suitable condition, a condition which will insure to it the goods, the life, and the honour of its domestic hearth, and will allow it to stride freely in the paths of civilization?

There is nobody in the world who, considering the historical life of the Turks, their present financial bankruptcy, and the utmost poverty of their subjugated nations, in spite of the fertility of the soil which they inhabit, and their industry, is not convinced that the Ottomans are not able to govern, and that by their rough and wild character, which clearly exhibited itself in the wholesale massacres of last year, and by their severe religious fanaticism, they are, for Europe, in the present civilized century, a disgraceful anachronism; therefore, if Europe takes from the hands of the Turkish race the administration of these beautiful and rich countries, and entrusts it to their proper sons, full of power and ability to govern themselves, incomparably better than the Turkish administrators, who are deprived of the most elementary knowledge, she will perform a deed for which all future civilized centuries will be grateful to her.

Nations never forget their benefactors. If the great English nation helps the Bulgarians to secure, partially, at least, their privileges, it will see how much in the future the

Bulgarian nation will be grateful for this favour.

There is nothing which prevents Great Britain to do for the Bulgarians that which she has done once for the Greeks, and there is no reason why the Bulgarians will not be grateful, if not more, at least so much as the Greeks are. The wounds of the Bulgarian wretched nation are deep, and he who cures them will earn its sympathies and its gratitude for ever.

Believing, gentlemen, that the despaired supplications of a Christian nation, wronged, persecuted, plundered, dishonoured, and murdered, by the cruellest and most barbarous manner, will find an echo in your noble hearts, and that its hopes intrusted to you, as to a last asylum, will be fully realized, we beg of you to receive the assurances of our deep respect and consideration to you.

Your most obedient servants,

(Follow the signatures of the Deputies of ten towns in Bulgaria, namely, Tirnovo, Rustchuck, Sliven, Shumla, Varna, Sistow, Tulcha, Vidin, Sophia, and Kotel.)

Tirnovo, February $\frac{1}{13}$, 1877.

No. 219.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 2.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 1 Mars, 1877.

PAR l'initiative et sous l'auguste patronage de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, une Ecole Civile d'Administration a été fondée à Constantinople, dans laquelle seront admis les élèves Musulmans et non-Musulmans sans distinction. Cette institution est destinée à former des fonctionnaires pour toutes les administrations de l'Etat soit pour la capitale, soit pour les provinces, y compris les emplois de la diplomatie. Elle témoigne hautement de la ferme volonté de Sa Majesté Impériale d'élever le niveau des études qui doivent rendre les jeunes Ottomans aptes à l'exercice des fonctions publiques, et surtout de ne laisser subsister aucune distinction entre les Musulmans et les non-Musulmans, et de faire du mérite personnel l'unique titre aux emplois de l'Etat.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

BY the initiative and under the august patronage of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan a civil school of administration has been founded at Constantinople, to which Mussulman and non-Mussulman pupils will be admitted without distinction. This institution is destined for the education of officials for all the administrations of the State either in the capital or the provinces, including the diplomatic department. It is a high proof of the determined wish of His Imperial Majesty to raise the standard of those studies which should make the young Ottomans fit for the discharge of public duties, and especially to allow no difference to exist between Mussulman and non-Mussulman, and to make personal merit the only claim to services of the State.

No. 220.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 2.)

Comme les Délégués Monténégrins ne sont pas encore arrivés à Constantinople pour commencer les négociations de paix, nous avons cru nécessaire de prolonger jusqu'au 21 Mars, nouveau style, exclusivement, l'armistice qui a expiré hier. Son Altesse le Grand Vizir a déjà télégraphié cette décision au Prince Nicolas, en le priant de donner, de son côté, des ordres en conséquence. Quant à la Servie, il n'y avait pas lieu de prendre mesure, les négociations qui sont en bonne voie étant sur le point d'aboutir.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

AS the Montenegrin Delegates have not yet arrived at Constantinople to commence the peace negotiations, we have judged it necessary to prolong till the 21st of March, new style exclusive, the armistice which expired yesterday. His Highness the Grand Vizier has already telegraphed this decision to Prince Nicholas, and begged him, on his side, to give orders accordingly. As regards Servia, there was no need to take any steps, as the negotiations are on the point of being successfully terminated.

No. 221.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

A TELEGRAM has been sent by Prince Nicholas to Grand Vizier stating that as the Montenegrin Delegates would not arrive at Constantinople before the expiration of the armistice, he had already given orders to his Commanders not to commit nor permit any act of hostility whatever without orders from himself.

No. 222.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 3.)

(Extract.) Cettigne, February 20, 1877.

MM. Petrovich and Radonich started this morning for Cattaro to take their passage on board the Lloyd's steamer for Corfu. They will hardly arrive at Constantinople before the conclusion of the armistice.

Their departure was announced to the Porte by a telegram of which the inclosed is a

copy.

I have also the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of the letter of credence and of the full powers with which these gentlemen are intrusted, as well as of the

instructions which the Prince has given them.

The Montenegrin demands include a larger territorial aggrandizement than that proposed by the Six Powers, with the addition of the port of Spizza; a complete amnesty for all the Herzegovinians now in Montenegro, supplemented by suggestions for their repatriation; and an understanding respecting the proposals of 1875, relating to a modus vivendi, and to the free navigation of the Lake of Scutari and of the River Boyana.

With respect to the refugees, the Prince would wish to co-operate with the Turkish authorities in restoring them to their homes; and he says—and he begged me to repeat to your Lordship his words—that he guarantees to have all these unfortunates located and housed in forty days, if the Turks will enter into his views. If not, he is sure that neither those in Montenegro nor those in Dalmatia will ever return to the Herzegovina as long as the Turkish domination continues.

Inclosure 1 in No. 222.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.)

EN exécution de la décision que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous annoncer par ma dépêche du 14 courant, je viens informer votre Altesse que mes Délégués, son Excellence le Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, Président du Sénat, et le Voivode Stanko Radonich, Sénateur, partent par le bateau de ce jour de Cattaro, se rendant à Constantinople par la voie de Corfou.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

IN execution of the decision which I have had the honour of announcing to you by my despatch of the 14/16 th instant, I proceed to inform your Highness that my Delegates, His Excellency the Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, President of the Senate, and the Vovoide Stanko Rodonich, Senator, leave Cattaro by to-day's boat, and proceed to Constantinople by way of Corfu.

Inclosure 2 in No. 222.

The Prince of Montenegro to Edhem Pasha.

Altesse, Cettigné, le 79 Février, 1877.

EN exécution de la décision que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous annoncer par le télégraphe et dans le but de traiter avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan pour le rétablissement de la paix, j'ai résolu d'envoyer deux délégués au siége du Gouvernement Impérial. J'ai choisi, pour cette honorable mission, son Excellence M. le Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, Président du Sénat, et M. le Voivode Stanko Radonich, Sénateur, et Chef de ma Chancellerie pour les Affaires Etrangères, et je leur remets les pleins pouvoirs nécessaires. La connaissance que j'ai de leur capacité, et de leur dévouement, me donne la certitude qu'ils ne négligeront rien pour amener à un heureux résultat les négociations dont je les charge.

Je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien donner une entière créance à ce que mes délégués lui diront de ma part, et, en particulier, au sincère désir qu'ils lui exprimeront en mon nom de voir les relations entre la Sublime Porte et le Monténégro établies sur un pied

qui promette de longues années de paix et de bons rapports.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) NICOLAS.
X 2

(Translation.)

Highness, Cettigné, February 7, 1877.

IN execution of the decision which I have had the honour of announcing to you by telegraph, and with the object of treating for the re-establishment of peace with the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, I have resolved to send two delegates to the seat of the Imperial Government. I have selected for this honourable mission his Excellency the Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, President of the Senate, and the Voivode Stanko Radonich, Senator, and Chief of my Chancery for Foreign Affairs, and I intrust them with the necessary full powers. The knowledge which I possess of their ability and devotion assures me that they will neglect nothing to bring the negotiations with which I charge them to a fortunate termination.

I beg your Highness to be good enough to place entire belief in what my delegates will state to you on my behalf, and especially in the sincere desire which they will express to you in my name of seeing the relations between the Sublime Porte and Montenegro established upon a footing which may promise long years of peace and

good understanding.

I seize, &c. (Signed) NICHOLAS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 222.

Full Powers to MM. Petrovich and Radonich.

NOUS, Nicolas I, par la grâce de Dieu, Prince de Monténégro et de Berda,

Savoir faisons:

Que, afin de terminer tous différends entre nous et l'Empire Ottoman, de rétablir une harmonie parfaite et les relations de commerce et d'amitié entre les deux pays, nous avons trouvé bon de charger de ce soin deux personnes jouissant de notre confiance. En conséquence nous avons nommé et commissionné son Excellence le Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, Président de notre Sénat, et le Voivode Stanko Radonich, Sénateur, et Chef de notre Chancellerie pour les Affaires Etrangères, conjointement et séparément, nos Envoyés Extraordinaires et Plénipotentiaires auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, les autorisant à conférer avec les Ministres, Commissaires, ou Délégués de Sa Majesté Impériale, munis de pleins pouvoirs, à négocier avec eux au sujet de toutes les causes de différends existant entre l'Empire et la Principauté, afin d'y mettre fin d'une manière juste et durable, ainsi qu'à conclure et signer tout Traité et Convention à cet effet, en nous les transmettant pour notre ratification finale.

Donné à Cettigné, le sept (dix-neuf) Février, mil huit cent soixante-dix-sept, sous

notre sceau et notre signature.

(Signé)

NICOLAS.

(Translation.)

WE, Nicholas I, by the Grace of God, Prince of Montenegro and Berda, make known—

That in order to put an end to all differences between ourselves and the Ottoman Empire to re-establish perfect harmony and commercial and friendly relations between the two countries, we have thought fit to intrust this task to two persons enjoying our confidence. Accordingly we have named and commissioned his Excellency the Voivode Bogidar Petrovich, President of our Senate, and the Voivode Stanko Radonich, Senator and Head of our Chancery for Foreign Affairs, conjointly and separately, our Envoys Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, authorizing them to confer with the Ministers, Commissioners, or Delegates of His Imperial Majesty, furnished with full powers to negotiate with them on the subject of all the causes of difference existing between the Empire and the Principality, with the view to put an end to them in a just and lasting manner, as well as to conclude and sign every Treaty and Convention to that effect, transmitting them to us for our final ratification.

Given at Cettigné, the 7th (19th) day of February, 1877, under our seal and signature.

(Signed)

NICHOLAS.

No. 223.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord, Rome, February 27, 1877.

I LOST no time, after the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, in calling upon M. Melegari and acquainting him with the instructions which your Lordship has addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Scutari, and to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, relative to the critical state of affairs amongst the Mirdite population.

M. Melegari informed me that he had likewise desired the Italian Consul at Scutari, and the Italian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, to urge a conciliatory course of

proceeding in dealing with these affairs.

His Excellency, however, seemed to wish it to be understood that, having withdrawn the Italian Minister at Constantinople, and having thus broken off, so to say, political relations with the Porte, the Italian Government did not think it right to desire their Chargé d'Affaires to make any formal communication to the Turkish Government upon political affairs, and consequently the instructions sent to M. Gavagna only authorized him to take an opportunity of speaking upon these matters, "selon la réserve qui nous est imposée par la position diplomatique dans laquelle nous nous trouvons."

In the same manner I understand the Italian Chargé d'Affaires to have been instructed to urge upon the Turkish Ministers the wisdom of their giving effect to the principal measures proposed by the Conference, so as to prevent the occurrence of greater compli-

cations.

Your Lordship's further telegram of yesterday's date, desiring me to acquaint the Italian Government with the substance of Mr. Consul Green's telegram respecting his communication with the Turkish Commander-in-chief and his Austrian, French, and Italian colleagues, and to express the hope that the Italian Consul might be instructed to join his English colleague in recommending conciliation, was only delivered to me on my arrival at the Chancery to-day, just after having seen M. Melegari.

I immediately, therefore, addressed a note, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, to M. Melegari, giving effect to your Lordship's instructions, and in order to save time in translating, as his Excellency is not well acquainted with English, I wrote it in French,

giving it a semi-official form.

I have, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Sir A. Paget to Signor Melegari.

Mon cher Ministre,

Rome, le 27 Février, 1877.

ARRIVE à la Chancellerie je trouve un télégramme de Lord Derby dont voici la substance.

Le Consul de Sa Majesté à Scutari annonce qu'ayant appris que la conduite des affaires Mirdites s'était passée aux mains des autorités militaires, il avait engagé le Commandeur-en-chef d'agir d'une manière conciliante. Le Commandeur-en-chef a montré au Consul des lettres qu'il était au moment d'expédier à Bib Doda et aux autres Chefs dans lesquelles il les sommait de revenir à leur allégiance en leur accordant deux jours pour reflêchir, et leur promettant avantages ultérieurs en cas d'obéissance.

Le Consul ajoute que s'étant adressé à ses collègues d'Autriche, de France, et d'Italie pour les engager à écrire à Bib Doda en même temps que lui-même pour le pousser à prendre la communication du Commandeur-en-chef en sérieuse considération, le Consul Français a répondu que ses instructions ne le permettaient pas de faire une pareille démarche, tandis que les deux autres ont dit qu'ils ne bougeraient pas sans une invitation

formelle de la part du Commandeur-en-chef.

Notre Consul craint donc que ses efforts isolés ne produisent pas le résultat désiré, et dans deux jours les opérations contre les Mirdites doivent commencer. 4,600 troupes.

regulières se trouvent déjà sur les confins de la Miridicie.

En vous faisant part de ces renseignements, Lord Derby me charge d'exprimer l'espoir que le Représentant de l'Italie soit autorisé à agir d'accord avec son collègue d'Angleterre en recommandant la conciliation.

J'ai lieu de croire qu'une demande semblable aura été adressé aux Cabinets de Paris et de Vienne.

Veuillez, &c. A. PAGET. (Signé)

(Translation.)

Rome, February 27, 1877. Mon cher Ministre,

ON my arrival at the Chancery, I found a telegram from Lord Derby, of which the

substance is as follows:-

Her Majesty's Consul at Scutari having learnt that the conduct of Mirdite affairs had passed into the hands of the military authorities, he had urged the Commander-in-chief to act in a conciliatory manner. The Commander-in-chief showed the Consul letters which he was on the point of despatching to Bib Doda and the other Chiefs, in which he summoned them to return to their allegiance, giving them two days' delay for consideration, and promising them further advantages in the event of their obedience.

The Consul adds that, having endeavoured to induce his Austrian, French, and Italian colleagues to write to Bib Doda at the same time as himselt, to urge him to take the communication to the Commander-in-chief into serious consideration, the French Consul had answered that his instructions would not allow of his taking such a step, while the other two stated that they would do nothing without a formal invitation from

the Commander-in-chief.

Our Consul is afraid that his isolated efforts will not produce the desired effect, and in two days the operations against the Mirdites are to commence. There are already 4,600 men on the Miridician frontier.

I am instructed by Lord Derby in communicating to you this information to express the hope that the Italian Representative may be authorized to act in concert with his English colleague in recommending conciliation.

I have reason to believe that a similar request has been made to the Cabinets of

Paris and Vienna.

Accept, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 224.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord, Paris, March 2, 1877.

THE Duc Decazes mentioned to me this morning that a communication had been made to him, on the part of Prince Gortchakow, to the effect that, General Ignatiew being obliged to go abroad to consult an oculist, advantage had been taken of the opportunity to instruct him to give to the several Governments at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and London, explanations which would very much facilitate their answers to the Russian Circular of

the state January.

The Duc Decazes observed that this communication from Prince Gortchakow appeared to show that the Russian Government were willing to wait for the answers to the Circular

until General Ignatiew had fulfilled his mission in the several capitals.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 225.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord, Paris, March 2, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Duc Decazes told me this morning that the troubles in Mirdicia had been appeased.

I told him that intelligence had reached Her Majesty's Government from Vienna that the difficulty had been got over, for the time, by the release of the Mirdite Delegates who had been imprisoned by the Turks.

> I have, &c. LYONS. (Signed)

No 226.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 3.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 1 Mars, 1877.

LES Délégués Serviens ont remis à la Sublime Porte une note contenant des explications satisfaisantes sur les garanties morales que nous avions demandées pour le rétablissement de la paix. L'accord s'étant ainsi établi conformément à cette note explicative, un Acte a été signé hier sur les bases suivantes:—

1. Rétablissement du statu quo ante.

2. Amnistie pleine et entière à tous les individus compromis dans les derniers événements, et

3. Evacuation dans le délai de 12 jours, à partir d'hier, du territoire occupé par les troupes Impériales et les troupes Serviennes.

Je vous enverrai bientôt les documents relatifs à cette entente.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

THE Servian Delegates have delivered to the Sublime Porte a note containing satisfactory explanations respecting the moral guarantees which we had demanded for the re-establishment of peace. As an understanding has thus been established in accordance with this explanatory note, an Act was signed yesterday on the following bases:—

1. Re-establishment of the statu quo ante.

- 2. Full and complete amnesty to all the individuals compromised in the recent events.
- 3. Evacuation in the space of twelve days, dating from yesterday, of the territory occupied by the Imperial and Servian troops.

I will shortly send you the documents relating to this understanding.

No. 227.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Foreign Office, March 3, 1877.

I APPROVE the language held by you to the Prince of Montenegro in expressing your opinion as to the policy which, in his own interests, he should pursue towards the Porte, as reported in your despatch of the 18th ultimo.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 228.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 3, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me to-day, and said that he was authorized by his Government to request Her Majesty's Government to delay their reply to Prince Gortchakow's Circular of the 19th of January until they received certain further explanations which the Russian Government had to offer.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 229.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby. +-(Received March 3, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 3, 1877, 5.30 P.M.

I HAVE been assured by the Grand Vizier that Porte had never had any intention of summoning Russia to disarm, nor would it ever entertain such an idea.

* Telegraphed on March 5. † First paragraph repeated to Embassies. With regard to the disarmament of Turkey, his Highness said that no resolution whatever had yet been taken by the Porte, but the expenditure actually incurred was so great that it would certainly be necessary to place the army on a peace footing as soon as peace was concluded.

The Grand Vizier added that he would gladly be guided by the views of Her

Majesty's Government in regard to the future policy of Turkey.

No. 230.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that rewards have been offered by the provincial authorities, as per inclosed translated extract of the "Notification" published in the "Selanik Gazette" of the "57th instant, for any information that may be given as will lead to the discovery and apprehension of the criminals Ismail Agha, Adil

Agha, Deli Mehmed and his son, Mola Ali, and Ali of Terkova, implicated in the late massacres in the province of Philippopolis.

The notification in question has been sent to all the district Governors in the Vilayet of Salonica.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 230.

Notification offering Rewards for the Apprehension of Criminals implicated in Atrocities in Bulgaria.

(Extrait.) (Traduction.)

1. 5,000 Piastres pour la capture d'Ismail Agha de Ropsos.

Il a commis à la tête des Bashi-Bozouks des actes de violence dans le village de Bokova et il l'a incendié.

2. 5,000 piastres pour la capture d'Adil Agha.

Il a assisté son frère, le susdit Ismail Agha, à commettre des actes de violence, et à incendier le village de Bokova.

3. 5,000 piastres pour la capture de Deli Mehmed, de Ropsios.

Il a pillé le village de Tove, et a tué des habitants du même village.

4. 5,000 piastres pour la capture de Mola Ali.

Il a commis divers méfaits dans le village de Batak.

5. 5,000 piastres pour la capture d'Ali de Tekova.

Il a commis des méfaits à Batak.

6. 3,000 piastres pour la capture de Hassan, fils de Deli Mehmed.

Il a assisté son père dans le pillage du village Tove.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

1. 5,000 piastres for the capture of Ismail Agha of Propsos.

He committed acts of violence, at the head of the Bashi-Bazouks, in the village of Bokova, which he burnt.

2. 5,000 piastres for the capture of Adil Agha.

He helped his brother, the aforesaid Ismail Agha, in committing acts of violence, and in burning the village of Bokova.

3. 5,000 piastres for the capture of Deli Mehmed, of Propsios.

He pillaged the village of Tove, and killed some of the inhabitants.

4. 5,000 piastres for the capture of Mola Ali.

He committed various crimes in the village of Batak.

5. 5,000 piastres for the capture of Ali, of Tekova. He committed crimes at Batak.

6. 3,000 piastres for the capture of Hassan, son of Deli Mehmed. He helped his father in pillaging the village of Tove.

No. 231.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 4.)

Salonica, February 21, 1877. My Lord,

WITH reference to my report dated Constantinople, December 16, 1876, to Sir Henry Elliot,* relative to the efforts of the Pasha of Salonica to recover and restore to their homes the women and children who have been carried away from Batak and brought to Nevrocop and other districts in this vilayet, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the Governors of Serres and Drama have both been recalled by the Porte in consequence of the complaints the Pasha addressed against them to the Grand Vizier for not properly assisting him in this matter.

Djellaleddin Bey has been appointed Governor of Drama, and Mustapha Effendi

Governor of Serres.

I have, &c. J. E. BLUNT. (Signed)

No. 232.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 4.)

Salonica, February 22, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copies of a correspondence relative to the appearance of two bands of robbers, believed to be Greeks, in districts of Catterina and Veria, on this side of Mount Olympus, and to the intention of the local Medjliss to employ Bashi-Bazouks in pursuit of these robbers.

The correspondence includes the translations of two telegrams, one addressed by the Pasha of Salonica to the local Council, and the other received by him from the Minister

of the Interior.

Intelligence reached here this morning that the brigands have left the districts of Catterina and Veria, retiring towards Allassona, in the Vilayet of Janina.

The Pasha returned here last night from the interior, and I have the satisfaction to

report that he is determined not to employ Bashi-Bazouks, as proposed by his Council.

It is worthy of notice that the "Mufti." the chief Mahommedan ecclesiastical authority here, strongly approved and supported the remonstrances which Yenidounia Effendi,

Director of Political Affairs (Christian) addressed to the local Council against the employment of irregular troops for police purposes.

I have, &c. J. E. BLUNT. (Signed)

Salonica, February 19, 1877.

P.S.—Mr. Vice-Consul Blakeney, in a recent letter from Prevesa, reports that a band of brigands, six in number, has turned up close to Caranossara, frontier of Greece, under the leadership of Tsokos, said to be a brother of Takos Arvanitaki, and that Greek detachments of police along the frontier are on the look-out for them.

J. E. B.

Inclosure 1 in No. 232.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, WITH reference to my telegram of this date reporting the sudden appearance of two bands of brigands, believed to be Greeks, in districts of Catterina and Veria, on this side of Mount Olympus, and the intention of the local authorities to employ Bashi-Bazouks in pursuit of these bands, I hasten to report that it would be most injudicious and dangerous to permit the authorities to resort to the services of these irregulars, or Circassians (of whom there is a large village at Catterina) for police purposes

in Macedonia; and to express the hope that the Porte will despatch peremptory orders in the above sense to the Acting Governor-General of Salonica.

It is not yet certain if the appearance of the above bands is in any way connected with a political movement.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 232.

The Governor-General of Salonica to the Acting Governor at Salonica.

(Telegraphic.) (Extract.)

(Translation.)

Perlepé, February 19, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram, and approve of the measures you propose for pursuit of brigands at Catterina and Veria, excepting that of employing Bashi-Bazouks, which must not be carried out till I hear from the Porte on the subject.

Besides despatching separate detachments of police against these bands, and employing secret emissaries and means, offer rewards for any information likely to lead to their discovery or capture.

Inclosure 3 in No. 232.

The Minister of the Interior to the Governor-General of Salonica.

(Telegraphic.)

(Extract.)

Sublime Porte, February 20, 1877.

THE resorting to Bashi-Bazouks will do more harm than good, and you must not employ their services. The police of the vilayet should be employed; and you have done well to dispatch the Alai Bey with gendarmes in pursuit of the brigands at Catterina and Veria. Should he need support, form and send to him a picked body of men, to be composed of three or four policemen from each of the neighbouring districts.

Inclosure 4 in No. 232.

Consul Blunt to Vice-Consul Suter.

Sir,

Salonica, February 21, 1877.

I HAVE to request you to report to me by telegraph immediately you hear of any intention on the part of local authorities to resort to the services of Bashi-Bazouks or Circassians, for police purposes in your district.

The same as above was sent to the British Vice-Consuls at Cavalla and Prevesa.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 5 in No. 232.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Cummings.

Sir,

Salonica, February 21, 1877.

THE authorities have received intelligence that two formidable bands of robbers have made their appearance in districts of Veria and Catterina, on this side of Mount Olympus. They are taking, I believe, some special measures against these bands, and as I hear you are about to return to Tricovista,* you will, I trust, excuse my recommending you not to expose yourself in the hills.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

^{* &}quot;Tricovista," a farm in the district of Veria, owned by Mr. J. C. Cummings and Captain Lynge, British subjects.

No. 233.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord, Rome, March 1, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th of February, inclosing copy of a note which I had addressed to M. Melegari requesting that the Italian Consul at Scutari might be instructed to join his English colleague in recommending prudence and conciliation in regard to the Mirdite affairs, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Melegari told me last evening that he had sent telegraphic instructions to the Italian Consul in the sense desired by your Lordship.

1 have, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 234.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE authorities here state that they have now decided not to attack the Mirdites, but they have ordered all the market towns to be closed to them, and it appears likely that reprisals may take place in consequence of this measure,

No. 235.

Consul Barker to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 5.)

My Lord, Canea, Crese, February 13, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival here of his Excellency Mouhktar Pasha, to take charge of the Governor-Generalship of this island until the arrival of Samih Pasha from Erzeroum; and immediately on his arrival Réouf Pasha left

for Constantinople.

A few days before Réouf Pasha's departure he received by telegraph a Circular from the Grand Vizierate informing him "of the departure of the Plenipotentiaries and Ambassadors from Constantinople; but that this event, which is a temporary phase in the diplomatic situation, does not interfere with the political relations subsisting between the European Powers and the Imperial Government, and his Excellency is invited to continue to maintain as before the most friendly and sincere relations with their Consuls and their subjects, and to take care that nothing irregular or improper shall happen."

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

No. 236.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 5.)

(Extract.)

AT an interview with Prince Gortchakow yesterday his Highness informed with apparent satisfaction that the peace negotiations between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro were progressing favourably, and his Highness appeared to entertain no doubts as their successful issue.

I stated to his Highness that he had probably received information by telegraph of the verbal communication your Lordship had made to Count Schouvaloff on the 15th instant, in regard to the reply of Her Majesty's Government to his Circular despatch; but I thought it desirable that his Highness should be made acquainted with the terms in which that communication had been made. I accordingly read to him your Lordship's telegram to me of the 15th instant.

Prince Gortchakow made no direct observation in reply, but appeared to view the postponement of an answer to his Circular with regret. He said that the present position

of affairs was extremely prejudicial to Russia; that the mobilization of the army cost 13,000,000 monthly; and that a prolonged delay in ascertaining the decision of the European Powers imposed on Russia a costly sacrifice.

His Highness seemed further much disconcerted by the report he had received of the debate in the House of Commons on Friday night on Mr. Gladstone's interpellation, observing that if Turkey could feel secure from any coercive measures, the influence of

Europe would be paralyzed.

I observed to his Highness that he must admit that any precipitate action on the. part of Europe would be most unwise and ill-judged at this moment. If, I remarked, peace was happily concluded between the Porte, Servia, and Montenegro, one of the objects of the European Conference was attained. In regard to the question of reforms, it could not be expected that the Porte could put them into execution in twenty-four hours. The greater portion of the reforms recommended by the Conference had been accepted by the Porte, and harmonized with the Constitution which had been proclaimed.

It was reasonable, therefore, for Europe to grant a certain respite to the Porte to enable it to prove its sincerity in the assurances given. A period of twelve months would enable the Porte to give evidence of its determination to carry out the proposed

reforms.

Prince Gortchakow replied that Russia could not wait for twelve, or even six months, with the military cost she was now incurring. The reforms, he observed, could be perfectly inaugurated within two months.

No. 237.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 5, 11.30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 4, 1877, 10.6 A.M. PRINCE NICHOLAS has telegraphed to his Delegates formally to state to the Grand Vizier that he accepts the prolongation of the armistice.

No. 238.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 5, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me on the 1st instant, and introduced to me Vahan Effendi, Under-Secretary of State to the Turkish Minister of Justice, who presented

to me a letter from the Grand Vizier, of which I inclose a copy herewith.*

Vahan Effendi said that he was personally charged by the Sultan to explain to me the reasons of Midhat Pasha's dismissal, and of his exile. There was no charge against the late Grand Vizier of conspiracy, as had been reported, or of any grave public offence; but the Sultan considered that he had been assuming personally a position which was incom-

patible with his (the Sultan's) own authority.

Midhat Pasha took all the power into his own hands, seemed disposed to allow the Sultan no voice in public affairs, and allowed himself to use unbecoming expressions in regard to opinions expressed or suggestions made by the Sovereign. appointments entirely in his own control, and was surrounded by a party whose language was not such as any Minister ought to countenance. He allowed it to be said that the Constitution was his personal work, and had been extorted from the Sultan against His Majesty's will; whereas the fact was, that the Sultan, on coming to the throne, had been determined to grant the Constitution, which he believed to be necessary for the welfare of the Empire.

There were persons connected with Midhat Pasha who did not scruple to talk about the unnecessary expenses of the Sultan's Court, and the possibility of placing some other member of the family on the throne instead of him. Though it was not alleged that Midhat Pasha had personally held or encouraged this language, yet, when remonstrances had been made to him on the subject, he would give no other answer than that he could

not interfere with the free expression of opinion.

These causes had led to Midhat's dismissal from office.

He was sent into exile, not as a penal measure, but because he had so many partizans

in Constantinople that his presence among them would have been attended with public inconvenience, and even danger; and the only reason for keeping back these facts from the European public was, that the Sultan appreciated Midhat's abilities and services, and was anxious to avoid an exposure, which would have destroyed his character as a public man.

Vahan Effendi then went on to speak of the progress that was making in carrying into effect the reforms promised by the Constitution. Active steps, he said, were being taken to create an efficient police, and French officers of gendarmerie were being selected for the purpose. Several Commissions of Inquiry had been appointed with a view to reforms in the judicial system, and it was intended to introduce European administration into the management of the finances.

He felt confident that within two or three months—perhaps within a shorter period -

a substantial progress would have been made.

Vahan Effendi concluded by warm expressions of gratitude towards the English Government for the goodwill which they had shown to that of Turkey in the difficult and dangerous crisis through which his country was passing.

I made a suitable reply, declining to express any opinion on the causes which had led to a change of Ministers, but thanking Vahan Effendi for the interesting details which he

had been so good as to communicate.

In regard to the reforms of which he had spoken, I said that it was most important that some at least of them should be brought into actual operation at the earliest possible moment. Assurances of improvements to be made in the future were looked upon with a certain distrust, but that distrust would be removed if it were once seen that a beginning had been made sufficient to show that the Porte was really in earnest in the resolutions which it had so frequently expressed.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 239.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 6.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 5 Mars, 1877.

VEUILLEZ démentir les rumeurs qui circulent à l'étranger sur la santé et sur la vie privée de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan. Il n'y a pas un mot de vrai dans tout ce que la melveillance débite à cet égard.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

BE good enough to deny the rumours prevalent abroad respecting the private life of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. There is not a word of truth in all that ill-will circulates on this head.

No. 240.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 6.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 6 Mars, 1877. LES Délégués Monténégrins sont arrivés. Ils m'ont remis leurs demandes écrites, et nous sommes entrés en négociation.

Je me réserve de vous tenir au courant de la marche de ces négociations.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE Montenegrin Delegates have arrived.

They have handed to me their written demands, and we have opened negotiations.

I will keep you informed of the progress of negotiations.

No. 241.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 8, 1877.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 1st instant, and have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction that the Italian Government had sent instructions to their Consul at Scutari to unite with Her Majesty's Consul in recommending prudence and conciliation in regard to Mirdite affairs.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 242.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 8, 7 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 8, 1877, 2 P.M.

THE following are the demands of Montenegrin Delegates :-

Roughly speaking, the rectification of the frontier which was proposed at the Conference, adding the islands at the northern end of the Lake of Scutari, but not including the territory north-west of the Southern Zubci.

The port of Spizza, and a small portion of the country, uniting it to the Principality. Freedom of navigation of the Boyana, which is to be made navigable to small vessels. A proportion of men for this work to be furnished by Montenegro. 80,000 refugees from Herzegovina to be restored to their homes.

If any difficulty is raised respecting the cession of territory about and north of Nichsich on the north, and of right bank of the Moracha on the south, the Delegates will consider it useless to negotiate further.

The Porte has appointed Moukhtar Pasha and Constant Pasha to treat on its behalf. I have pointed out that the imprudence of this step may seriously compromise the success of the negotiations.

I shall endeavour to ascertain the views of Moukhtar Pasha.

No. 243.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord, Scutari, February 26, 1877.

ALL through the past week the state of affairs in Mirdicia has been increasing in gravity.

The authorities here, although denying it to the public, hurried, night after night, troops and artillery from this to the confines of Mirdicia, and now upwards of 4,600 infantry and a battery and a half of artillery are collected at Alessio and Miet under the

respective commands of Brigadier General Ali Pasha and Colonel Rizah Bey.

Capitan Dod Guega, a Mirdite Chief who has remained faithful to the Turks, was sent at the same time to Mirdicia in order to gain over by promises and other means the adherents of Prenk Bib Doda, but he no sooner arrived on the Mirdite mountains than he was surrounded, and it was only the day before yesterday that the Government here heard that he had succeeded in escaping to a place of safety.

From conversations with my French and Italian colleagues I ascertained that they considered that the continuous dispatch of troops to the confines of the disturbed district was likely to lead to speedy conflicts, especially as the Turkish forces could not be brought up to a sufficient strength to impose submission. I entirely concurred in this view, and it was shortly afterwards supported by the fact that the Mirdites had commenced to fire at night on the Turkish sentries posted around Miet.

When, at the commencement of this month, the Mirdite disturbances began to threaten to assume an acute form, I lost no opportunity of pressing upon the Governor-General's attention the desirableness of taking some effectual step to come to an understanding with the Mirdites through their Chief, Prenk Bib Doda, and, at his Excellency's

request, I repeated my suggestion in writing. I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy and a translation of my letter to his Excellency.

Mustafa Pasha having fallen ill, and having, moreover, left my letter unanswered, I was unable to proffer him any further advice, and had I done so it would evidently have been unacceptable, as now appears from his tardy reply, sent to me three days ago, and of which I also have the honour to furnish herein a copy and a translation.

On the 24th, the receipt of your Lordship's instructions to me to continue to use my, best endeavours to secure a conciliatory and prudent course on the part of the Turkish authorities towards the Mirdites, and an urgent message from Prenk Bib Doda asking me whether an amicable understanding might be hoped for, enabled me to call on the Commander-in-chief, Derwish Pasha, and to solicit his Excellency's co-operation in seeking

a satisfactory termination of the Mirdite disturbances.

Derwish Pasha informed me that he now possessed supreme power in the matter, as most positive orders had been sent to him from Constantinople to obtain the immediate opening of the blockaded high roads; but that, as he felt confidence in his strength and power to execute his instructions, he was prepared to exhaust first all the channels of honourable conciliation; and, in support of his assurance, he showed me letters that he was at that moment dispatching to Prenk Bib Doda and to the other Chiefs of Mirdicia. These letters were in reply to one he had received the day before from Prenk Bib Doda, containing a statement, signed by all the Mirdite Chiefs, in which they declared that the reports which had reached his Excellency that they were not all of one mind were false, that they acknowledged Prenk Bib Doda as their supreme Chief, and that the measures they had adopted were not to be considered as levelled against the Sultan's Government, but merely as a means to secure the liberation of their unjustly imprisoned fellow-Chieftain, Marco Gion Nozza.

Although Derwish Pasha's letters breathed a most conciliatory spirit, and were full of promises of rewards for future good conduct, they also contained the announcement that, if the Mirdites did not make their submission within two days, the military forces

already collected around their country would attack them.

Fearing greatly that the Mirdites might reject at once the friendly advances of the Commander-in-chief, under the impression that they might not be sincere, I determined to write to Prenk Bib Doda to beg him to give them his most serious consideration, in the hope that some middle course might be hit upon whereby a delay would ensue in the commencement of the threatened hostilities. But, not wishing at such a critical moment, to trust solely to English influence with the Mirdites, which, for the present, is an unknown quantity, no attempt having ever been made before to use it on them, I called upon my French, Austrian, and Italian colleagues, and told them what was taking place, and urged them to follow my example in attempting, however little hope they might have of success, to avert the commencement of conflicts which might lead to acts and horrors of which this Empire had furnished but too many precedents.

M. Ceccaldi, the French Consul, declined to interfere in any way, on the ground that his instructions were not similar to my own, and that having on a former occasion advised the Mirdites to keep on good terms with the Imperial Government without any apparent

result, he did not deem it dignified to repeat his counsels.

M. Wassich and M. Berio, the Austrian Consul-General and Italian Consul respectively, were disposed to intervene in favour of a peaceable arrangement, but wished that their assistance should be first formally solicited by the Turkish authorities, and as this was requiring almost the impossible, I was reluctantly obliged to pursue alone the course I had originally decided upon.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy and a translation of the letter I dispatched on the evening of the 24th to Prenk Bib Doda; and although I have slender confidence of its influencing the Chieftain to any great extent, still I hope my adoption of the sole available means for securing tranquillity will not meet with your Lordship's disapproval.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 243.

Consul Kirby Green to Mustafa Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général,

Scutari, le 9 Février, 1877.

LES affaires de la Mirditie et la conduite de Prenk Pacha ayant été discutées entre votre Excellence, le Commandant-en-chef, et moi, vos Excellences ont exprimé le désir d'avoir une entrevue avec ce Chef Mirdite, pour pouvoir le convaincre de la fausse voie dans laquelle lui et sa tribu se sont engagés, et étant moi-même d'avis que pareille entrevue menerait probablement à une entente satisfaisante entre le Gouvernement Impérial et les Mirdites, j'ose croire que votre Excellence est convaincue qu'en lui faisant la proposition suivante mon seul but est celui d'aider à la conservation de la tranquillité dans cette province.

Comme il est contre les traditions et les habitudes des montagnards Albanais d'agir sur une invitation venant directement de la partie avec laquelle ils peuvent se trouver en litige, je suis prêt, dans le cas présent, de faire savoir à Prenk Pacha, après avoir reçu des assurances formelles de la part des autorités Impériales de ce vilayet, que lui et sa suite peuvent venir à Scutari en parfaite sécurité pour se mettre en rapport avec ces autorités, et que si, malheureusement. l'entrevue n'aboutirait à rien, il leur serait permis de retourner

dans la Mirditie en pleine liberté.

En saisant cette proposition je dois assurer votre Excellence qu'aucun pourparler préalable n'a eu lieu entre moi et Prenk Pacha et que mon espoir qu'il prendrait mes suggestions en considération est basé sur le fait qu'elle serait faite dans ma qualité de Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique et sur le désir notoire de mon Gouvernement que ses Agents aident de leur mieux les autorités Ottomanes à conserver la tranquillité et l'ordre dans l'Empire.

Agréez, &c. (Signé) W. KIRBY GREEN.

(Translation.)

M. le Gouverneur-Général,

Scutari, February 9, 1877.

THE affairs of Mirdicia and the conduct of Prenk Pasha having been discussed between your Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, and me, your Excellencies expressed the desire to have an interview with this Mirdite Chief, in order to convince him of the wrong course he and his tribe have adopted; and I also being of the opinion that such an interview would probably lead to a satisfactory understanding between the Imperial Government and the Mirdites, I hope your Excellency will be convinced that in putting forward the following proposal my only object is to assist in preserving tranquillity in this province.

As it is against the traditions and customs of the Albanian mountaineers to act upon an invitation coming directly from a party with which they may be in dispute, I am prepared, in the present case, to let Prenk Pasha know, after having received formal assurances from the Imperial authorities of this vilayet, that he and his suite may come to Scutari in perfect safety, to put themselves in communication with those authorities; and that if, unfortunately, the interview should have no result, they would be allowed to return to Mirdicia in perfect liberty.

In making this proposal I must assure your Excellency that no preliminary arrangements have passed between me and Prenk Pasha, and that my hope that he will take my suggestion in consideration is based on the fact that I would address him in my official capacity, and on the notorious desire of Her Majesty's Government, that its Agents should assist, to the best of their power, the Ottoman authorities in preserving tranquillity and order in the Empire.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 243.

Mustafa Pasha to Consul Kirby Green.

M. le Consul,

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de la note par laquelle vous avez bien voulu
m'informer que vous feriez venir à Scutari Prenk Pacha de Mirditie, après avoir reçu des

assurances de ma part qu'il pourrait retourner en Mirditie dans le cas que cette entrevue n'aboutirait à aucun résultat.

Je ne puis que vous remercier pour vos bons offices à la suite de la bienveillance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique envers le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, mais comme cette affaire est du ressort des affaires de l'Etat, j'ai déjà donnés les assurances nécessaires à Prenk Pacha de venir s'il a quelque chose à exposer à l'autorité compétente, et il est par conséquent nécessaire qu'il vienne.

Agréez, &c.
Le Membre du Chouraï Devlet et Gouverneur-Général du Vilayet, (Signé) MUSTAFA.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul,

Scutari, February 22, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note by which you were good enough to inform me that you would make Prenk Pasha come to Scutari from Mirdicia after having received assurances from my side that he might return to Mirdicia in case his interview should lead to no result.

I can only thank you for your good offices which are derived from the good wishes of Her Britannic Majesty's Government towards the Imperial Ottoman Government, but as this affair concerns an affair of State, I have already given assurances to Prenk Pasha that he may come if he has anything to set forth to the competent authority, and consequently it is necessary that he should come.

Receive, &c.
The Member of the Government Council and the
Governer-General of the Vilayet,
(Signed) MUSTAFA.

Inclosure 3 in No. 243.

Consul Kirby Green to Prenk Bib Doda Pasha.

(Translation.) Excellency,

Scutari, February 24, 1877.

THE messenger that your Excellency has sent me has delivered to me your request for an answer to the letter which was addressed to me under date of the 12th by Capitan Marco, and the assurance that this letter contained the expression of your Excellency's wishes.

I am glad to see your Excellency's conciliatory dispositions as set forth in that letter, and which your Excellency confirms; and in congratulating you regarding them, I can assure you that from my side I will co-operate as much as it is in my power to attain the end that is so much desired by all, and which is for the interests of your Excellency, of Mirdicia, and of the Ottoman Empire.

It is also a pleasure to me to be able to inform your Excellency that the Field-Marshal commanding the army of Albania is animated by the same sentiments; and he allowed me to read the letter which, under the date of to-day, he has addressed to your Excellency, and which, whilst guarding the dignity of his Government, is full of conciliation and goodwill towards your Excellency.

In view of this clear fact I cannot but earnestly exhort your Excellency to consent to take under serious consideration the letter itself and the openings that are offered to you, and which appear to me in accord with the general interests of your Excellency, and of Mirdicia.

I am prepared to second, under the present circumstances, the above ends, and I offer your Excellency the assurance,

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 244.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,
YESTERDAY, immediately upon the receipt of the information conveyed to me by
Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, that the Porte had ordered the release
of the Mirdite Chief Marco Gion Nozza, I called upon the Governor-General and the
[376]

Commander-in-chief, to ascertain in what manner they were carrying out the announced instructions.

Both the Pashas told me that a reprieve of the sentence of death, under which Marco Gion Nozza was lying, had arrived; and that, further, they had been empowered to give him his liberty, provided the Mirdites raised the blockade of the high roads, and released the Mohammedans held as hostages at Orosci.

They also informed me that they had already written to the Mirdite Chiefs,—but not to Prenk Bib Doda,—stating upon what conditions Marco Gion Nozza would be liberated,

and pledging their sacred words of honour that they would fulfil their promises.

I understood both from Mustafa Pasha and Derwish Pasha that the Porte was most positive in its instructions to them to avoid any step at all calculated to admit the existence of Prenk Bib Doda as an authority, and to reject any assistance in the shape of good offices,

from whatever quarter it might come.

As, nevertheless, statements of the above nature are sometimes not entirely correct, I pointed out to the Pashas the evident desire of the Porte to arrive at a peaceable settlement of the Mirdite affairs, and recalled to their minds the repeated demand of the mountaineers that their imprisoned Chief should be first released. If this could not be done, I thought some means ought to be adopted by them for removing all cause of distrust from the minds of the Mirdites. I also suggested that it would be well for them to inform the Porte at once of the undeniable fact that the Mirdites consider Prenk Bib Doda as their supreme Chief, and that any arrangement from which he is to be excluded will take all value out of the settlement.

I cannot report to your Lordship that I have observed any great desire on the part of the Turkish authorities here to enlighten the Porte on the true state of things; and that as their sole object appears to be to establish an Ottoman supremacy over the Roman Catholic mountaineers, which is not practicable, the prospect of matters improving is not great.

I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

No. 245.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 9.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 8 Mars, 1877.

L'ŒUVRE de réorganisation que nous avons entreprise, nous la continuons résolument et sans relâche.

Les réformes proposées par la Conférence et acceptées par le Gouvernement Impérial commencent déjà à recevoir leur application. Elles embrassent, vous le savez, deux ordres de faits, c'est-à-dire les réformes résultant des lois organiques qui seront soumises au Parlement, et celles qui peuvent être appliquées dès à présent, à savoir:

1. La réorganisation de la gendarmerie dont le projet de règlement a déjà été

élaboré et remis à M. Baker, Colonel Anglais, pour être étudié.

2. La division des communes en cantons, division à laquelle il sera procédée aussitôt que les autorités provinciales auront réuni et envoyé à Constantinople les renseignements topographiques qui leur ont été demandés sur les circonscriptions communales.

3. L'institution de corps de gendarmerie mixte composés de Musulmans et de Chrétiens, système déjà existant sur plusieurs points de l'Empire.

4. L'admission des sujets non-Musulmans dans les écoles militaires récemment autorisée et décrétée par notre auguste Maître.

5. La défense de la colonisation en Roumélie de Circassiens en masse, et le nonemploi des irréguliers, sauf le cas de force majeure.

6. L'interdiction déjà publiée partout du port d'armes sans une autorisation spéciale.

7. L'amnistie pour les individus dans les derniers événements de Philippopoli.

8. La formation des Commissions Spéciales qui seront incessamment envoyées dans les Vilayets de Bosnie, du Danube et d'Adrinople.

9. La consécration de la liberté de culte, ainsi que la confirmation et l'application de la décision en vertu de laquelle les affaires litigieuses concernant la religion sont du ressort des Patriarcats.

10. La remise pour les localités éprouvées, et jusqu'au 1er Janvier, 1877, des impôts arriérés, et

11. Les droits de propriété déjà acquis aux Chrétiens en Bosnie et en Herzé-

govine.

Les lois qui doivent être présentées à la première session de la Chambre sont les suivantes:

1. Le règlement intérieur des deux Chambres.

2. La loi électorale définitive.

3. La loi sur la presse.

4. La nouvelle loi des vilayets comprenant la loi des communes.

5. La loi municipale.

6. La loi sur la procédure civile.

7. La loi sur l'organisation des Tribunaux.

- 8. La loi établissant la hiérarchie des Juges, ainsi que les conditions de leur avancement et de leur retraite.
 - 9. La loi concernant les employés civils.

10. Le budget général de l'Empire. Enfin, 11. Le règlement de la nouvelle Cour des Comptes.

Les élections étant terminées sur toute l'étendue de l'Empire, les députés commencent à arriver dans la capitale, de sorte que l'ouverture des deux Chambres pourra avoir lieu dans la première semaine du mois de Mars, vieux style.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

THE work of reorganization which we have undertaken we continue resolutely and

without ceasing.

The reforms proposed by the Conference, and accepted by the Imperial Government, are already beginning to be applied. They comprise, as you know, two classes, that is to say, reforms resulting from the organic laws to be submitted to Parliament, and those which can be applied at once, namely:-

1. The reorganization of the gendarmerie, the scheme for the regulation of which has already been elaborated and given to Mr. Baker, an English Colonel, to be worked

- 2. The division of the Communes into Cantons—a division which will be proceeded with as soon as the Provincial authorities shall have met and sent to Constantinople topographical information which they have been told to furnish respecting their Communal
- 3. The institution of mixed bodies of gendarmerie, composed of Mussulmans and Christians, a system already existing in several parts of the Empire.

4. The admission of non-Mussulman subjects into the military schools, as recently

authorized and decreed by our august Master.

5. The prohibition that the Circassians should be colonized en masse in Roumelia, and the engagement not to employ irregular troops except when absolutely necessary.

6. The prohibition, already published everywhere, to carry arms without a special

7. The amnesty for the individuals concerned in the recent events at Philippopolis.

8. The formation of Special Commissions, which are constantly to be sent into the vilayets of Bosnia, the Danube, and Adrianople.

9. The establishment of freedom of religion, as well as the confirmation and application of the decision in virtue of which religious suits come before the Patriarchates.

- 10. The remission, for the distressed districts, of arrears of taxes up to the 1st of
- January, 1877; and
 11. The rights of property already acquired by the Christians in Bosnia and in Herzegovina.

The Laws to be introduced during the first session of the Chamber are as follows:-

1. The interior regulations for the two Chambers.

- 2. The definitive electoral law.
- 3. The press law.
- 4. The new law of the vilayets, comprising the law of the communes.
- 5. The municipal law.
- 6. The law of civil procedure.

7. The law to organize the tribunals. [376]

- 8. The law establishing the hierarchy of the Judges, as well as the conditions for their advancement and retirement.
 - 9. The law concerning civil servants. 10. The general budget of the Empire.

11. Lastly, the regulations for the new Audit Office.

The elections being now over throughout the whole extent of the Empire, the Deputies are beginning to arrive at the capital, so that the opening of the two Chambers be able to take place during the first week of March (o.s.).

No. 246.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Foreign Office, March 9, 1877. Sir, HER Majesty's Government approve your having pointed out the imprudence of the appointment of Moukhtar Pasha and Constant Pasha to treat with Montenegro as reported in your telegram of the 8th instant, and I have to authorise you, if opportunity offers, to use your good offices to bring about a settlement between Montenegro and the Porte.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 247.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 10.)

Paris, March 9, 1877. My Lord,

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF came to Paris from London three days ago, and General

Ignatiew arrived here from Berlin yesterday.

Count Schouvaloff came to see me on the 6th instant, and General Ignatiew called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me at some length of his views respecting the Eastern question.

He said that his own objects might be stated in a few words. He desired the maintenance of peace, of the united action of Europe, and of a cordial understanding

between England and Russia.

He gave as one of the principal reasons of his desire to avoid a war between Russia and Turkey the dilapidated state of the Ottoman Empire, the fear that if it sustained any shock it would tumble to pieces, and the inconvenience and danger to Russia and to Europe of having to face such an event.

He represented the poverty and distress of the people, no less at Constantinople than in the provinces of Turkey, as extreme. As for the army, he said, officers and privates were alike unpaid, horses and supplies were taken by force from the inhabitants, and the

little money the Porte could get together was expended on projectiles.

He considered that it became every day more urgent that the Powers should put an end to a state of things which was the cause of great and increasing suffering, particularly to the Christians.

With a view to hastening the decision of the Powers, and maintaining the union of Europe, the Emperor had, he said, desired him to give explanations calculated to facilitate the task of putting an end to the unfortunate position in which matters were placed by the

rejection of the recommendations of the Constantinople Conference.

It was, of course, he went on to say, impossible for Russia to disarm unless the Government could show the people that something had been obtained as a return for the expense of the mobilization of the army; in short, that Russia and the rest of Europe had not been absolutely set at nought by the Porte, and that some security had been obtained for an improvement of the condition of the Christians in Turkey. The Conference had separated at Constantinople without drawing up a final Protocol. But this omission might A Protocol might now be signed, embodying the reforms ultimately recommended by the Conference, requiring the Porte to execute them, and stating that if the Porte should neglect to do so the Powers "aviseraient."

General Ignatiew proceeded to observe that he used purposely the vague expression "aviseraient," as it might be difficult to come to an agreement beforehand as to the exact steps to be taken. It would be desirable, he thought, that a Turkish Representative should sign the Protocol, but he did not consider this essential. It would, he conceived, suffice if it were signed by Representatives of the Six Powers; and, for his own part, he should be inclined to suggest that it should be signed in London by your Lordship and by the resident Ambassadors at Her Majesty's Court.

General Ignatiew's language implied that on the signature of such a Protocol Russia would place her army on a peace footing again, but he did not say this in so many

words.

He concluded by telling me that he had fully explained the views of the Emperor to Count Schouvaloff, who would set out for London to-morrow morning to communicate them to your Lordship.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 248.

Lord Tenterden to M. Zankof.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo inclosing a petition addressed to the English Parliament by the Deputies of ten towns in Bulgaria; and I am to explain to you in reply that it is contrary to the practice of the English Parliament to receive petitions from foreign subjects not resident in the Queen's dominions.

Lord Derby is consequently unable to undertake the presentation of this petition to

Parliament.

I am, &c. (Signed) TENTERDEN

No. 249.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

SAFVET PASHA informs me that the demands of Prince of Montenegro with regard to districts of Nichsich and right bank of the Moracha cannot be complied with by the Porte. They have offered small rectification of frontier near Zubci and the Piva on the side of Herzegovina; but they demand the cession of a portion of territory south of Kolastchin in return.

The question will be referred to Council of Ministers to-morrow, but I fear there is

little chance of the Prince's basis being agreed to.

I have tendered the good offices of Her Majesty's Government. My Austrian colleague is instructed to support the Prince's claim.

No. 250.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 11.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 10, 1877, 11.40 p.m.

THE strategical reasons for which the Porte refuses the cession to Montenegro of Spuz and Nichsich have been explained to me by Moukhtar Pasha.

Were the desired territory ceded, Turkey would have no line of defence on the north but that of Trebigné, Gatchko, and Focha; so that, in fact, more than half of the Herzegovina would practically be ceded.

On the south, to retire from the frontier to the right bank of the Moracha would

involve loss of four principal fortresses guarding Albania.

The cession of these two districts would infallibly call forth a most dangerous outburst from the Mussulman population of European Turkey.

No. 251.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

(Telegraphic.) Vienna, March 11, 1877, 9 A.M.

THE following is from Monson, dated yesterday:-

"I am requested by Prince Nicholas to invoke the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the execution by the Turkish authorities of the stipulation of the Convention for the transport of provisions, reported in my despatch of the 8th ultimo. The snow has been falling since the 21st, and is six feet deep on the mountains, consequently only 120 horseloads have yet arrived at Nichsich; but the Prince has applied to the Austrian Government to help to clear the road, and will do his utmost to send provisions quickly. The Turks, however, make this a pretext for refusing to send any grain to the head of Lake Scutari, and the people of the eastern districts are suffering terribly from famine in consequence. The Turks have accumulated a certain quantity of grain at Scutari. The Prince hopes that in the interest of humanity Her Majesty's Government will urge the Porte not to delay forwarding the grain, engaging himself solemnly to keep his part of the contract as soon as the route to Nichsich can be cleared."

No. 252.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 1, 1877.

THE negotiations for peace with Servia were successfully brought to an end this morning by the signature of the note recording its conclusion by the Servian Delegates, and the Protocol by these and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This happy result has been greatly owing to the conciliatory disposition displayed by the Grand Vizier, whose very considerable concessions throughout the negotiations have

not been altogether approved by either the party of progress or by the army.

On the arrival of M. Christich I called upon him, and I gathered from his conversation that the two principal points of disagreement between him and the Porte would be the question of the Agent at Belgrade, and that of the mention of the amnesty in the instrument recording peace: always supposing the proposition for territorial rectification to remain in abevance.

He also told me that his Government would prefer the conclusion of peace to be recorded in a Protocol signed by both the parties, to accepting a mere renewal of the former Firman from the Sultan.

Safvet Pasha, whom I saw immediately after his first interview with M. Christich, said, on the other hand, that he could not agree to such an arrangement, but wished the Prince, or at least his Delegates, to address a note to the Grand Vizier, recording in it the renewed engagements they were about to undertake.

On my referring incidentally to the question of the Drina frontier, I could easily perceive that there was no intention on the part of his Excellency to enter upon its discussion

during the present negotiations.

At the next sitting of the Plenipotentiaries, Caratheodory Effendi, the Under-Secretary of State, being associated with Safvet Pasha, the question of the Agent was brought forward, and, as I had anticipated, raised an animated discussion, which, however, terminated in the Porte giving way, and accepting a verbal assurance as to the Agent being received at Belgrade, but consenting to waive all mention of him in the Protocol.

The idea of inserting the amnesty to the refugees in the peace Protocol was particularly repulsive to the Porte, which seemed to fear that advantage would be taken of it to induce them to suppose that they were amnestied at the demand of Servia. After considerable hesitation, however, the Porte yielded, and it was decided that both a note and a Protocol should be prepared, in the latter of which the amnesty should be recorded.

The last concession made by the Porte referred to the Firman.

M. Christich was anxious that when the peace proposals were submitted to the approval of the Great Skuptchina, which had been convoked at Belgrade in order to ratify them, the term "Firman" might not appear, and the Porte at first seemed as determined not to employ any other.

The discussion lasted several hours, M. Christich even going so far as to threaten to return to Belgrade should his terms not be complied with; and a close Council of Ministers

having been called, the moderate counsels of the Grand Vizier prevailed, and the words "Acte usitée" were substituted for the objectionable "Firman."

The last difficulty thus successfully overcome, the Servian Delegates and the Foreign

Minister signed the Protocol the same day.

I have the honour to inclose the copy of the Protocol, but I have not been able as yet to obtain one of the note, which, however, I will forward by the first opportunity.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 252.

Protocol signed by Servian and Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

CEJOURD'HUI 16 Février, 1877, les Délégués de Son Altesse le Prince de Serbie MM. Ph. Christich et D. Matitch, s'étant réunies en séance chez son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, ont déclaré qu'ils pensaient être arrivés au terme de leurs travaux et que l'accord s'était établi avec son Excellence le Ministre, conformément à la note explicative remise par eux à la Sublime Porte à la date du 16 Février.

MM. les Délégués ont en conséquence déclaré qu'en vertu de pleins pouvoirs qui leur ont été conférés par le Gouvernement Princier ils confirment les désirs de leur dit Gouvernement de voir rétablir les relations avec la Cour Suzeraine sur le pied du statu quo

ante.

Son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a de son côté déclaré au nom de la Sublime Porte qu'il prenait acte de la dite note explicative sus-visée; que le Gouvernement Impérial avait résolu de rétablir ses relations avec la Principauté de Serbie sur le pied du statu quo ante, et que cette décision sera communiquée au Prince dans les formes usitées jusqu'ici.

Dans cette situation et à l'effet de déterminer aussi explicitement qu'il est nécessaire la portée du principe du statu quo ante, et d'éviter tout malentendu qui pourrait se produire à

cet égard, on constate qu'en vertu de cet accord il est entendu :-

- 1. Que le rétablissement du statu quo ante signifie, sans qu'il soit besoin d'autres et plus longues explications, le rétablissement complet et sans exception de toutes les clauses et stipulations inscrites dans les Hatts Impériaux, et dans les autres actes concernant la Serbie et notamment le Hatt du 11 Avril, 1867 (5 Zilhidje, 1283) relatif aux régimes des forteresses.
- 2. Que la Sublime Porte ayant déjà accordé une amnistie pleine et entière aux sujets Ottomans qui auraient été compromis dans les derniers événements le Gouvernement Princier, de son côté, accorde également le pardon et l'oubli aux Serbes qui ont été compromis dans ces mêmes et malheureux événements.
- 3. Que dans le délai de douze jours à partir de la date des présentes, les troupes Impériales et les troupes Serbes évacueront le territoire occupés par elles en dehors des anciennes lignes de démarcation afin que ce délai écoulé, les autorités respectives reprennent l'exercice de leur légitime action.

Dont acte fait en double.

'Signé)

SAFVET.

(Signé)

PH. CHRISTICH. D. MATITCH.

(Translation.)

TO-DAY, the leth February, 1877, the Delegates of His Highness the Prince of Servia, MM. Ph. Cristich and D. Matich, assembled in session with his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that they considered that their labours were concluded, and that an agreement had been arrived at with his Excellency the Minister, in conformity with the explanatory note presented by them to the Sublime Porte under date of 16th February.

The Delegates consequently declared that, under the full powers conferred on them by the Government of the Prince, they confirm its desires of seeing relations restored

with the Sovereign Court on the footing of the status quo ante.

His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared on his side, in the name of the Sublime Porte, that he had considered the said supervised explanatory note, that the Imperial Government had determined to re-establish its relations with the Principality of Servia on the footing of the status quo ante, and that this decision will be communicated to the Prince in the forms hitherto in use.

Under these circumstances, and with the purpose of fixing as explicitly as is

necessary the extent of the principle of status quo ante, and to avoid all misunder-standing which might arise on this head, it is affirmed that under this agreement it is understood:—

1. That the re-establishment of the status quo ante signifies, with the necessity of other and longer explanations, the complete and unexceptional re-establishment of all the clauses and stipulations inscribed in the Imperial Hatts, and in the other State Acts concerning Servia, and especially the Hatt of 11th April, 1867 (5 Gilhidje, 1283), respecting the regulations of the fortresses.

2. That the Sublime Porte having already granted a full and complete amnesty to the Ottoman subjects compromised in the late events, the Government of the Prince likewise grants pardon and amnesty to the Servians compromised in the same unhappy

events.

3. That in the interval of twelve days from this date, the Imperial troops and those of Servia shall evacuate the territory occupied by them outside the ancient frontier demarcation, so that, this interval having elapsed, the officials of each party may resume their former lawful functions.

This paper is made in double (Signed) SAFVET.

(Signed)

PH. CRISTICH. D. MATITCH.

No. 253.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 2, 1877.

MR. CONSUL GREEN will have kept your Lordship informed of the state of affairs in Mirdicia, and of the unwise conduct of the Turkish authorities at Scutari in fomenting the irritation of the Mirdites against the Porte by the vexatious proceedings of the Commander-in-Chief, Dervish Pasha, in dealing with their grievances.

I have had frequent interviews with Safvet Pasha on this subject, and have always advised that conciliatory measures should be adopted towards this community, whose feelings of loyalty to the Ottoman Government had always been manifested whenever they had been put to the test.

His Excellency promised to see into the matter, and also to remove Salih Pasha, who had been sent by the Governor of Scutari to come to an understanding with them, but who, I had been informed, was more likely to widen the breach than to mend it.

A week ago, however, the Grand Vizier told me he had given orders for the pardon and release of the Chief Marco, who was imprisoned at Scutari, and whose prolonged confinement had embittered the feelings of his followers against the Turkish authorities.

It appears that Dervish Pasha, on the other hand, was inclined to make his release conditional upon the Mirdites retiring from the hostile position they had taken up against the Government, and upon their opening the roads, which they had hitherto kept blocked as a reprisal.

At last yesterday, after repeated representations on my part, the Grand Vizier sent a peremptory order to Dervisch Pasha to release the man, which was accordingly done, and I believe he has been allowed to return home.

I trust, therefore, that tranquillity may be restored, and that the Porte may see the wisdom of adopting towards the Mirdites a more conciliatory policy than it has lately pursued.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 254.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 11.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting ViceConsul at Philippopolis, reporting that the Turks who caused the death of Pope Boitcho,
of Streldja, as reported by Mr. Baring in his despatch to me of the 4th ultimo, forwarded
to your Lordship in my despatch of the 12th ultimo, are being tried, and that their
arrest has produced a good effect at Streldja, where previously crimes of violence had
been frequently committed.

Mr. Calvert also reports that the Government is paying salaries of 150 piastres a month to each of the Bulgarian priests in the destroyed villages.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 254.

Vice-Consul Calvert to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

UNDER pressure from Sadoullah Bey the authorities have shown unaccustomed activity in bringing to justice the assailants of Pone Boitche of Streldia, whose death, in

activity in bringing to justice the assailants of Pope Boitcho, of Streldja, whose death, in consequence of ill-treatment by certain Turks of that village, has already, I understand, been reported to you by Mr. Baring. After a preliminary examination in the Criminal Court of Tatar-Bazardjik, the four culprits—Suleiman Hadji Ibrahim Oglou, Muhtervin Tater Oglou, Mehmed Hodja Oglou, and Suleiman Zemel Oglou—were brought a day or two since into Philippopolis, heavily chained. They are now being tried before the Criminal Court of Appeal here. It is probable, however, that the prisoners will not be found guilty of actual murder, for the body of Pope Boitcho was examined by the assistant of the English doctor employed by Viscountess Strangford in her hospital at Otloukeui, and the doctor delivered, on the report of his assistant, a certificate which would undoubtedly justify a verdict of manslaughter. I herewith inclose a copy of this certificate.

The effect produced by the arrest of these men affords an example of how little severity is required to restrain the Mussulman population. Since that arrest took place I learn from Bulgarians of Streldja that the Turks of that village, which had been till then the scene of frequent outrages, have ceased to molest the Christians.

In measure as the country becomes more secure, incidents of the period of the late rising transpire, which show the wanton lengths to which the Mussulmans, when their

short-lived terror of the insurgents was over, carried their revenge.

The Bulgarian Bishop has just been applied to for a divorce in the case of a boy of thirteen and a young woman of 20, natives of Dobroulak, in the Rouptchos district, who nine months ago were married by the village priest. This peculiarly-matched couple were driven to the altar by the Mollah of the village, who compelled the priest to unite them in due form. The circumstances under which the union took place justify a separation according to the rules of the Church.

An order has, moreover, been issued for the arrest of the Mollah, who is said to have effected no less than eight marriages, by a similar process to the above, amongst the Bulgarians of the village. Other cases of the same nature are stated by the Bulgarian bishop to have occurred in different parts of the district, but in no other instance as yet

has a divorce been sought.

Sadoullah Bey informs me that orders have been sent him by the Porte to bestow salaries of 150 piastres a month on each of the Bulgarian priests in the destroyed villages, as an indemnity for the loss they suffer owing to the impoverishment of their parishioners, on whose voluntary contributions they depend for support.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

F. R. S. CALVERT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 254.

Certificate of Dr. Henry Dobson regarding the Death of Pope Boitcho, of Streldja.

Panagurishté (Otlou-keui), January 29, 1877.

I HEREBY certify that, having attended the late Pope Boitcho in his last illness, and my assistant having examined the corpse, I am of opinion that his death was due to injuries received from some evil-disposed person or persons.

I further wish to state that the late Pope Boitcho had been a patient under my care before receiving the said injuries; he was then suffering from a nervous disorder, which would probably have terminated fatally in from four to ten years, according to the care he

took of himself.

(Signed)

HENRY DOBSON, M.D.

No. 255.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 11.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 2, 1877.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 5th ultimo, I directed Mr. Consul Blunt to inquire and report upon the outrage committed

at Bouloustrou, in Macedonia, by Turks upon a Greek family of that village.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of Mr. Blunt's report and of its inclosure, by which it would appear that, in this case at least, no religious or political feeling prompted the murder and robbery, which were the work of a band of Albanian brigands.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 255.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Salonica, February 19, 1877.

WITH reference to your telegram calling for a report upon the alleged massacre at Bouloustrou, I hasten to inclose, in original, a despatch I received this morning from Dr. Pecchioli, Acting British Vice-Consul at Cavalla, giving some further information on the matter

I beg leave to inclose Dr. Pecchioli's good opinion of Halil Agha; he is spoken of most highly by all who know him, and it was chiefly owing to his influence, firmness, and conciliatory conduct that public peace was preserved to the district of Xanti at a time when designing parties were doing their best to disturb it.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 255.

Dr. Pecchioli to Consul Blunt.

(Extrait.) Cavalla, le 17 Février, 1877.

POÚR ce qui regarde l'affaire de Bolustra, qui intéresse dans ce moment le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, je crois nécessaire, M. le Consul, de convalider les renseignement donnés par cet office. Les meurtres ont été commis par des volcurs, et n'avaient aucun caractère politique ou religieux.

Bolustra est un village habité par des Chrétiens et entouré d'autres villages exclusivement habités par des Ottomans, auxquels s'ils l'auraient voulu, il aurait été possible de détruire Bolustra en trois heures.

Et si le fanatisme religieux poussait les Musulmans à détruire ce village Grec, et pas

Bulgare, les malfaiteurs n'y seraient pas allés en nombre de cinq ou six.

Mais on oppose que les assassins n'étaient pas des voleurs, parcequ'ils n'ont pas volé, mais cela s'explique bien d'une autre manière; c'est que le village s'est mis sur la défensive et les voleurs ont du faire pour transporter un de leurs compagnons, gravement blessé.

Je ne crois pas non plus, comme on a dit, qu'une personne nommée Khalil Agha de Xanti se trouvasse melé dans l'affaire; ou s'il est vrai, le Musulman Khalil Agha ne doit pas en être déclaré responsable; parceque, soit dit pour la vérité, les sentiments humanitaires de Khalil sont universellement connus, et dans les moments critiques que le pays a traversé, loin de se montrer fanatique, il a été toujours le désenseur des Chrétiens.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

WITH respect to the Bolustra affair, which is now occupying Her Majesty's Government, I think it necessary, M. le Consul, to confirm the information given by this office. The murders were committed by thieves, and bore no political or religious character.

Bolustra is a village inhabited by Christians, and surrounded by other villages

exclusively inhabited by Ottomans, who could, if they had liked, have destroyed Bolustra in three hours.

Moreover, if religious fanaticism impelled the Mussulmans to destroy this village—Greek, not Bulgarian—the malefactors would not have gone in groups of five or six.

But it is contended that the assassins were not robbers, because they did not steal; but that may be explained in quite another way, which is, that the village defended itself,

and the robbers had to carry off one of their band severely wounded.

I do not think either, as has been said, that a person named Khalil Agha, of Christanti, was mixed up in the affair; or, if it is true, the Mussulman Khalil Agha ought not to be held responsible, because, be the truth spoken, the humane sentiments of Khalil Agha are generally known, and in the critical moments that the country has gone through, far from showing himself fanatical, he has always been the defender of the Christians.

No. 256.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 2, 1877.

ON the 19th ultimo, Mr. Consul Blunt reported to me by telegraph, and subsequently in a despatch, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, that two bands of Greek brigands having appeared on the north side of Mount Olympus, the authorities at Salonica had, in the absence of the Governor, determined to request the Porte to allow fifty Bashi-Bazouks to be employed against them.

I informed the Grand Vizier of their intention, and pointed out to his Highness how little such a measure was called for, and how likely it would be to lead to

disturbances.

His Highness the next day received the request from Salonica, and immediately sent

a peremptory order that irregulars were not to be employed.

I mention this to show the anxiety of Edhem Pasha to act in accordance with the promises which he has given us in this matter.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 256.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, WITH reference to my telegram of this date, reporting the sudden appearance of two bands of brigands, supposed to be Greeks, in the districts of Catterina and Veria, on this side of Mount Olympus, and the intention of the local authorities to employ Bashi-Bazouks in pursuit of these bands, I hasten to report that it would be most injudicious and dangerous to permit the authorities to resort to the services of Bashi-Bazouks (or Circassians, of whom there is a large village at Catterina) for police purposes in Macedonia, and to express the hope that the Porte will dispatch peremptory orders in the above sense to the Acting Governor-General of Salonica.

It is not yet certain if the appearance of the above bands is in any way connected with

a political movement.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 257.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord,

I HAVE endeavoured to procure the information required by your Lordship's despatch of the 24th of January last, respecting the colonization of Circassians in the Greek Provinces of Turkey.

I instructed Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica to report upon the subject, and I

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have just received a reply from him, copy of which I have the honour to transmit here-

with, together with its inclosures.

When the insurrection in the Herzegovina and Bosnia began to assume a serious aspect, the Turkish Government ordered the greater number of troops then in garrison throughout Thessaly to proceed to the north to act against the insurgents, and the Mussulman population of that Province becoming alarmed, requested the Porte to provide for their safety, and to take efficient measures against a rising of the Greeks around them.

This demand was complied with. Three or four battalions of regulars were dispatched at once to Thessaly, arms and munitions of war being at the same time pro-

vided for the Mussulman population.

These measures not being considered sufficient, it was determined to send colonies of Circassians, ostensibly to cultivate the ground, but in reality to increase the number of the Mahomedans, and by their warlike character and known loyalty to the Government, to insure the presence of a large body of additional troops to repress any attempt at insurrection.

The greater number of these colonists-Tartars and Circassians-were established on Government land, in the neighbourhood of the Greek frontier, and in consequence of the earnest remonstrance of the Hellenic Government, the Porte undertook that their number should not be increased; although it appears that, subsequently to this promise being given, sixty-four individuals were allowed to proceed thither as recently as last October.

The climate of Thessaly proving unhealthy, many of the colonists requested the Government to remove them elsewhere, but without success; and 1 understand that the number on the Greek frontier has not been materially modified since their first arrival.

Their conduct towards their Greek neighbours is described as tyrannical and lawless, many of them leading the life of brigands and pillaging the property of the industrious cultivators around their colonies, who are compelled to furnish them with assistance in sowing their land and in reaping their harvest.

Even murders are of frequent occurrence, and are generally attributed to these turbu-

lent settlers.

In Thessaly, near the frontier, there are at present at Armiro 140 families, at Damaco, 5; at Orreaki, 40; at Balaboudy, 100; altogether 285 families.

In the interior, at Tricala, 15 families; at Larissa, 200; Tzouksani, 60; making

the total for Thessaly 560 families.

About twelve years a colony of Circassians consisting of eighty families was sent to the village of Tehana, in the neighbourhood of Mount Olympus; land was given them by the Government, and the Greek population were compelled to furnish them with houses. In a few years this colony had encroached upon the neighbouring villages to such an extent that at present no less than 400 families are included in its limits.

These numbers, which I have obtained from an independent source, differ somewhat from those given by Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, but agree pretty nearly with those communicated to me by Safvet Pasha, who assured me the other day that in the district in

question there were about 900 heads (meaning families) established.

In Epirus, I understand, that there are no Circassians; and their numbers in Mace-

donia are given by Mr. Blunt in the report herewith inclosed.

I have lately been informed that notwithstanding the intention of the Porte to admit of no further colonization of these objectionable tribes, a small number of them have quite recently been allowed to settle in some of the Albanian valleys. Their presence there is, perhaps, less open to objection than it would be elsewhere, as their neighbours being as lawless and warlike as themselves, will prove quite capable of resisting any undue encroachments upon their rights and property.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 257.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, February 24, 1877. WITH reference to your telegrams of the 7th and 8th instant, calling for information upon the number and conduct of the Circassian colonists in the Greek provinces of Turkey, I hasten to inclose herewith Mr. Vice-Consul Suter's report upon the subject.

I have not yet received Mr. Vice-Consul Blakeney's report on the subject, but I am told that no Circassian or Crimean Tartar emigrants have been imported into Épirus.

In Macedonia I am assured that there are about 10,000 of these colonists, principally Circassians, distributed in the districts of Catterina, Serres, Nevrocop, and Drama, and I very much regret to say that their conduct is very lawless and turbulent, and gives rise to bitter complaints on the part of the rural classes of the inhabitants, both Christian and Mussulman, but I should add that one very rarely hears of complaints against the Crimean Tartars.

The Pasha of Salonica has taken some police measures against these Circassians in execution of the Vizirial order Sir H. Elliot obtained from the Porte in behalf of Mr. Biggo, the dragoman of this Consulate, but as yet no steps have been taken by the authorities to punish the authors of the robberies and other outrages which have been perpetrated on his property at Catterina, and beg leave to suggest that some more

stringent orders should be sent to the Pasha upon this matter.

I have, &c. J. BLUNT. (Signed)

P.S.-Mr. Biggo assures me that twelve Circassian families were brought here in November last in a Turkish steamer from Constantinople, and have been located in the Turkish village of Mavroma, in district of Langaza, about six hours from here.

J. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 257.

Vice-Consul Suter to Consul Blunt.

Larissa, February 21, 1877. Sir,

IN reply to your despatch of the 12th instant, received the 19th, with two inclosures, which, as you desire, I return herewith, requiring me to report to you upon the number and the conduct of the Circassian emigrants in Thessaly, I would beg your reference to the details which I had the honour to transmit to you at various intervals during last year, and especially to those furnished under date of the 21st June and of the 1st November.

In the statement last mentioned, while giving particulars of the estimated number of the emigrants, and of the partial distribution of them effected up to that time, I pointed out that fifty families, about 200 individuals, men, women, and children, of these were Crimean Tartars, and that an equal portion of them was composed of natives of Daghistan, who, it is assumed, should not be confounded with the so-called "Cherkess," It may not be irrelevant to renote here that the local or the Circassians proper. authorities then asserted, and persist in affirming still, that no importation has ever taken place of emigrants of the last-mentioned category; that all are Dagistanees, who, in spite of deplorable evidence of the contrary, they contend are unlike the others, and to be industrious and honest, and of peaceful and orderly habits.

I inclose a note, compiled from information which I have sought to obtain from the most reliable sources, and which I believe to be strictly accurate, of the numbers and the

locations of the Tartar and the Daghistanee colonists at present in Thessaly.

The introduction of these strangers always has been viewed here, to say the least, with the greatest dissatisfaction., Most of them are distributed upon the "Imlaks" or crown lands in the different districts mentioned, where, when none existed, villages or hutting have been constructed for their accommodation; and cattle and tillage implements provided to them at the Government expense, which they must refund from the produce of the crops. As a general rule the Tartars are not ill-spoken of, or considered to be intolerable by their neighbours. Not so, however, is the case as regards the Daghistanee or Circassian settlers, whose thievish propensities, unruly conduct, and violent proceedings, often involving serious consequences, not unfrequently bloodshed, are subject of constant complaint from every quarter and from all classes of the popula-Although it is probable that Hellenic influence sometimes may cause such complaints from Christians to be exaggerated, they always are but too well founded. Mahommedans are equally frequent complainants; and last summer, when a section of the emigrants was quartered at Velestino, a village all but exclusively Turkish, their plundering courses and lawless behaviour compelled their transfer elsewhere, in order to prevent the alarming feuds which were threatened with its inhabitants.

In short, I am to repeat, as before reported to you, that the opinion universally entertained here is, that the colonization in Thessaly of Daghistanees or Circassians is greatly to be deplored, as having introduced into it a lawless, disorderly, turbulent, and, in every other respect, most objectionable element, which is calculated to create constant disquietude among a peaceful population.

I have, &c. (Signed) HY. SUTER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 257.

Memorandum.

THE total number of the Tartar and the Daghestanee or Circassian colonists, is estimated, as nearly approximately as possible, at something over 900 individuals, and these are distributed as follows, viz.:—

					I	ndividu
the d	istrict o	of Tricala	••		 • •	110
,,	,,	Carditza			 • •	260
"	"	Armyro			 • •	570
,,	"	Larissa	••		 • •	90
"	,,	Volo	••	• •	 	70

But, by an early opportunity, a detailed statement will be given of the numbers of Tartars and Daghestanees or Circassians respectively, and of the respective villages of each district in which they severally are located, particulars which it has not been possible to obtain in time for this occasion.

Larissa, February 21, 1877.

No. 258.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

(Extract.) Constantinople, March 2, 1877.

ONE of the most important of the reforms to be carried out by the Turkish Government is, without doubt, that affecting the mixed police or gendarmerie, which, in its present condition, contributes so largely to the oppressive character of the provincial government in European Turkey.

The Porte, as your Lordship is aware, applied to the Governments of France and of Switzerland for officers to enable them to reorganize their police upon a European model, but in both cases without success; the French refusing to give assistance to the Porte in a matter which formed one of the proposals of the Conference, unless it were done conjointly with the other Guaranteeing Powers, and the Swiss declining on the ground that a compliance with the request would involve a breach of their military regulations.

The Porte then determined to take other measures, and has now applied to Mr. Valentine Baker, late of Her Majesty's 10th Hussars, to undertake the task of organizing a corps which is to replace the present one.

He has had several interviews both with the Grand Vizier and the Minister of Police on the subject, and he appears to have good hopes of coming to an arrangement.

Although admitting the necessity of employing Christians as well as Mussulmans in the force, he is not inclined to allow this consideration to interfere with its efficiency, remarking that it is not to be expected that the Bulgarians, who have hitherto been kept unarmed, will prove as good soldiers as the existing Mussulman police, at all events until the training of recruits has been placed on a more satisfactory footing than at present.

He considers that the force to be employed should be as nearly on the model of the Irish constabulary as the circumstances will admit, the duties of both in preserving the peace between factions animated by religious animosity being very similar; and the special organization of the Irish police admitting of speedy and effective concentration of large bodies of men to repress disorders at any given place.

This plan, if carried out, would put an end at once to the necessity for using irregular troops; and the other duties which would devolve upon Mr. Baker's corps would prove a salutary check upon the conduct of the Governors and Mutessarifs in the provinces.

Mr. Baker fears that the question of pay may offer some difficulty, but trusts that, should the present Grand Vizier remain long enough in office, his scheme, even though considerably modified, may be substantially adopted.

No. 259.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 11.)

Constantinople, March 2, 1877. My Lord,

WI'I'H reference to last paragraph of your Lordship's despatch of the 18th ultimo, desiring me to obtain assurances as to the nature of the measures to be proposed to the Chamber of Deputies, I have the honour to inclose herewith a report from M. Dragoman Marinitch, who has obtained from Djevdet Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, whatever his Excellency could communicate on the subject.

In addition to the report, I have ascertained that the following proposals will be laid

before the Chamber:-

Each canton will elect a Council consisting, according to its extent, of either six or

twelve members, to manage the special affairs of that district.

It will meet regularly once a month, and oftener if required, to deliberate upon questions of agriculture, public works, national education, assessment of taxes, and collection of the revenue for State purposes.

A President and two assistants will be elected by the Council, who will be responsible for the execution of its decisions, the due collection of fiscal revenues, and the police of

the district, should no special officer be stationed there.

Every village will have one or two "mouktars," or executive officers, to carry out the

orders received from the superior authorities.

These shall, by right of their office, be members of the Council of the village,

consisting of the priests and other persons of influence resident therein.

An Administrative Council will preside in the capital of each vilayet or province. Six of its members will be elected by the inhabitants, and the rest will be composed of the Mustechar, or Counsellor of the Governor, the Controller of Finance, the Director of Public Works, the Mussulman Judge, and the clerical heads of the different communities, who will sit by right of their offices.

The Council will deliberate upon the administration of the province, upon its finances, its politics, and its agricultural development, but will not participate in judicial matters,

either criminal or civil.

The General Provincial Assembly of the capital of the Province will be elected for a term of four years, and will be composed of members chosen from each sandjak in

accordance with the Electoral Law.

Its duties will be to provide for the maintenance of roads and public works throughout the province, the establishment of Savings' Banks, the discussion of proposals made by the Governor for the development of industry and commerce, and of the general capabilities of the vilayet.

It will discuss and determine upon all questions relative to public works and instruction submitted to it by the Cantonal Councils, and will have the power to examine into the collection of taxes, and to interfere actively in suppressing abuses arising

therefrom.

The question of the Commission of Control, one of the most important on the list of reforms, has lately been repeatedly discussed by the Council of Ministers, but I understand that no decision respecting its formation or its attributes has yet been arrived at.

l have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 259.

M. Marinits to Mr. Jocelyn.

Pera, February 28, 1877. IN order to follow up the steps taken by you, in conformity with the Earl of Derby's despatch of the 15th instant, with the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I waited yesterday on his Excellency Djevdet Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, in order to obtain from him satisfactory explanations and assurances with regard to the measures to be presented to the Chamber of Deputies.

No sooner had Djevdet Pasha become aware of the object of my visit, than he showed every desire to reply to my inquiries.

His Excellency, before enumerating the measures which the Government intended

submitting to the Chamber, made some remarks, of which the tenor is as follows:

"I have just come from the palace, where I have been working with the Sultan. I can assure you that His Majesty desires nothing better than to see the Constitution put in force, as both he and we rightly consider it to be the best guarantee for the welfare of the people."

The object of the Sublime Porte is simply to carry out the liberal views so often

expressed by the Sultan.

The Imperial Government is really beginning to introduce reforms, based on the charter which now confirms those promulgated by the "Tanzimat" and the different "Hatts" which came after it.

In justice to the memory of Rachid Pasha, Ali Pasha, and Fuad Pasha, one must admit that the country owes to them whatever progress it has made. Unhappily, I am free to confess that many improvements which they projected simply remained dead

Those who are now at the head of affairs are bent on carrying out the reforms they promulgate, and will promise no more than they can perform.

England may rest assured that we shall do our best to satisfy her legitimate demands. We desire the prosperity of the races we have to govern, and we shall not shrink from

any sacrifice in order to carry out our views.

We have begun already by naming Christian "Mustechars" for the Vilayets of Adrianople, Bosnia, and the Danube, and this innovation will be extended to the Vilayets of Yanina and Salonica, in order to satisfy the populations of these two provinces as well as those of the others.

The Ottoman Parliament will take into consideration a project of law (inclosed herewith) respecting the subdivision of the provinces into cantons (Nahiés, Mudirliks), and which is based on the principle of decentralization proposed by the Conference; but in view of the importance of this territorial devision, the Ministry of the Interior, without waiting for the opening of the Chamber, has telegraphed to the Valis to commence this subdivision immediately.

The Parliament will further discuss the following measures:-

A Project of Law defining the attributes and powers of the Governors-General of the provinces.

A Project of Law respecting municipalities.

One respecting civil procedure.

A press law.

As a complete law respecting criminal procedure cannot be got ready this Session, Parliament will only discuss this question during the October Session; for the present, merely a law respecting the inviolability of domicile will be taken into consideration.

An electoral law to regulate future elections to the Assembly.

A law to define the powers and responsibilities of the different public offices.

A law to regulate the conduct, duties, and immovibility of employés in general.

A law to settle the attributions of the Chamber itself.

The Budgets of the different Ministries.

Such financial and other laws as can be prepared for the opening of the Chamber.

His Majesty the Sultan, at his own expense, has founded a school destined to furnish for the future civil officers up to the rank of Mutessarif, inclusive.

Every effort will be made to get every possible advantage out of this establishment. In the meantime, in order to meet the actual requirements of the Government, the Commission, which is now sitting at the Ministry of the Interior, and which is composed of the Mustechars of the different Departments, without awaiting the meeting of the Chamber, is taking the greatest pains to select the Governors and Kaïmakams properly.

Persons thus selected will receive a regular commission, and cannot be dismissed

without proper cause.

Independently of the laws destined to reorganize the different branches of the administration of justice, the Government undertakes faithfully to carry out all measures which the Chamber may propose in order to ameliorate the actual condition of the Tribunals of the Empire.

Finally, the Government is occupying itself with the formation of a police force, and hopes to reconcile the wishes of Europe with the wants of the country.

"Such," said Djevdet Pasha, "is the sum of the measures to be discussed by the Chamber. The time between the promulgation of the Constitution and the meeting of

the Chamber has been too short to allow of the Government's doing more. We sincerely hope that England will take this circumstance into serious consideration, and will further bear in mind the goodwill and sincerity which animate the Porte, and the numerous difficulties against which it has had to contend and still contends, and which have to a certain extent paralyzed its action, and have proved a stumbling block to it on the path of reforms."

I have, &c. (Signed) HUGO MARINITS.

No. 260.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 26, 1877.

PRINCE NICHOLAS told me this morning that, in view of the approaching expiration of the armistice, he had given the strictest orders to his commanders to make no movement nor commit any act that could be interpreted in a hostile sense, and to confine themselves to defence if attacked by the Turks.

I observed to His Highness that this latter contingency seemed to me in the last degree improbable; the Porte had of its own accord made overtures for peace, and consequently would take care not to prejudice the negotiations by any act of hostility. I pointed out, moreover, that the Turkish forces had been so diminished in strength, both in Albania and the Herzegovina, that Montenegro had really nothing to fear in either direction.

The Prince agreed in this; but when I observed that the first thing his delegates would have to do on arriving at Constantinople would be to arrange for the prolongation of the armistice, he gave me to understand that Montenegro would not propose such a prolongation, hinting at the same time that it would be advisable that the Porte should be induced to do so.

I telegraphed the substance of this conversation at once to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 261.

Mr. Mouson to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, Cettigné, February 27, 1877.

ALTHOUGH I know that Mr. Consul Green keeps your Lordship fully informed of all that is passing in North Albania, I think it as well to add to his reports my

own conviction that the Prince is neglecting no means of gaining over to his side the already disaffected tribes of that region.

I have lately seen here emissaries from the Pilati and Grasnié districts; and though,

of course, the Prince will not communicate to me his dealings with these people, it needs no spirit of divination to understand what is their business in Cettigné.

Your Lordship will recollect that at the date of the fall of fortress Medun, I expressed my apprehensions of the effect that that event would produce in North Albania, and I am sorry to say that the ill-advised conduct of the Turkish authorities at Scutari, and especially of Dervish Pasha, who, during the last campaign, have been immolating the soldiers under their command, there seems to be every probability that the smouldering embers of Albanian discontent will shortly be fanned into the blaze of open insurrection. Given the previous long-continued want of cordiality between the Catholic Albanians and the Orthodox Montenegrins, it is really lamentable that Dervish Pasha should have driven the Mirdites and the cognate tribes into an alliance which will completely paralyse the operations of the Turks in the vilayet of Scutari.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 262.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 12.)

Cettigné, March 1, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of telegrams which have been exchanged between the Porte and Montenegro respecting the prolongation of the armistice.

Prince Nicholas made some strong remarks this morning upon the want of courtesy displayed by the Porte in this communication, and, as your Lordship will see, makes no reference in his reply to the duration of the armistice as proposed by the Grand

The Prince observed in conversation with my Austrian colleague and myself that he supposed that the prospect of concluding peace with Servia had caused the Turks to forget their usual politeness towards Montenegro.

> I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 262.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

Constantinople, le $\frac{15}{27}$ Février, 1877. (Télégraphique.)

LES délégués de votre Altesse n'étant pas encore arrivés à Constantinople, il a été

jugé nécessaire de prolonger l'armistice, qui expire le 28 courant.

Nos commandants militaires viennent d'être informés que l'armistice en cours a été prolongé jusqu'au 21 Mars, nouveau style, exclusivement, et je prie votre Altesse de me faire savoir que de son côté, elle a donné des ordres en conséquence.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, February $\frac{15}{27}$, 1877.

THE Delegates of your Highness not having yet arrived at Constantinople, it has been considered necessary to prolong the armistice, which expires on the 28th instant.

Our military commanders have just been informed that the existing armistice has been prolonged to the 21st of March, new style exclusive, and I beg your Highness to notify to me that you on your side have given orders accordingly.

Inclosure 2 in No. 262.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, ce 1 Mars, 1877. EN réponse à la dépêche de votre Altesse du 27 Février, j'ai l'honneur de l'informer que, prévoyant l'arrivée de mes délégués un jour ou deux après l'expiration de l'armistice,

j'avais déjà lors de leur départ enjoint strictement à tous mes commandants de ne commettre ni de permettre aucun acte d'hostilité quelconque sans un ordre spécial de ma part.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 1, 1877.

IN answer to your Highness' despatch of the 27th of February, I have the honour to inform you that, as it appeared probable that my Delegates would arrive a day or two after the expiration of the armistice, I had already at the time of their departure given strict orders to all my commanders not to commit or allow any act of hostility whatever without a special order from me.

No. 263.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby. -(Received March 12.)

(Extract.) Cettigne, March 1, 1877. WITH reference to my preceding despatch of this day's date, respecting the notification by the Porte that the armistice has been prolonged to the 21st instant exclusively, I have the honour to state that, on the receipt of the telegram from Constantinople of the 27th ultimo, the Prince telegraphed to Belgrade to ask what reply

Prince Milan proposed to give.

His Highness this morning requested my Austrian colleague, the Russian Secretary, and myself to come to the Palace, and then informed us that M. Ristich had telegraphed that the Skuptchina had accepted the proposal of the Porte to conclude peace on the basis of the status quo ante, and the withdrawal of the Turkish and Servian armies from the positions which they occupy within twelve days after the ratification of the Treaty. M. Ristich added that Prince Milan awaited the consent of his ally, Prince Nicholas, before sanctioning the Treaty.

His Highness said that, under these circumstances, he proposed answering the Grand Vizier in the sense of the telegram, copy of which is inclosed in my immediately preceding despatch (Inclosure No. 2), and the text of which was drawn up in our presence by his Secretary.

No. 264.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, Vienna, February 27, 1877.

I LOST no time in executing the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, by communicating to Baron Orczy a Memorandum of its substance, and requesting that the Austrian Consul at Scutari might be instructed to support Mr. Consul Green, in endeavouring to prevent hostilities between Dervish Pasha and the Mirdites.

His Excellency said that a telegram had been received from M. Wassitch, dated the 25th instant, from which it appeared probable that a conflict had already taken place, as Dervish Pasha was evidently seeking for an opportunity of re-establishing his military reputation; and that it is not to be expected that any representations on the part of the Consuls will induce Bib Doda to place confidence in his promises, or to make any concession until the Mirdite delegates imprisoned at Scutari have been released.

I urged, however, that the intervention of the Consuls, by moderating the pretensions of the Mirdites, and giving at the same time moral weight to the promises of the Pasha, might still effect a pacific arrangement; and his Excellency said that he would submit the Memorandum which I left with him to Count Andrassy, who would probably accede to the proposal which it contained.

When I left the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I met Count Andrassy returning to it, and I acquainted him verbally with the communication which I had made to Baron Orczy, and pressed upon him the expediency of complying with the wishes of Her Majesty's

Government.

He said that as he entirely agreed with Her Majesty's Government in considering it important to avert the complication which appears imminent, he would consider how far he could concur with them in endeavouring to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 265.

Mr. Edwardes to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, March 8.)

Sir, Buda-Pesth, March 4, 1877.

IN yesterday's sitting of the Chamber, M. Polit, a Servian, addressed the following

interpellation to the Government:-

Since the position of Austria-Hungary in the Eastern question was precisely laid down by the Note of Count Andrassy of the 30th December, 1875; by the Berlin Memorandum of the 15th of May, 1876; and by the declarations made at the Conference at Constantinople, from all of which it is shown that the three Allied Powers, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany, can take action with regard to Turkey but by common consent, as is in conformity with the conditions of the alliance; and as, on the other hand, certain demonstrations have been made without the Government interfering in the matter,

of a nature expressive of great sympathy for Turkey, which demonstrations contrast strongly with the policy hitherto followed by Austria-Hungary in the Eastern question, he called upon the Government to answer the following questions:

1. Does Austria-Hungary still maintain in the Eastern question the principles established by the alliance of the three Emperors, formulated and renewed on the three occasions

above referred to; and, should this be the case-

2. Does the Government approve such demonstrations, which were of a nature to compromise the policy of the Empire in the Eastern question, and to wound the feelings of millions of its subjects in Hungary, who did not belong to the Magyar nationality.

To this interpellation the Government have as yet returned no reply.

I have, &c.

H. G. EDWARDES. (Signed)

No. 266.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 12.)

Bosna-Seraï, March 2, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Ferik commanding in Bosnia has to-day received a telegram to the effect that peace has been concluded with Servia; also instructions that the Ottoman troops are to be withdrawn in twelve days, and that the greatest care is to be shown in avoiding anything injurious to the inhabitants or their property.

> I have, &c. W. R. HOLMES. (Signed)

No. 267.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, Rustchuk, March 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, ever since my return on the 10th ultimo from Constantinople, where I had proceeded by order of Her Majesty's Ambassador to be ready to afford such information respecting this vilayet as might be required by the Marquis of Salisbury during the sitting of the late Conference, I have been making diligent inquiries as to the state of public feeling in this vilayet, and I am now in a position to lay before your Lordship the result up to the present moment.

The employés of the Government in general are very elated from the results of the

Conference, and are by no means dejected from the prospects of a war with Russia.

get their pay, and appear to think they have little to lose.

It is very different, however, with the people. Mussulmans as well as Christians, who know they have everything to lose, and who continue to suffer as much as ever from the incorrigibly deplorable system of Government which they are under. Indeed, if anything, the state of things is worse than ever, and this is chiefly attributed to the elation of the Government employés, who think that Turkey, as they say, having braved all the great Powers of Europe, they can carry on their oppression and injustice with impunity.

I am assured by reliable persons, and who are competent to judge, that were a foreign force (a Russian one alone excepted) to make its appearance in this province, it would be received by the whole population, Mussulman as well as Christian, minus the employés,

with open arms.

For this, my Lord, from the information I have received, I would have no hesitation in I would also, in this case, vouch for there being no fear of any massacre, as has been feared by some.

The Russians, however, would undoubtedly be resisted by the people, and of this I am

perfectly convinced.

The present almost total stagnation of trade, the consequent suffering of the lower and middle classes, the continued requisition of war contributions, the forced exaction of taxes in advance, as well as arrears, and the sufferings of the people from the desperation of the moneyless troops on their way to the front, are driving the people to such a state of despair, that cannot fail, if much prolonged, to produce more serious complications than hitherto. Indeed, it is a wonder how the present state of things has lasted so long.

The Secretary of the Relief Committee here, of which I am the President, yesterday received a report from one of our agents, a worthy man and no exaggerator, and who is at present in the district of Tirnova, which suffered the most in this Vilayet; and, as this report will give your Lordship some idea of the state of things in that district during the past six months, and which is its condition at the present moment, I do myself the honour to inclose a translation as handed to me by our Secretary.

This paper, my Lord, tells a melancholy tale, and of one town alone; and, were it not in harmony with what I have heard from other reliable quarters, I should have hesitated before submitting it to your Lordship, but I deem it my duty to do so, as it is utterly in vain to expect anything from the authorities, who now invariably deny everything

of the sort brought to their knowledge.

I have, &c. (Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure in No. 267.

Translation of a Letter received from Gabrovo, March 5, 1877.

THE following is a specimen of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Gabrovo:-

October 27, 1876.—M. Peter Rainof, of the middle Mahala at Gabrovo, on his way from Rustchuk to Gabrovo, near the village Monastirshik and Belaia, was robbed of goods valued at 8,400 piastres. He complained to the authorities at Rustchuk, but obtained no redress.

November 20.—M. Nenko Minuff, of the village Boshanzi, on his way from Rustchuk to Tutracan, was killed near Tutracan, his horse and 1,000 piastres taken. Complaint was made at Rustchuk, and that was the end of it.

November 20.—M. Ilia Kanchoff, of the Sahat Mahala at Gabrovo, one hour's distance from Gabrovo, was by Turks robbed of his horse, worth 1,100 piastres. The horse has not yet been found.

November 30.-M. Misho Kolioff, of Boshanzi, was robbed near Rustchuk of

1,250 piastres.

November 30.—M. Ivan Stojanoff, of the Rachovza Mahala at Gabrovo, on his way to Sistov, in the field of Batachka, was robbed of 500 piastres.

December 28.—M. Georgy Kivadjia had, in the same place, his arm broken by Circassians, and 30 piastres were taken from him.

December 28.—M. Theophil P. Staioff, of the Sahat Mahala at Gabrovo, on his way to Sistov, in the same place, was robbed of his watch and 1,500 piastres.

December 28.—M. Neno Cholach, of the middle Mahala at Gabrovo, was robbed in the same place of 280 piastres.

January 22, 1877.—M. Ivan Petkoff, of the Sahat Mahala at Gabrovo, was in the same place robbed of a watch and 18 piastres.

January 22.—M. Stojan Gepgoff, of the same Mahala at Gabrovo, was in the same

spot robbed by Circassians of 900 piastres.

January 22.—M. Vasil Peutchof, of the same Mahala of Gabrovo, and in the same place, was robbed by Circassians of 1,028 piastres, a fur coat, and several articles of clothing.

January 22.—M. Stojan Vlaikoff, of the middle Mahala of Gabrovo, in the same

place was robbed by Circassians of a waterproof coat and 1,500 piastres.

January 22.—M. Todor Minchof Tabak, of Eui Mahala at Gabrovo, in the same place, was robbed of a waterproof coat and 1,565 piastres.

January 29.—M. Michael Banchof, of Sahat Mahala at Gabrovo, in the same place,

was robbed of 1,500 piastres.

January 29.—M. Minchael Penchoff, of Shettesh Mahala at Gabrovo, on his way from Selvie to Loftcha, near Kripez, was attacked by Turks, who took his horse, worth 900 piastres.

February 15.—M. Milcho Pentchoff, of Shettesh Mahala at Gabrovo, was in the same

place robbed of horse and 800 piastres.

February 15.—M. Michael Ivanoff, of middle Mahala at Gabrovo, on his way from Sistov, and in the meadows of Batash, was robbed of his horse and 90 piastres.

February 24.—M. Abram Petroff, of Eui Mahala at Gabrovo, in same place, was

robbed of a fur coat and 50 piastres.

February 24.—M. Simion Tchechlor, of the Sahat Mahala at Gabrovo, following his business as shoe pedler, was found murdered at Karachali, district of Sistov.

The above is only one part of the suffering to which the people are exposed, and as the Gabrovo people live by a trade carried on by travelling from place to place, the people are in despair, and on the point of rising.

The following is another illustration of the suffering of the people of Gabrovo, from

27th September, 1876, to 26th February, 1877:—

					Piastres.			
They have furnished 17 waggons, with	teams o	f oxen, a	nd 17 team	isters,				
for two months, an imposition amounting to								
War contributions for receipts of 200, 150, 100, and 50 piastres								
Ditto 12,000 oka bulgar for food, at 1 piastre Ditto 1,700 oka butter for food, at 10 piastres								
								Ditto small Government receipts
Ditto 25 horses, with full harness			• •	• •	13,000			
Ditto Government receipts distributed	• •	• •	••	• •	140,000			
					229,200			

and 140,000 piastres worth of Government receipts are still in readiness to be distributed. Taking into consideration that Gabrovo numbers only 9,600 bedels, and that their roads are all impassable from robbers and murderers, and 229,200 piastres war contributions taken from them, they ask whether any people can be more oppressed than what they are, and whether any one can blame them if they should rise, even if only to perish. Let England or any of the Great Powers say whether we were, or whether we are, the cause of our suffering.

This is in the mouth of every one here, old and young; and while prayers and thanks are offered for the people of England for the merciful relief sent to them, as many and more curses are uttered against the Government of England that have brought about the Conference, and are putting forth their efforts for peace.

No. 268.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, March 12, 1877, 5 p.m. INFORM Mr. Monson that his telegram of the 10th instant respecting transport of stores to Nichsich has been reported to Constantinople, and that Mr. Jocelyn has been instructed to endeavour to get the matter arranged, and report the result to you.

No. 269.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, March 12, 1877, 5.30 P.M. MR. MONSON telegraphs as follows under date of March 10:—

"Am requested by Prince Nicholas to invoke the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the execution by the Turkish authorities of the stipulation of the Convention for the transport of provisions, reported in my despatch of the 8th ultimo. The snow has been falling since the 21st, and is six feet deep on the mountains, consequently only 120 horseloads have yet arrived at Nichsich; but the Prince has applied to the Austrian Government to help to clear the road, and will do his utmost to send provisions quickly. The Turks, however, make this a pretext for refusing to send any grain to the head of Lake Scutari, and the people of the eastern districts are suffering terribly from famine in consequence. The Turks have accumulated a certain quantity of grain at Scutari. The Prince hopes that in the interest of humanity Her Majesty's Government will urge the Porte not to delay forwarding the grain, engaging himself solemnly to keep his part of the contract as soon as the route to Nichsich can be cleared."

You will endeavour to get this matter arranged at the Porte, and inform Mr. Monson.

No. 270.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Blunt.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd ultimo respecting the appearance of two bands of robbers in the districts of Catterina and Veria, I approve the efforts which you used to prevent the employment of Bashi-Bazouks in pursuit of the brigands.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 271.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Blunt.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 21st ultimo, I have to express the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt that the Governors of Serres and Drama have been recalled by the Porte for not properly assisting the Pasha of Salonica in his efforts to restore to their homes the women and children who had been carried away from Batak and brought to districts in the Vilayet of Salonica.

I am, &c. (Signed)

DERBY.

No. 272.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Foreign Office, March 12, 187%.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 10th instant, in which you state that Prince Nicholas hopes, in the interest of humanity, that Her Majesty's Government will urge the Porte not to adhere to the decision, which they are said to have taken, to stop the supplies of grain from Scutari, destined for the eastern districts of Montenegro, in consequence of the imperfect execution by the Prince of his undertaking to victual Nichsich during the armistice; and in which you add that His Highness will solemnly engage to keep his part of the contract, as soon as the roads, now impassable from snow, can be cleared, and has applied to the Austrian Government to assist him in opening the communications.

I have instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, by telegraph, to endeavour to induce the Turkish Government to arrange this matter; and I have requested

him to report to you direct the result of the steps taken by him.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 273.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord, Rhodes, February 21, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that his Excellency Sawa Pasha, the newly-appointed Governor-General of the Ottoman Archipelago, has arrived at Rhodes on the 19th instant, on board the Austrian mail steamer, and has taken possession of his post.

Some of the employés of the vilayet have arrived with the same steamer; the Muavin Pasha (Assistant Governor), and the remainder of the employés are expected to arrive in a

fortnight.

I have, &c. (Signed) CH. BILIOTTI.

No. 274.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord, Canea, Crete, February 26, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report the departure, on the 21st instant, of his Excellency Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, who was hastily summoned to Constantinople. His successor,

Samih Pasha, is shortly expected from Erzeroum.

There has been considerable agitation in the island during the whole winter, as my locum tenens, Mr. Consul Barker, has not failed to report to your Lordship. The Christians have been entering into a bond of brotherhood, which is always a sign of discontent, and in past times has sometimes resulted in insurrection. At the present moment the authorities are ordering the different Administrative Councils in the island to elect two Deputies, a Mussulman and a Christian, to represent the Cretans in the Parliament which is to be held at Constantinople on the 13th of next month. The Christian members of these Councils are everywhere refusing to carry out this order, because they hold it unfair that they, who number nearly 200,000, should have the same representation in the Assembly as the Mussulmans, who are only 70,000. But, independently of this consideration, they argue that their country, having once received a special Charter, granted after the suppression of the last insurrection, it cannot legally be revoked.

This antagonism to the authorities naturally embitters the relations between the two religious sections of the population, but neither side is desirous of precipitating a conflict at the present moment, the Government partly because they do not wish to aggravate the already perilous position of affairs elsewhere, and the Christians because they are in want of military means, which can only be got from Greece, and Greece has steadily discouraged, throughout the whole of the existing crisis, a spirit of insubordination in this

The jealousy of Russia, however, which animates the Greeks is by no means so marked here; for though the Cretans put little faith in Russian promises, they continue to regard that Power as the champion of the Greek Church against the hated Moslem, and do not trouble their heads about the more complex question of Panslavism, which they imperfectly understand.

Should, therefore, war break out between Russia and Turkey, these people would be sorely tempted, unprepared though they be, to take up arms in so sacred a cause, in the

hope of at length ridding themselves of the Turkish yoke.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 275.

Acting Consul-General St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

(Extract.) Belgrade, March 5, 1877.

ON the 28th ultimo I had the honour to telegraph to your Lordship that the Great Skupstchina had voted in favour of peace. As the sitting was held with closed doors, I could only from hearsay gather what had taken place at the time.

The Prince having formally opened the Skupstch na, extemporized an address lasting nearly an hour, during which His Highness is said to have shown considerable eloquence and ability in giving a somewhat detailed account of the origin, progress, and termination of the war.

After this M. Ristich read out and explained the conditions of peace.

On being asked by some of the Deputies whether peace was to be concluded with the consent of Russia, M. Ristich replied that Russia had not made any objections.

The conditions of peace appear based on the status quo ante bellum; the prohibition of revolutionary committees and bands, and the hoisting of the Turkish flag. The question of a Turkish Agent at Belgrade has been dropped, and some arrangement has been come to with regard to the treatment of the Jews.

These conditions being all approved of, a vote in favour of peace was almost unani-

mously carried.

On M. Ristich reading the Prince's decree dissolving the Assembly the greatest astonishment and disappointment were manifested, but the Deputies dispersed and returned quietly to their homes, to the great satisfaction of the Prince and his Government.

No. 276.

Acting Consul-General St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of Prince Milan's proclamation

on the conclusion of process with the Ports.

on the conclusion of peace with the Porte.

I have, &c. (Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

Inclosure in No. 276.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

TO my beloved nation. You were informed by my Proclamation of the 18th of June last year of the reason that compelled us, in conjunction with Montenegro, to take up arms.

The fate of the Christians being now in other hands I am happy at being able to state to you that, after consulting the Great National Assembly, peace has been concluded with the Porte. An instrument by which this has been effected has been signed on the 17th instant (o. s.) by my Delegates and the Imperial Minister for Foreign Affaires, and subsequently by telegraph sanctioned and ratified by me.

Under the guarantee of the Great Powers Servia will resume the same good relations with the Porte that existed before the war. At the end of this month both Turkish and Servian troops will retire across the frontier on to their respective territories. Full amnesty will be accorded to all refugees during the war, and arrangements will be made for their relief.

Brethren, from this day the state of siege ceases in Servia, and certain laws promulgated during the war are now abrogated, while others will remain in force for the present. On resuming occupations of a more peaceful nature, let us not forget those brave men who have left their bones on the field of battle. Their names will ever be held in remembrance by a grateful posterity. Let us also not forsake our wounded who have become unfit for work, and whom it is our bounden duty to support.

It behoves us also not to neglect those of our countrymen who, from their proximity to the seat of war, have been the greater sufferers. It will be the first duty of my Government to supply them with their present wants and to better their condition.

Having on the field of battle fulfilled the duties we owed to our country and to the nation, let us now, by turning our attention to peaceful occupations and brotherly love, endeavour to gather renewed strength wherewith to ensure our national progress. Let us remain ever grateful to our Russian brethren for the assistance they gave us in the time of need, and also to others who, during our difficulties, sympathised with us, and more especially let us express our gratitude to all those benevolent societies and persons who have been ever ready to stretch out a helping hand to the wounded and to assist those

I, as your Ruler, have vet an agreeable task to fulfil, viz., that of thanking you for all the sacrifices you were called upon to make during the war. Some of you on the field of battle, others in the execution of various duties, but all, without exception, showing the greatest patriotism.

(Signed) MILAN M. OBRENOVITCH IV, Prince of Servia.

Belgrade, February 21, 1877.

No. 277.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

Wienna, March 10, 1877.

THE newspapers having reported that a vessel had arrived at Trieste and transhipped a number of cases, supposed to contain arms, into a coasting vessel, which immediately sailed, ostensibly for Ancona, but whose real destination is alleged to have been Alessia, on the coast of Albania, near Mirditia, I have asked Baron Orczy if he could give me any information on the subject.

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His Excellency said that the Government had received a report upon it from the Governor of Trieste, which stated that the vessel which had transhipped the cases had arrived from England, but that the authorities had no means of ascertaining any particulars

respecting their eventual destination.

He observed, however, that if it is true that the coasting vessel had proceeded to Alessio, her cargo could only be intended for transmission to Mirditia. He said also that the Turkish Ambassador had spoken to him on the subject, and that he had pointed out to his Excellency, that as Alessia is in Turkish territory, it is for the Turkish authorities to take measures to prevent contraband of war for the use of disaffected subjects of the Sultan being landed there.

I have, &c. ANDREW BUCHANAN. (Signed)

No. 278.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

Foreign Office, March 13, 1877. My Lord. THE Russian Ambassador called upon me on the 11th instant on his return from

Paris, where he had been to meet General Ignatiew.

His Excellency placed in my hands a draft Protocol, which his Government propose

for signature by the Six Powers.

I told Count Schouvaloff that I would take the earliest opportunity of submitting this proposal to my colleagues, and would acquaint his Excellency with the view taken of it by them.

I accordingly saw his Excellency again this afternoon after a Cabinet Council had been held, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government were ready to agree in principle to such a Protocol, provided we could come to an understanding as to its terms.

I then proceeded to discuss the wording of the Protocol with his Excellency, who promised to report my observations to his Government.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 279.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 13, 1877. THE Russian Ambassador, when handing to me the draft Protocol inclosed in my previous despatch of this day's date; accompanied it by a statement of the views and wishes

of his Government to the following effect:-

The object of General Ignatiew's journey, Count Schouvaloff stated, had been to furnish explanations as to the real views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, and to facilitate a pacific solution.

After the sacrifices which Russia had imposed upon herself, the stagnation of her industry and of her commerce, and the enormous expenditure incurred by the mobilisation of 500,000 men, she could not retire nor send back her troops without having obtained some tangible result as regards the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey. The Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not

of peace at any price.

The Governments of the other Powers were at this moment preparing their answers The Russian Government would not express any opinion by to the Russian Circular. anticipation on these replies, but they foresaw in them the possibility of a great danger. For if the replies were not identical, what would be the position of the Imperial The agreement of the Powers, so fortunately established at the Conference, might be broken up in consequence of the shades of opinion manifested in the replies of the several Cabinets; would not that be a determining cause to induce her to seek for a solution, either by means of a direct understanding with the Porte, or by force of arms?

Under these circumstances it appears to the Russian Government that the most practical solution, and the one best fitted to secure the maintenance of general peace, would be the signature by the Powers of a Protocol which should, so to speak, terminate the incident.

This Protocol might be signed in London by the Representatives of the Great

Powers, and under the direct inspiration of the Cabinet of St. James.

The Protocol would contain no more than the principles upon which the several Governments would have based their reply to the Russian Circular. It would be desirable that it should affirm that the present state of affairs was one which concerned the whole of Europe, and should place on record that the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey will continue to be an object of interest to all the Powers.

The Porte having repeatedly declared that it engaged to introduce reforms, it would be desirable to enumerate them on the basis of Safvet Pasha's Circular. In this way there could be no subsequent misunderstanding as to the promises made by by Turkey.

As a period of some months would not be sufficient to accomplish these reforms, it would be preferable not to fix any precise limit of time. It would rest with all the Powers to determine by general agreement whether Turkey was progressing in a satisfactory manner in her work of regeneration.

The Protocol should mention that Europe will continue to watch the progressive

execution of the reforms by means of their Diplomatic Representatives.

If the hopes of the Powers should once more be disappointed, and the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved, the Powers would reserve to themselves to consider in common the action which they would deem indispensable to secure the well-being of the Christian population of Turkey, and the interests of the general peace.

Count Schouvaloff hoped that I should appreciate the moderate and conciliatory spirit which actuated his Government in this expression of their views. They seemed to him to contain nothing incompatible with the principles on which the policy of England was based, and their application would secure the maintenance of general peace.

I made a suitable acknowledgment of his Excellency's communication, reserving any expression of opinion until I had had an opportunity of consulting my colleagues.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 280.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(Extract.) Foreign Office, March 13, 1877.
WITH reference to my previous despatch of this day's date,* I have requested Count Schouvaloff to mention to his Government the three following provisos, to which the assent of Her Majesty's Government to the Protocol must be held to be subject:—

1. We considered that some formal pledge must be given of the intention of Russia

to disarm if this Protocol were signed.

2. It was understood that the Porte would not be asked to sign the Protocol.

3. The agreement of the other Powers would of course be necessary before the terms of the document could be considered as settled.

No. 281.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 13, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador informed me this afternoon that his Government had already urged the Prince of Montenegro to be moderate in his negotiations with the Porte and they were continuing to give advice in that sense.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 282

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 13, 1877.

A COMMUNICATION from Belgrade appeared in the "Times" of yesterday's date to the effect that murders and outrages are on the increase in Northern Bosnia, and that many Christian inhabitants of the districts of Banjaluka, Bihatsch, and Berbia are escaping across the frontier to Austria to save their lives, leaving all their property to be plundered by the Bashi-Bazouks.

On seeing this statement, I instructed you, by telegraph, to inquire of Her Majesty's Consul whether it was true; and I added that if Mr. Consul Holmes had not yet returned to his post, you should instruct him to do so at once, and to report on the state of the

country generally, and whether atrocities are being committed.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 283.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cettigné, March 12, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Prince Nicholas is much gratified at the action of Her Majesty's Government respecting transport of provisions to Nichsich.

The road from the sea to the frontier of the Herzegovina has been cleared by the Austrian authorities; but more snow seems likely to fall.

No. 284.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, Scutari, March 3, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have now the honour to report that, upon Mr. Jocelyn informing me that the Porte had repeated its assurance that the most positive orders had been given for the unconditional release of the imprisoned Mirdite Chief, I again called upon Derwish Pasha and Mustafa Pasha to see what their Excellencies proposed doing.

Derwish Pasha told me that he had decided upon assuming upon himself the responsibility of not releasing Marco Gion Nozza until the Mirdites had complied with his summons to raise the blockade of the high roads, and that he had that morning dispatched Salih Pasha to Miet, on the confines of Mirdicia, and where a considerable body of Turkish troops is collected, to press his Excellency's wishes upon the attention of the Mirdites.

I immediately pointed out to Derwish Pasha that Salih Pasha's mission was only calculated to envenom matters, as he was—rightly or wrongly I would not pretend to say—accused of having some years ago desecrated the grave of Prenk Bib Doda's father, by digging up and hacking the body to pieces; and of being the person quite recently employed to raise the Mohammedans of Matiea, Dibra, &c., against the Mirdites.

Derwish Pasha said that as Salih Pasha was the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, he had a right to be employed on the duty upon which he had been sent; and that the fact of Salih Pasha holding such a high position ought to be accepted as a sign that he possessed the confidence of the Government.

Mustafa Pasha, on the contrary, agreed with me on the impolicy of the steps taken by the Commander-in-chief, and regretted that he was obliged to follow his Excellency's lead.

It appears, however, that my representations had the effect of making the authorities conform themselves more strictly to the instructions received from Constantinople, as next day Marco Gion Nozza was released, and orders were sent to Salih Pasha to return to Scutari.

An unusually heavy fall of snow has since prevented any rapid communication with

Mirdicia, and it is not yet known whether the Mohammedan hostages have been set at

liberty, and whether the roads are now free.

Although the danger of the immediate occurrence of conflicts between the Turkish troops and the Mirdites has been averted, there remains still the fact that an indefinable enthusiasm appears to have spread among the Roman Catholic mountaineers, having birth in the belief that the moment is at hand for the expulsion of the Turks out of North Albania. The elevation of Prenk Bib Doda as the Chief of the Roman Catholic tribes has been accepted, not owing to any extraordinary personal merits of the individual, who is a youth of about nineteen years old of very crdinary parts, but as the embodiment of the idea of an independent Christian authority. The Roman Catholic clergy has been surprised and alarmed by this movement, but is evidently of opinion that it would be dangerous to oppose it.

I believe that the Mirdites are not likely to precipitate matters until they know the result of the present peace negotiations with Montenegro, and that, if these prosper, the Turks will be the first to give the signal for an outbreak, by some injudicious attempt to

punish the Mirdites for their present conduct.

The feeling of the Mohammedan North Albanians is not favourable to the Turkish authorities, who, they fancy, are also aiming at depriving them of their privilege of exemption from regular military service, and in case of a general Christian insurrection,

they would, at first at all events, remain neutral.

My Italian colleague informed me this morning that he had received the instructions announced by your Lordship's telegram to me of yesterday. I was able to explain to him that the Turkish authorities having, for the moment, adopted a conciliatory and prudent course, we need not now move in the matter, but that I would seek his co-operation should

anything unforeseen occur.

All my colleagues have, throughout the Mirdite affairs, kept entirely aloof from the Turkish authorities on the ground that both Derwish Pasha and Mustafa Pasha are persons whom it is impossible to influence for good, and, I believe, they are all of opinion that these functionaries ought to be removed. I, on the contrary, have lost no opportunities of pressing upon them the advice which I have from time to time reported to your Lordship. I do not think that these Pashas are exactly the right men in the right places, but, as they happen to possess for the moment the confidence of their Government, I have felt it my duty not to ignore their existence, and to endeavour to make them understand that they do incur some responsibility when they reject advice proffered by a British Consular officer.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN,

No. 285.

Mr. Joselyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 14.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 14, 1877, 1 A.M.

FULL details of the outrage lately committed by Turkish soldiers at Podsarko, near Vodina, in Macedonia, are contained in a letter which, I am informed, was addressed on Friday last to the "Daily News." Its statements should be received with caution, and judgment upon the case should be reserved until the report of the Commission, which has been appointed by the Governor-General of Salonica, consisting of one Mussulman and one Christian member proposed by Mr. Blunt, has been made public.

No. 286.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 14, 1877.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 13th instant, stating that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed you that Turkey was willing to cede to Montenegro certain portions of territory on the north, provided that the Prince of Montenegro were willing to recognize the suzerainty of the Porte. That this condition was indispensable, seeing that by the Treaty of Paris the Porte was unable to alienate any territory except with the consent of the Guaranteeing Powers.

That the demands of Montenegro being virtually those imposed by the Plenipo-

tentiaries, the Porte had already rejected them by breaking off the Conference, and that the Minister for Foreign Affairs maintained that England had proposed that peace should be completed to the Principality on the basis of the status are

be concluded with the Principality, on the basis of the status quo.

That he was fully alive to the danger of war with Russia arising from a renewal of hostilities with the Principality, and to the fearful consequences which such a contest might involve; and that his Excellency expressed a hope that, in the interests of all, the Powers would impose their will on the Prince of Montenegro to dissuade him from demanding concessions which could not be granted.

That in any case Turkey, while maintaining a sufficient force to keep Montenegro in check, was willing to offer most solemn assurances of her readiness to execute all the reforms which had been already accepted by her in the Conference, and that if she could obtain from any of the Great Powers a reasonable security against attack from Russia, she

would not hesitate to disarm immediately.

In reply to this telegraphic communication from you, I instructed you by telegraph to inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Porte is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, very ill-advised in raising difficulties of the nature alluded to above, with regard to Montenegro, and that the pacification of the insurgents and peace generally will be scarcely possible if the war with Montenegro is kept open.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 287.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 14, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Vienna, March 14, 1877, 10 P.M. I HAVE forwarded to Jocelyn a copy of the following telegram from Monson:—

"Prince Nicholas requests me to state that he readily accepts the proposition of the Porte to allow the revictualment of Nichsich from Scutari to be made by means of Turks, to whose employment he has no objection whatever, and will do all in his power to facilitate the operation by placing, if the Porte wishes, 200 horses gratis at their disposal at Spuz, being all the horses available. I am telegraphing to Consul-General Green to concert matters with Vali at Scutari, so as to obviate delays and difficulties. Prince Nicholas desires me to express to you his gratitude for your good offices, and his hope that the Porte will immediately give orders for the transmission of his grain, His Highness being determined on his side to carry out faithfully all the stipulations of his Agreement."

No. 288.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of to-day's date, reporting to

Mr. Jocelyn on disturbances which recently occurred in the town of Aintab.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE

Inclosure in No. 288.

Consul Skene to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Mussulman inhabitants of Aintab have been for some days in a state of unusual excitement, clamouring for war, and offering to the Governor to enroll themselves as volunteers.

On Friday the 9th instant they paraded the streets with flags, and insisted on having from the Mufti, a Fetva declaring it lawful to kill Christians. That legal functionary delivered to them a paper couched in terms which could neither disappoint them nor compromise himself, pronouncing it lawful for Mussulmans to defend their country against all enemies attacking it. With this document they repaired to the different Mosques to have it read aloud to crowds of people shouting frantically. They next

rushed to the bazaars, where patriotism degenerated to plunder, and they took wares by

force from the shops, beating their Christian and Jewish owners.

On the following day they declared to the Governor that arms, ammunition, and even artillery had been smuggled into the town by Christians intent on a massacre of the Mussulmans, and that they were concealed in the new college built by the American missionaries. A detachment of troops under the command of a captain was sent to search the college, which was soon surrounded by a mob of Mussulmans. Nothing was discovered but some large American stoves with iron chimneys, which had given rise to the rumour.

The non-Mussulman inhabitants of Aintab are thus much alarmed for their safety,

and have closed their shops and respective places of worship.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 289.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of to-day's date reporting to Mr. Jocelyn the murder of one of the cavasses of this Consulate by Mussulmans under the influence of fanaticism, because he was in the service of a Christian.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 289.

Consul Skene to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir Aleppo, February 20, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 15th instant one of the cavasses of this Consulate, named Ibrahim Kubevar, was riding quietly along the street to his house, when he was accosted by six Mussulmans who called him an infidel in the service of an infidel. The cavass answered that he was proud to serve the English Consul, whom they were not worthy of approaching. They then dragged him off his horse, and stabbed him to death.

This was the most courageous, trusty, and efficient, as also, I may say, the most attached of the cavasses under my orders. He has lost his life through fidelity and absence of fanaticism; he has left a mother, wife, and four children unprovided for; if it were possible to give them, or to obtain from the Porte for them some pecuniary assistance, it would be a very opportune act of charity, and an effect would, moreover, be produced in the town which could not prove otherwise than exceedingly beneficial in its present state of religious and political agitation.

The murderers are well known, and I have applied for their arrest by name, to be placed on their trial, for which I have secured ocular witnesses of the crime, but it is said that an understanding has been come to with the police department. One of them is a soldier of the Reserve, and the Military Commandant, on hearing of it from me, handed him over at once to the civil authorities. The cavasses of the Consulate, whom I ordered to call in policemen to effect the arrest of any of the murderers they could find without informing the officers of police, succeeded in having another of them captured thus, but he was set at liberty by those officers on the pretext that his name was not in my letter, which had been altered when translated. Should the murderers not be all brought to justice, there will be reason to apprehend serious consequences, as the inhabitants of the quarter of the town where the murdered cavass lived have declared that they will in that event avenge his death by attacking the quarter where the murderers live.

I respectfully request that the Porte may be moved to send a telegraphic order in the most stringent terms for their immediate arrest, which can easily be effected if the police

officers are forced to do their duty.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 290.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 3, 1877.

PRINCE NICHOLAS sent for me and my Austrian colleague this afternoon, and informed us that he had received a telegram from Prince Milan, insisting on the necessity of the assent of Montenegro to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace between Servia and

His Highness stated that he had telegraphed to Belgrade, in reply, that his views remained unchanged, but that he must leave Prince Milan to form his own appreciation of the situation.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 291.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

(Extract.) Cettigné, March 3, 1877.

PRINCE NICHOLAS told me this afternoon that he had received last night a telegram from his delegates, announcing their arrival at Constantinople, and adding that they had met with a very civil reception at the hands of the Grand Vizier and of

Their formal negotiations with the latter would begin on the 5th instant.

No. 292.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord,

Cettigné, March 4, 1877. I SEE in the "Times" of the 23rd ultimo a letter from Mr. Stillman, impugning the statement made by your Lordship in the House of Lords on the 20th ultimo, to the effect that M. Yonine, the Russian Consul-General at Ragusa, attended the funeral of the insurgent chief Maxime Bacevic.

I did not arrive in Ragusa until after this incident, and I found that the most conflicting statements were current as to the details.

The foreign Consuls at Ragusa hoist their flags on Sunday, and it was on a Sunday that this funeral took place. A member of Russian Consulate told me that the servants had of their own accord lowered the Russian flag to half-mast on seeing the funeral procession approach. Mr. Consul Taylor, who lived opposite, being unwell at the time, did not happen to notice this, and failed, therefore, I believe, to report the fact to your Lordship.

As to M. Yonine's attendance at the funeral, I have been assured by several persons whom I have no reason to disbelieve, that when the coffin had passed, and probably after Mr. Stillman had passed also, M. Yonine came out of the Consulate and walked with the crowd which followed the corpse some two or three hundred yards to a spot called the "Bella Vista." The cemetery being some distance from the town it is very customary at funerals in Ragusa for persons wishing to show respect to the deceased to follow the cortége to this spot, and then retire from the procession. This is what, as I am informed, M. Yonine did on this occasion; and under these circumstances it is very intelligible that Mr. Stillman, not having seen the proceeding, has always believed that the Russian Consul-General never left his house.

> I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 293.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of telegrams respecting the prolongation of Cettigné, March 5, 1877. the armistice between Turkey and Montenegro until the 21st instant exclusively.

Prince Nicholas sent his Secretary last night to communicate to my Austrian colleague and to me the text of the Grand Vizier's telegram (inclosure No. 1), and we understood that it was His Highness's intention to reply that his acceptance of the proposal of the Porte was implied in his telegram of March 1. We therefore told M. Duby that we should telegraph to our Governments to that effect. An hour later, however, M. Duby returned with the text of the Prince's telegrams to Constantinople (inclosures 2 and 3), and I was forced to correct my previous message to your Lordship by sending a second telegram, explaining that His Highness had authorized his Delegates to make the formal announcement this morning to the Grand Vizier that Montenegro adhered to the proposed prolongation.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 293.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.)

PAR son télégramme responsif du premier de ce mois votre Altesse a bien voulu m'informer que, prévoyant l'arrivée de ses Délégués à Constantinople un ou deux jours après l'expiration de l'armistice, elle avait prescrit à ses commandants de ne commencer ni permettre aucun acte d'hostilité sans un ordre spécial de sa part. Ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de le télégraphier à votre Altesse, le Gouvernement Impérial a jugé opportun de prolonger le terme de l'armistice jusqu'au $\frac{9}{21}$ de ce mois exclusivement.

Il serait donc nécessaire de transmettre des ordres précis dans ce sens aux commandants Monténégrins; afin de régler la situation et de prévenir tout malentendu.

Je prie votre Altesse de me télégraphier son adhésion à cette proposition.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

BY your telegraphic answer of the 1st of this month, your Highness was good enough to inform me that, with the prospect of the arrival of his delegates at Constantinople a day or two after the expiration of the armistice, you had forbidden your commanders not to begin or allow any hostile act without a special order from you. As I have had the honour to telegraph to your Highness the Imperial Government has thought fit to prolong the term of the armistice till the $\frac{9}{21}$ of this month exclusively.

It would then be necessary to send precise orders in this sense to the Montenegrin Commanders, with the object of regulating the state of affairs and preventing all misunderstanding. I beg your Highness to telegraph to me your adhesion to this

proposition.

Inclosure 2 in No. 293.

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.)

EN réponse à votre dépêche de ce jour, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Altesse que son Excellence le Voïvode Bogidar Petrovitch est chargé de lui donner demain communication officielle de mon acceptation de l'augmentation proposée de l'armistice.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

IN reply to your despatch of to-day, I have the honour to inform your Highness that his Excellency the Voïvode Bogidar Petrovitch is instructed to communicate officially, to-morrow, my acceptance of the proposed prolongation of the armistice.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 293.

The Prince of Montenegro to M. Petrovich.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, le 4 Mars, 1877.

SON Altesse le Grand Vizier demandant si j'ai formellement accepté la prolongation proposée de l'armistice jusqu'au $\frac{9}{21}$ Mars exclusivement, je vous charge de déclarer officiellement à Son Altesse que je l'ai acceptée, et que mes commandants en ont reçu avis en sus de mes ordres précédents donnés lors de votre départ.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 4, 1877.

HIS Highness the Grand Vizier having asked whether I have formally accepted the proposed prolongation of the armistice to the ^{9th}_{21st} March exclusively, I instruct you to declare officially to his Highness that I have accepted it, and that my Commanders have been instructed in the sense of my former orders given at the time of your departure.

No. 294.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 6, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 1st instant I have now the honour to transmit a copy of the note which was addressed by the Servian Delegates to the Grand Vizier recording their adhesion to the conditions upon which the Porte was willing to re-establish the status quo ante with the Principality.

Your Lordship will observe the guarded nature of the language employed, and the omission in the last paragraph of the term "firman" which is replaced by that of "Iradé Impérial," not by that of "Acte Usité," as I had been led to believe when I wrote my above-mentioned despatch.

A clerical error on the part of the Delegates on the fair copy of the note, where the parenthesis recording the disabilities of the Jews, was omitted from the paragraph relating to them, caused considerable excitement at the Porte, but as it merely recorded an existing fact, which could not be called in question, it was allowed to pass, and the mistake rectified in the margin.

M. Christich, in thus early furnishing me with a copy of the note, has requested that it may be considered confidential, at all events until the Porte has communicated it officially to Her Majesty's Embassy.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN,

Inclosure in No. 294.

The Servian Delegates to the Grand Vizier.

LES Soussignés, Délégués spéciaux de Son Altesse le Prince de Serbie, ont déjà eu l'honneur de se rendre auprès de la Sublime Porte les interprêtes du désir sincère du Prince de Serbie et du Gouvernement Princier de voir les relations de la Principauté avec la Cour Suzeraine rétablies un moment plus tôt telles qu'elles existaient avant les derniers malheureux évènements.

La Sublime Porte, de son côté, ayant fait connaître à Son Altesse le Prince les propositions dont elle avait jugé l'adoption nécessaire pour le rétablissement du statu quo ante, les Soussignés, se conformant à leurs instructions, s'empressent de présenter au Gouvernement Impérial les explications suivantes qui leur permettent d'établir et de déclarer que rien ne s'oppose désormais au rétablissement du statu quo.

La Sublime Porte désire que:-

"Conformément aux stipulations qui ont été faites lors du retrait des troupes Ottomanes de la Citadelle de Belgrade, le pavillon Ottoman flotte désormais sur la dite Citadelle à côté du pavillon Serbe; et aussi, qu'en exécution des anciens firmans, le nombre des forteresses et l'importance des fortifications existantes ne soient pas augmentés par la suite."

Le Gouvernement Princier n'a jamais cessée de remplir l'obligation de hisser le pavillon Ottoman sur la Citadelle de Belgrade. D'ailleurs ces deux points se trouvent expressément et explicitement établis dans les Hatti-Chérifs de Redjib 1249 et du l'1 Avril, 1867 à Zülhidje, 1283; il s'ensuit qu'aussitôt que la Principauté sera admise à établir des relations avec la Cour Suzeraine sur le pied du statu quo ante, la reconnaissance que le rétablissement du statu quo ante implique de tous les Firmans Impériaux délivrés à diverses dates rendra obligatoires quant aux forteresses les stipulations contenues dans les Firmans susmentionnés, et dès lors ces stipulations entreront immédiatement en vigueur et seront scrupuleusement observées.

La Sublime Porte désire également que—

"Le Gouvernement Princier prévienne la formation sur le territoire de la Principauté de bandes armées destinées à porter le trouble dans les provinces voisines, ainsi que l'entrée dans les provinces voisines des bandes armées ainsi formées, soit par corps et ouvertement, soit clandestinement et par petits groupes; qu'en outre le Gouvernement Princier mette obstacle à la formation de societés secrètes ou non, ayant pour but de

troubler la paix et la tranquillité des provinces voisines."

Les Soussignés ont invoqué les antécédents les moins contestables de droit et de fait pour fournir au Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte les assurances les plus formelles quant aux tendances éminemment conservatrices et anti-révolutionnaires qui ont de tout temps caractérisé le peuple et le Gouvernement de la Principauté. La Serbie, consciente de sa position, cherche dans le travail productif les éléments de sa prospérité; ennemie de toute agitation qui serait nuisible à son développement, moral, intellectuel, et commercial, elle s'est donné des lois sévères pour prévenir la création de sociétés secrètes ayant des buts subversifs, pour réprimer la formation de bandes armées destinées à fomenter des troubles dans les provinces voisines. De fait, durant la longue période qui s'est écoulée dépuis la création de la Principauté sous le Sultan Mahmoud jusqu'à ce dernier temps, non seulement la formation de bandes armées a été inconnue en Serbie, mais il n'y a pas même existé de sociétés secrètes, tant il est vrai que la législation intérieure, conforme du reste avec les tendances du peuple Serbe, a toujours suffi pour empêcher la naissance de tels éléments de troubles.

Les sociétés secrètes auxquelles la Sublime Porte a fait allusion ont eu leur origine et leur siège ailleurs qu'en Serbie. Si dans ce dernier temps ces lois de la Principauté étant restées impuissantes, il s'est produit une situation funeste à tous les intérêts, les assurances dont les Soussignés ont l'honneur d'être les organes auprès du Gouvernement Impérial sont précisément destinées à y mettre fin en rétablissant la paix et les rapports de bonne entente entre la Cour Suzeraine et la Principauté, et à rendre à ces lois préservatrices de l'ordre public leur antique et incontestable autorité et efficacité pour le plus grand avantage de la Serbie elle-même.

La Sublime Porte désire que-

"Indépendamment de la liberté religieuse les Arméniens, Grégoriens et Catholiques, et les Israélites jouissent er Serbie des mêmes droits et des mêmes priviléges que les autres habitants."

Au désir de tolérance religieuse si généreusement manifesté par la Sublime Porte, les Soussignés ont répondu que la législation intérieure de la Serbie ne connaît aucune exception fondée sur des faits de religion; qu'il n'a jamais existé d'Arméniens, Grégoriens, ou Catholiques en Serbie; que tous les citoyens Serbes jouissent des mêmes droits civils et politiques; que les Israélites sujets Serbes n'en sont pas plus privés (sauf une seule restriction concernant leur établissement dans l'intérieur du pays) que le seraient à l'avenir des citoyens Serbes qui appartiendraient à un rite Chrétien autre que le rite Orthodox. Les Soussignés se félicitent d'avoir été ainsi mis à même de montrer que le grand principe de liberté religieuse inhérent au régime intérieur de la Principauté a été de tout temps le partage de tous les citoyens Serbes sans distinction de culte.

Îls s'estiment heureux d'avoir ainsi établi dans ce qui précède le parfait accord existant entre la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement Princier, pour tout ce qui a trait aux conditions du rétablissement du statu quo qui avaient été précédemment notifiées à

Belgrade.

Les Soussignés, en leur qualité déjà énoncée de délégués de la Principauté et ayant la mission de renouveler de la manière la plus formelle l'expression de loyale fidélité du Prince et du peuple Serbe envers l'auguste personne de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, n'hésitent pas à déclarer au Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte que Son Altesse le Prince Milan est prêt à confirmer directement les explications et les assurances dont ils ont été en son nom les fidèles interprètes. Ils espèrent en conséquence que Son Altesse le Grand Vézir voudra bien provoquer l'émanation de l'Iradé Impérial pour le rétablissement du statu quo ante, et aussi pour que les troupes Impériales se retirent dans les douze jours

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à dater d'aujourd'hui derrière la ligne de démarcation, et que cette ligne soit rétablie telle qu'elle existait avant les derniers événements.

(Signé)

PH. CHRISTITCH. D. MATITCH.

Constantinople, le $\frac{16}{28}$ Février, 1877.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Special Delegates of His Highness the Prince of Servia, have already had the honour to make themselves the interpreters to the Sublime Porte of the sincere desire of the Prince of Servia and his Government to see the relations of the Principality with the Suzerain Court, re-established at the earliest possible moment as

they were before the late unhappy events.

The Sublime Porte, on its side, having brought to the knowledge of His Highness the Prince the proposals, the adoption of which it had judged necessary for the reestablishment of the statu quo ante, the Undersigned, in accordance with instructions, hasten to offer to the Imperial Government the following explanations, which permit of their establishing the fact and declaring that henceforth nothing obstructs the re-establishment of the statu quo.

The Sublime Porte desires that:—

"In accordance with the stipulations which were made at the time of the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops from the Citadel of Belgrade, the Ottoman flag shall fly henceforth on the said Citadel side by side with the Servian flag; and further, that, in execution of the ancient firmans, the number of the fortresses and the importance of the existing fortifications shall not be increased in future."

The Government of the Principality has never ceased to carry out the obligation of hoisting the Ottoman flag on the Citadel of Belgrade. Besides, these two points are expressly and explicitly established in the Hatti-Chérifs of Redjib, 1249, and of the 57 illingii, 1283; it follows that, directly the Principality is allowed to establish relations with the Suzerain Court on the footing of the statu quo ante, the recognition which is conveyed by the re-establishment of the statu quo ante of all the Imperial Firmans delivered at different dates, will render binding as regards the fortresses the stipulations contained in the above-mentioned Firmans, and from that moment these stipulations will be immediately put into practice and be scrupulously observed.

The Sublime Porte desires likewise that:-

"The Government of the Principality should prevent the formation of armed bands on the territory of the Principality, destined to bring trouble on the neighbouring provinces, as well as the entry into the adjacent provinces of armed bands thus formed, either openly in bodies, or secretly in knots; that, moreover, the Prince's Government should oppose the formation of societies, whether secret or not, having for their object the

troubling of the peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring provinces.

The Undersigned have invoked antecedents the least disputable by right and fact to furnish the Government of the Sublime Porte with the most formal assurances as regards the eminently conservative and anti-revolutionary tendencies which have ever characterized the people and the Government of the Principality. Servia, conscious of her position, seeks in productive labour the elements of her prosperity; opposed to all disturbances which might be injurious to her development, moral, intellectual, and commercial, she has imposed on herself strict laws to prevent the creation of secret societies with subversive aims, and to suppress the formation of armed bands destined to foment discord in the neighbouring provinces. As a matter of fact, during the long period which has elapsed since the creation of the Principality under the Sultan Mahmoud up to these latter days, not only has the formation of armed bands been unknown in Servia, but secret societies even have not existed, so true is it that the internal legislation, in accordance as it is with the proclivities of the Servian population, has always sufficed to prevent the creation of such elements of disturbance.

The secret societies to which the Sublime Porte has alluded have had their origin and seat elsewhere than in Servia. If, recently, these laws of the Principality have not been in full force, and a position has been produced hurtful to the interests of all, the assurances which the Undersigned have the privilege of conveying to the Imperial Government are the best adapted to put an end to them by re-establishing peace and relations of good understanding between the Suzerain Court and the Principality, and to restore to these laws, which are the guardians of public order, their old and incon-

testable authority and efficacity to the greatest advantage of Servia herself.

The Sublime Porte desires that:—

"Independently of the religious liberty, the Armenians, Gregorians and Catholics, and Israelites shall enjoy in Servia the same rights and the same privileges as the other inhabitants."

To the desire for religious toleration thus generously manifested by the Sublime Porte, the Undersigned have made answer that the internal legislation of Servia does not recognize any exception on the grounds of religion; that Armenians, Gregorians, or Catholics have never existed in Servia; that all Servian citizens enjoy equal civil and political rights; that Israelites, who are Servian subjects, are no more deprived of these rights (with the exception of one restriction only with respect to their establishment in the interior of the country) than would be in future Servian citizens who might belong to a Christian sect other than the Orthodox one.

The Undersigned are happy to have had it in their power thus to show that the great principle of religious liberty inherent in the internal system of the Principality has been

always shared by all Servian citizens without distinction of the form of worship. They are glad to have thus established by the above consideration the perfect understanding which exists between the Sublime Porte and the Government of the Principality as regards all that has reference to the conditions of the re-establishment of the statu

quo which had been previously notified to Belgrade.

The Undersigned, in their capacity, already announced, of Delegates of the Principality, and charged to renew in the most formal manner, the expression of loyal fidelity of the Prince and people of Servia to the august person of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, do not hesitate to declare to the Government of the Sublime Porte that His Highness Prince Milan is prepared to confirm directly the explanations and the assurances of which they have been in his name the faithful interpreters. They hope that consequently His Highness the Grand Vizier will have the goodness to procure the issue of the Imperial Iradé for the re-establishment of the statu quo ante, and also the withdrawal of the Imperial troops within twelve days dating from to-day, behind the line of demarkation and that this line may be an established such as it was before the reserve demarcation, and that this line may be re-established such as it was before the recent events.

Constantinople, February $\frac{16}{28}$, 1877.

PH. CHRISTITCH. (Signed) D. MATITCH.

No. 295.

Acting Consul-General St. John to the Earl of Derby. - (Received March 15.)

Belgrade, March 9, 1877. (Extract.) PRINCE MILAN informed me to-day that the Turks had evacuated Alexinatz on the 6th instant, and that Servian proprietors were now returning there.

No. 296.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, March 15, 1877, 2.50 P.M. WITH reference to your despatch of March 1, when will the remainder of the returns of sentences be furnished?

No. 297.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 15.)

(Telegraphic.) Serajevo, March 15, 1877. THERE is no change, as far as is known here, in the condition of the Banialuka and and Bihatch districts. No fresh atrocities have been heard of here. It is reported that emigration is taking place at Bratchka, on account of the troops and authorities, and general discontent prevails there.

No. 298.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 15, 1877.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 2nd instant, respecting the colonization of

Circassians in the Greek provinces of Turkey.

Her Majesty's Government have heard with much regret of the turbulent conduct of those colonists, and I have to instruct you to point out to the Porte the impolicy of arousing the resentment of the Greeks and the indignation of Europe, by establishing colonies of persons of such lawless character.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 299.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 16.)

My Lord,

Scutari, March 5, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that a Montenegrin officer arrived here yesterday from Cettigné, in order to superintend the disembarkation at the Port of San Giovanni di Medua of the 1,200,000 okes of Indian corn, for which free transit through this Province and the Lake of Scutari has been conceded by the Ottoman Government to Montenegro.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 300.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir,

ON the receipt this day of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, reporting the murder of a cavass serving under Her Majesty's Consulate, with the circumstances attending which outrage you will have been acquainted by the despatch addressed to you by Mr. Skene on the 20th ultimo, I instructed you by telegraph strongly to urge the Turkish Government to send immediate orders to Aleppo for the arrest and trial of the persons concerned in the murder of the cavass, and to ask the Porte for a pecuniary indemnity for the family of the murdered man.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 301.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Skene.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 16, 1877, 2.30 P.M. WITH reference to your despatch of the 20th ultimo, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople has been instructed strongly to urge Turkish Government to send immediate orders to Aleppo for the arrest and trial of the persons concerned in the murder of the cavass of Her Majesty's Consulate, and to ask Porte for a pecuniary indemnity for his family.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 302.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Sir, Foreign Office, March 16, 1877, 2:45 P.M.
WITH reference to your telegram of March 14 respecting outrage at Podsarskoe,
I have to instruct you to ascertain and report by telegraph whether the Commission has

been constituted, and when it will report.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 303.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby —(Received March 17.)

My Lord, Rhodes, February 24, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that the ceremony for reading over the Imperial Firman appointing his Excellency Sawa Pasha as Governor-General of the Ottoman Archipelago has taken place at Rhodes on the 22nd instant, amidst a numerous crowd.

On this occasion his Excellency Sawa Pasha addressed to the audience a speech in Turkish and then in Greek, explaining in a few words the Constitution recently promulgated in the Ottoman Empire. His Excellency said that no distinction existing now between Mussulmans, Christians, or Jews, their being only Ottoman subjects, all of them will equally enjoy the same rights and privileges.

Sawa Pasha added that the orders he had received from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan were to devote his attention to the welfare of the population of this vilayet, and

that all his efforts will tend to attain this object.

This speech made a great impression on the audience, and was followed by long applause.

I have, &c. (Signed) CHS. BILIOTTI.

No. 304.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 17.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 17, 1877, 10.40 A.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I had already communicated to the Porte Mr. Skene's report of the murder of the cavass, which only reached me two days ago.

The Governor of Aleppo was at once reprimanded for not reporting the circumstance

by telegraph, and I have told Consul he should have done so also.

Most stringent orders have been sent respecting trial and punishment of murderers. I will press for indemnity to the family of the murdered man.

No. 305.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 17.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 17, 1877.

THE Commission sent to Podsarko is now investigating, and its report may be expected shortly.

Governor of Salonica has arrested Captain of Police in command of troops, alleged

to have been engaged in the outrage, and he will be tried on the spot.

I have recommended Porte to send the newly-appointly Sub-Governor to attend investigation in order to satisfy public opinion.

Mr. Blunt reports that he has spoken strongly to the Pasha.

No. 306.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 17, 1877 I HAVE to acquaint you that the Russian Ambassador has requested me, on behalf of his Government, to advise the Porte to be more conciliatory to Montenegro, on the ground that peace with Montenegro is a question of great importance to Turkey, and that it would pave the way to a general improvement of the situation. I have informed Count Schouvaloff that I had already instructed you in this sense, but that I would repeat the instruction. You will accordingly advise the Porte to adopt a conciliatory course.

I am, &c. (Signed)

DERBY.

No. 307.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 17, 1877. YOUR despatch of February 26, relative to the state of affairs in Mirdicia, has been received, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve your conduct in this matter, and the steps which you have taken to induce the Mirdite Chiefs not to reject the advances made by Derwish Pasha.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 308.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 17, 1877. I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I yesterday communicated privately to the French Ambassador at this Court a copy of the Draft Protocol on the affairs of Turkey as settled between Count Schouvaloff and myself, and accepted by his Excellency ad referendum to his Government.

I stated in the private note forwarding the draft that it was understood that the Turkish Government would not be asked to sign the Protocol, that its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government was subject to the assent of the other four Powers, and further that Her Majesty's Government could only agree to become parties to it on the condition of receiving a formal assurance in writing from the Russian Government that

they will demobilize their forces.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 309.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 17, 1877. COUNT BEUST informed me to-day that Count Andrassy had instructed him to state that the Austro-Hungarian Government would express no opinion upon the proposed Protocol respecting the execution of reforms in Turkey until they should have seen the text in its final shape; but that in the meantime no doubt should be allowed to exist as to their adhesion in principle to the signature of a Protocol, or as to the sincerity of their hope that the negotiations respecting the signature would be successful.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

^{*} Identic despatches were addressed to Sir A. Buchanan, Sir A. Paget, and Lord Odo Russell.

No. 310.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt with sincere satisfaction from your Excellency's telegram of vesterday that the Emperor of Germany has instructed Prince Bismarck to urge at St. Petersburgh the adoption of the modifications which they have suggested in the Protocol respecting Turkish reforms, submitted to them by the Russian Government, and it is their wish that you should express their thanks for the friendly support which has been given to their proposals.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 311.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

A PORTION of the information required respecting sentences forwarded by messenger yesterday, but it is not complete; yet no effort has been spared to obtain it, but the greatest difficulties have been encountered.

Hope to conclude Adrianople returns next week, but cannot speak with certainty about those from Tirnova.

No. 312.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.*

Foreign Office, March 18, 1877.

I LEARN from Count Beust that the Austro-Hungarian Agent at Cettigné has telegraphed to Vienna that advice was received from St. Petersburgh on the 12th instant by Prince Nicholas that he should give way on the disputed points in the peace negotiations. His Excellency added that he had been instructed to express the hope that the British Agent at Cettigné would be instructed to support the efforts which his Austro-Hungarian colleague was being instructed to make to induce the Prince to accept this advice.

I have to-day requested your Excellency by telegraph to instruct Mr. Monson to give similar advice to that which his colleagues are instructed to give in counselling moderation in the Montenegrin demands; and I have at the same time telegraphed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, directing him to impress upon the Porte the expediency of adopting a conciliatory attitude in the pending negotiations.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 313.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Devby.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires reporting a conversation I have held with my Greek colleague relative to the increase of brigandage in Macedonia.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

[376]

^{*} Substance telegraphed.

Inclosure in No. 313.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, March 2, 1877. Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that my Greek colleague. M. Vatikioti, called on me two or three days ago and complained that some members of the local administration entertained and encouraged the suspicion that the recent increase of brigandage in Macedonia was connected with some Greek political movement against Turkey, and added, that the Greek Government and nation, far from giving any encouragement and countenance to any such movement, were doing their best to cultivate good relations

with Turkey.

I told my colleague that in the course of the conversations which I have had with the Pasha of Salonica on the subject of brigandage, he did not appear to me to entertain the suspicion to which he, M. Vatikioti, had referred, that, on the contrary, the Pasha on more than one occasion spoke to me in terms of praise and satisfaction of the pacific policy and loyal attitude of the Greek Government during the recent disturbances in the Sclave provinces; but that he thought that the same insurrectionary committees which had succeeded in disturbing the public peace in the Sclave provinces were now trying to create the same unsatisfatory state of affairs in the Greek provinces of Turkey.

M. Vatikioti then proposed, and I encouraged his calling on the Pasha to speak to him on the subject, and to assure him that his Government was taking active and stringent measures against the revival of brigandage on the frontier, and I have since been informed by him that he has had a very satisfactory interview with the Pasha on

the subject of our conversation.

The Greek Consul-General appears very anxious to impress upon the Ottoman authorities here that the policy of his Government is pacific and well disposed to Turkey, and that the latter has no reason to apprehend any hostile or disturbing action from the Greek side. He has asked me to speak in this sense to the Pasha, and I assured him that I would continue to do my best to promote confidence and friendly feelings between the border authorities and communities of both countries.

The Pasha and leading men here with whom I come in contact speak highly of the

policy which has been pursued by the Greek Government throughout the late crisis.

On the other hand, they say that the present increase of brigandage has every appearance of being encouraged by foreign agencies, not Greek, as I have already remarked, but Russian or Pansclave, whose object is to create agitation and disturbances in these provinces, in order to further embarrass the Sultan's Government at a moment it is earnestly trying to pacify the disaffected districts, and prove to the Great Powers which take an interest in the integrity and independence of Turkey, its determination to introduce and carry out reforms.

They are disposed to connect the sudden appearance of bands of robbers in the Greek provinces of Turkey with General Ignatiew's late visit to Athens, and suspect that some Sclave political committee has been formed at Athens for the purpose of organizing

brigandage on a large scale across the border.

It is a significant fact, they say, that it was very shortly after General Ignatiew's visit that Greek bands of robbers began to reappear in these parts.

I shall also forward a copy of this report to Her Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

No. 314.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

Salonica, March 5, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 3rd instant to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, transmitting a copy of a letter from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, of which I also inclose a copy, relative to the increase of brigandage in Thessaly.

I have, &c. J. E. BLUNT. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 314.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir. Salonica, March 3, 1877.

IN inclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, which I received after writing my report of the 2nd instant upon the increase of brigandage in the Greek provinces of Turkey, I most respectfully beg leave to recommend to your consideration and support Mr. Suter's suggestion, that Mehmet Ali Pasha, the present Commander-inchief of the army at Novibazaar, should be ordered to resume his former post of Imperial Commissioner for the suppression of brigandage in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly.

During his services in the above capacity in 1874 and 1875, Mehmet Pasha showed indefatigable zeal and vigour in prosecuting notorious offenders, and was most successful in suppressing brigandage and establishing general order and security in these frontier

provinces.

I also venture to report that the Ottoman Government should lose no time in adopting vigorous measures, in view of strong symptoms which manifest that brigandage will assume very serious dimensions this year.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUN'T,

Inclosure 2 in No. 314.

Vice-Consul Suter to Consul Blunt.

Sir, Larissa, February 28, 1877.

BRIGANDAGE seems daily on the increase in Thessaly as well as in your quarter, and if it goes on at the rate it recently has been doing, is likely by next summer to obtain

some of its former formidable dimensions in this direction.

Our Mutessarif, who is active and diligent, is doing his best to check the evil, and to all appearances is well seconded by the Greek frontier authorities. But taking for granted that the latter may be sincere in their intentions, I doubt that even united efforts can arrest its progress, more especially now that your Vali is calling in Bashi-Bazouks* and Circassian assistance, and I hold the opinion that the only chance of effectually nipping the mischief in the bud may be at once bringing back Mehmet Ali Pasha to resume his former charge in this direction.

He cannot be indispensable, supposing him even very useful, where he is at present, and how better could he be employed than in the task for which he is unequalled, of preventing this country lapsing into its former deplorable condition from brigandage? I

would suggest your urging this arrangement.

I have, &c. (Signed) H. SUTER.

No. 315.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord, Salonica, March 6, 1877.

IN continuation of the correspondence which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 22nd ultimo, I have the honour to inclose a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter reporting that the authorities in Thessaly have no intention of resorting to the services of Bashi-Bazouks or Circassians for police purposes.

The number of troops in garrison in Thessaly, not including the police, the strength of which is about 1,300 men, is between 7,000 and 8,000 men, mostly infantry Rediffs.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

[•] Mr. Suter refers to the late project of the Salonica authorities to employ these irregulars against the brigands in Catterina and Veria districts, but which has been abandoned, as I have already reported.—J. E. B. [376]

Inclosure in No. 315.

Vice-Consul Suter to Consul Blunt.

Sir, Larissa, February 28, 1877.

I AM to acknowledge the receipt on the 26th instant of your despatch of the 21st idem, requiring me to report to you by telegraph immediately I hear of any intention here, on the part of the local authorities, to resort to the services of Bashi-Bazouks or of Circassians for police purposes in this district; and, should need be, I will be careful to comply with that instruction.

Meanwhile, I may state that Djavid Pasha, the Moutessarif, Governor of Thessaly, affirms, and I so learn on inquiry in other directions, that, as often before has been reported, since the police force in Thessalv is of the strength of nearly 1,200 effective foot, and over 100 horse gendarmerie, which is ample for every purpose, no necessity exists for nor is there any intention whatever of having recourse to the expediency alluded to.

(Signed)

1 have, &c.
H. SUTER.

No. 316.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord, Salonica, March 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for the information of your Lordship a copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 2nd instant to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople relative to the outrages which, it is alleged, have been recently perpetrated in the village of Potzarsko, by Turks of the neighbouring villages.

The Pasha of Salonica has called upon the Greek Metropolitan to depute a member of his community to attend the Commission which is about to proceed to Potzarsko for the purpose of inquiring into the grievances of the inhabitants.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 316.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Salonica, March 2, 1877. I HAVE the honour to report that the peasants of Potzarsko, a large Bulgarian village, five hours distant from Vodina in this vilayet have lately addressed to the Pasha of Salonica, through the Greek Metropolitan, a petition in which they complain that a certain Bekir Pehlivan, and Osman Agha, a captain of the district police, accompanied by a great number of armed Turks from the neighbouring villages, surrounded their village, and after cruelly illtreating and outraging its inhabitants, forcibly took from them all their valuables in payment of the tithe money they owed to the above-named Bekir Pehlivan, and his two partners Metzo and Molla Ahmet.

I very much regret that I have no one at Vodina to whom I can apply for reliable information on this case; and it is very difficult to sift such matters here in which people

will not, or are afraid to, speak the truth.

The Pasha has telegraphed to the Kaimakam of Vodina for a full report; and has approved of my suggestion to dispatch to Potzarsko two members of the local Grand Council (a Turk and a Christian) to ascertain the grievances complained of by its inhabitants.

> I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 317.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

Salonica, March 6. 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 5th instant to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, relative to the elections of six deputies for the new Assembly at the Capital.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 317.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, March 5, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that six deputies have been elected to represent the Vilayet of Salonica in the new Chamber about to meet at Constantinople, and will leave this by to-day's mail steamer for the Capital.

Their names are:-

Ibrahim Bey, Mahommedan; Tahir Omer Bey, Mahommedan; Ismail Bey,

Mihalaki Bey, Christian (Greek); Papasoglo Vassilaki Effendi, Christian (Greek);

Stephano Tati Effendi, Christian (Greek).

The elections of these deputies were only concluded on the 6th of February, and from all I hear the Mahommedan and Christian communities are satisfied with the result.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

No. 318.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

St. Petersburgh, March 14, 1877. My Lord, PRINCE GORTCHAKOW informed me this morning that at the request of your Lordship, conveyed through Count Schouvaloff, he had telegraphed to Constantinople, as well as to Cettigné, to counsel moderation in the demands of the Montenegrin Delegates,

and to advise Prince Nicholas to bring about a satisfactory arrangement with the Porte. The Prince of Montenegro had replied that he was most anxious to do so, but that

the terms offered by the Porte were such as he could not accept. He preferred to remain in his present position rather than agree to unreasonable conditions.

Prince Nicholas added that he should refer the question to England, who had evinced

a most friendly disposition towards him.

Prince Gortchakow stated that Prince Nicholas, in the event of a rupture of the negotiations, would remain on the defensive, and maintain his position of uti possidetis.

It is to be regretted that the Porte should have summoned Moukhtar Pasha to Constantinople to take part in these negotiations, being the Turkish General who had suffered

frequent defeats by the Montenegrins.

Prince Gortchakow expressed a sincere desire for the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Montenegro, observing that Russia had incurred, and was now incurring, a large expenditure for the maintenance of the refugees who had fled to Montenegro for safety.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 319.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 19.)

Rustchuk, March 14, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith inclosed copy of a despatch addressed by me yesterday to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. READE.

Inclosure in No. 319.

Consul Reade to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir

Rustchuk, March 13, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that the condition of the province as reported in the above despatch continues to be as unsatisfactory as ever.

Reports of robbery and violence continue to reach this place almost daily, and many, if not most of them, are committed by Circassians who appear to be as before under no

sort of control, and the despair of the natives is getting more and more intense.

I am told that the Turks openly say that, if they are not able to carry out reforms and the country continues as it is at present, the fault is with Russia, whose threatening attitude obliges them (the Turks) to concentrate all their attention in their defence.

I have been informed by a gentleman here, who has been in fact consulted by some

young Bulgarians on a matter which I hasten to report to you :-

It appears that the Russian Consul-General here is endeavouring to induce the young Bulgarians of this vilayet to proceed to Kischeneff to join, or be with, the Russian army there. He has already sent off some (I have not been able to ascertain how many) and is doing all he can to persuade as many as possible to follow. Two of these were last week dispatched to Bucharest, but as the Consul-General there made some difficulties they returned, and immediately went to his colleague here who wanted them to go to Galatz for the same purpose, but as they were in a state of doubt they consulted my informant, who advised them to return and remain quiet at home.

These young men are told to say that they are going to Russia for the purpose of entering some military school, but I am told that the real object is to get as many as possible to go to the Russians so as to enable the latter to say to Europe that not being able to remain in their country from the injustice and oppression that prevails there,

these Bulgarians are forced to seek Russian protection.

I have also been informed that Russian emissaries are again at work inland, and amongst other things it is said that they are working hard with the object of getting up another insurrection, and Gabrova is named as the principal point selected by them.

There is another matter that merits the attention of the Porte; at Bucharest, and other places of Roumania, there are a considerable number of Bulgarians who have come there from Servia, but who cannot return to this province, and as they are now almost starving they are easily talked over by Russian emissaries.

As most of these people were in fact forced to join Servia, it is undoubtedly in the interest of the Porte to grant them an amnesty, for if not they are sure to go to the

Russians, if only to escape starvation.

I am, moreover, assured that from the present war and other levies, even the

Mussulmans cannot hold out more than a few months longer at the utmost.

In short, the present policy of the Turks in this quarter appears to be just that of Russia, which is to keep up in Turkey a state of disorder and discontent which, if prolonged, can only lead to the break up of the Empire.

I have, &c. (Signed) R. READE.

No. 320.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, March 19, 1877, 4.5 P.M.
HAVE you received any report of recent outrages in villages near Adrianople reported in "Times" letter dated Pera, March 6? If not, desire Vice-Consul at Adrianople to make inquiries.

No. 321.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 19, 1877.

I RECEIVED to-day a telegram from Her Majesty's Consul at Scutari, stating that he had been informed confidentially that the Grand Vizier had telegraphed to the

Commander-in-chief at that place that the Porte, rather than accord the present demands of the Montenegrin delegates, would resume hostilities, and asking the Commander-inchief how many battalions he requires to undertake a successful campaign against the Principality.

This telegram was repeated to you by Mr. Consul Kirby Green, and with reference to it, I instructed you by telegraph to-day to strongly advise the Porte not to resume

hostilities with Montenegro.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 322.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 20.)

Canea, Crete, March 3, 1877. My Lord, A COPY of the inclosed Petition to the Acting Governor-General of Crete was left

at my office this morning, and also, I have reason to believe, at the offices of my

It relates to an incident which occurred two days previously in the local prison, in a room in which some thirty prisoners, both Mussulmans and Christians, were confined. A quarrel having arisen between them, the latter were overpowered, and the police rushing in, joined the Moslems in beating them, finally handcuffing them with irons and consigning them to dungeons under ground.

As soon as this was known, it created great excitement among the native Christians, who, as related in the inclosed document of which a translation is annexed, assembled this morning in the church, and drew up a Petition to the Acting Governor, calling upon him to

have the guilty parties punished.

The men had been released from their cruel confinement the previous day, and if I bring the matter to your Lordship's notice, it is for the purpose of showing the present temper of the Cretan Christians, who thus hotly resent an affront put upon them, and not because the incident is likely to have any serious consequences.

I have, &c. THOMAS B. SANDWITH. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 322.

Petition made by leading Christians in Canea to the Acting Governor-General about an Assault made on Christian Prisoners.

(Translation.)

Excellency, IT is with great pain that we the Undersigned have been informed that in the local prison there was vesterday wrought by the police, of whom the Mulazim Mahmoud was the ringleader, a bad action not consonant with the spirit of this century.

Without any reason the Ottoman prisoners, many of whom ought long since to have been sent to the central prisons of the State, assaulted the Christian prisoners, the police authorities aiding them, and the Christians were mercilessly beaten, and after being manacled with irons, were placed in the dungeons and again beaten.

This action having been done against our countrymen who are in prison, leads us to suppose that our countrymen are not in security, even in prison. Wherefore, having related to your Excellency this barbarous and cruel deed, we beg you to take the prescribed steps

for the punishment of the guilty.

The delivery to your Excellency of the present paper has been entrusted to the very Reverend Bishop of Kydonia and Apokorona, and to the deputies Rousso, Kondouraki, Gregorio Frankodemetraki, Nicolaos Athanasiadi, Joannis Gemanaki, and Theophani

Done in the church in Canea, the 18th February, 1877.

No. 323.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord, Canea, Crete, March 6, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that the popular meetings for the purpose of taking the oath of brotherhood continue to be held, as many as 800 and 1,000 men having been assembled in a single body. Many come to these meetings with arms in their hands, and fire off guns out of bravado. The movement which began at this end of the island in the month of January has been gathering in force and extending eastward, having passed with noisy demonstrations through the district of Rethymo, and it is now agitating the district of Candia, beyond which it is not likely to extend, as the Christians of the eastern half of Crete are more lethargic than their brethren in the west.

These meetings have everywhere had the effect of intimidating the Mussulman peasantry, who seek to bring their moveable property into the fortresses, and the measure adopted with such good results by Reouf Pasha in January to check this movement has since been imitated in other parts of the island. His Excellency marched a battalion of regular troops to a central position in Apokorona, and the Mutessarifs of Rethymo and Candia have similarly posted regular troops in the interior of their districts. Their presence has stayed the flight of the peasantry and given them a feeling of security. It is, however, but fair to state that the Christians have refrained from any acts of pillage upon their Moslem countrymen, nor have I heard of personal injury offered to any one.

The opposition of the Christians to the election of Deputies for the new Ottoman Parliament continues. The various Administrative Councils in the island have all been called on by the authorities to give their votes for the two Deputies who are to represent the Cretans in the new Legislative Body, but every effort has hitherto failed to induce the Christian members to take a step which would be tantamount to recording their acquiescence in the new Constitution as applied to the island, and they persist in declaring that they do not mean to relinquish the privileges, albeit imperfectly carried out, granted them by the Règlement of 1868.

I have, &c. (Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 324.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord, Scutari, March 7, 1877.

MY French colleague, M. Ceccaldi, who is accredited to the Prince of Montenegro, has shown me a copy of the instructions given by his Highness to the Delegates whom he has sent to Constantinople for the purpose of negotiating, if possible, a durable peace.

As in these instructions I have observed that a claim is to be put forward for the advance of the Montenegrin frontier as far as the River Moratcha, I trust your Lordship will pardon me for venturing to offer the following explanations about the recommendation contained in my despatch of the 23rd October last,* that a greater cession than this should be made to Montenegro.

Although my suggestion has now assumed the appearance, as foreseen by Sir Henry Elliot in his despatch to your Lordship of the 18th November, 1876,† of exceeding considerably the amount of territory demanded by Montenegro, I am still of opinion that if the Montenegrin frontier is to be advanced at all in the direction of Podgoritza it ought to overstep that town.

To any one acquainted with the locality the demand for the River Moratcha as a boundary cannot convey any other impression than this territorial arrangement is not intended to be final, and that it is made in the hope that those who will have to decide whether it can be accorded will be guided by no other knowledge of the country than that to be derived from maps.

The proposed boundary would put Montenegro in possession of Spuz and the Veii B'rdo and Malo B'rdo, and would thus at once render Podgoritza untenable for a single week should war break out again.

The two B'rdos are hills of considerable height exceedingly rocky, and well covered with brushwood, and are eminently suited for the kind of fighting in which the Montenegrins excel.

In 1870 the Turkish Government bought from Montenegro for 6,000l. its pretended right of pasturage over the B'rdos, and completely fortified them, thus rendering the northern side of Podogoritza invulnerable by making impregnable the hills which overhang it, and by commanding the River Moratcha, which washes the very walls of its houses; but the Malo B'rdo once in the hands of Montenegro the smallest pieces of mountain artillery placed on it would sweep every street in Podgoritza, as the hill is only about a mile distant from the town, and no heights would remain in the possession of the Turks from whence they could meet the Montenegrin attack.

I am convinced that but few months would pass after the grant of the proposed boundary before the Montenegrins would commence to subject the inhabitants of Podgoritza, from the opposite bank of the Moratcha, to petty and hourly annoyances, which would rapidly develop into serious quarrels, and which would afford an opportunity of demonstrating to the Turks that, although peace had been concluded without a demand for the cession of the town, its abandonment had really been secured when the right bank

of the Moratcha became Montenegrin territory.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 325.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord, Scutari, March 7, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, on the direction in which Mirdite affairs are tending.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 325.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Scutari, March 7, 1877.

THE release of Marco Gion Nozza reported by me does not appear, as was pretended by the authorities here, to have been unconditional or complete, for I understand he is now at Miet, where he is detained by the commander of the Turkish troops, nominally as his guest, but in fact until the Mirdites raise the blockade of the roads, and send back the Mahommedan hostages.

When the Mirdites carry out the above wishes of the authorities, it must not be considered that every cause of misunderstanding will have been removed. The closing against them of all the market-towns in this and the neighbouring provinces, will be accepted as the determination of the Government not to overlook their recent proceedings, and will probably lead to the capture of other Turks of position, to be held as prisoners until the obnoxious measure is abandoned.

However, the present movement among the North Albanian tribes ought hardly to be attributed to any well-marked repressive action on the part of the Turkish authorities.

The Mirdites, when the war first broke out with Montenegro, refused to send a contingent of irregular troops unless their chieftain, Prenk Bib Doda, was allowed to return from his exile at Constantinople. The demand was conceded in a spirit of such evident distrust, that no sooner had the young Bib Doda gained his native mountains, than his clansmen held him exonerated from all obligations towards the Porte.

Since then the repeated and disastrous defeats of the Turks on the Montenegrin frontiers, and the efforts of foreign emissaries, backed by foreign gold, have convinced the mountaineers that the power of the Turkish Government is not irresistible, and from this conviction has arisen the more noble feeling of a desire to develop themselves out of a loose gathering of mountain clans into an independent people, and a properly constituted authority.

The example of Montenegro, which but five-and-twenty years ago was no better than themselves, has come home to them; and the elevation of Prenk Bib Doda to the supreme chieftainship of Mirdicia could not have been accomplished in a country bristling with

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mountain chiefs of equal rank, did not a desire more powerful than their individual interests exist for union that may consolidate them into a nation.

The undecided action of the authorities, which has, however, leant more on the side of repression than conciliation, has been skilfully magnified by the counsellors of Bib Doda into persecution, and has given that notoriety to his proceedings which was required to secure him the admiration of the mountaineers as being the champion of the right of self-

government of which the Ottomans have never been able to deprive them.

The closest intercourse is kept up with the Prince of Montenegro, and assistance in the shape of arms, ammunition, money and men, is confidently expected. The mountaineers are under the belief that, even if peace is concluded between the Principality and the Porte, they will still have the support of the former, and that the tactics that were so successful in the Herzegovina, when the insurrection first broke out in that quarter, can easily be repeated by the Montenegrins on this side, especially as free communications can always be maintained through the mountainous districts of the Clementi and Hotti, which adjoin the Koutchi.

I have, from the first appearance of the sentiment of union among the Roman Catholic tribes here described, endeavoured to induce the Turkish authorities to meet it in a way so that it might not assume a character hostile to the Imperial Government. I have urged that the clergy should be treated with consideration, and that its wishes should be complied with whenever possible, so as to impress its communities with its power to assist them. At present the priests are incapable of obtaining the slightest hearing from the local authorities, and have to apply from Consulate to Consulate for support when they want to obtain Government assistance. In this manner their influence among their flocks is limited to spiritual matters, and they are not sure that a change might not be advantageous, and therefore preach submission to existing authorities in a lukewarm manner.

I have repeatedly pointed out that the only way of reassuring the mountaineers that the Government has no ulterior views aiming at the destruction of their local organization and laws, is by acknowledging some one of their chiefs as a supreme authority, holding his

power from the Porte, and exercising his functions in the name of the Sultan.

The Pashas, however, can only understand this as being the advice of a dupe or of an enemy of their Government, and they continue to pursue a policy which has proved a failure during the last four hundred years, and which is at last rapidly driving North Albania into the ranks of the rebel provinces of the Turkish Empire.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 326.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 20.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 19, 1877, 4·30 P.M.

THE Turkish Parliament was opened to-day by the Sultan in person in the great hall of the Palace of Dolmabagtche.

The Imperial speech was read by the Sultun's private secretary, and I shall forward a translation of it to your Lordship by post to-morrow.

No. 327.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram to Sir A. Buchanan of the 18th instant, I have the honour to state that I will not fail to co-operate with my Austrian colleague in counselling moderation. He has not as yet received any instructions from Count Andrassy.

No. 328.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held in your conversation with Prince Gortchakow respecting the reply of Her Majesty's Government to his Circular despatch of the 19th of January, and the present position of the Eastern question, as reported in your despatch of the 20th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 329.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 20, 1877.

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF spoke to me to-day on the subject of the negotiations between Turkey and Montenegro, and said that he had received a telegram from Prince

Gortchakow, stating that the Porte wished to treat Montenegro as a vassal State.

The Prince considered that this pretension would alone be sufficient to make the conclusion of peace impossible, and he thought that the action of England at Constantinople might have great weight in inducing the Porte to withdraw from the position it had taken up.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 330.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Foreign Office, March 20, 1877.

I APPROVE the representations which you made to obtain the release of Marco Gion Nozza, and the course you have taken to avert a conflict between the Turkish troops and the Mirdites, as reported in your despatch of the 3rd instant.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 331.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 21.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, Constantinople, le 8 Mars, 1877.

AINSI que je vous l'ai fait savoir par mon télégramme du 1er de ce mois, les rapports ont été heureusement rétablis entre le Gouvernement Impérial et la Principauté de Serbie à la suite de l'entente qui est intervenue entre la Sublime Porte et les Délégués Serbes.

Ce résultat a été obtenu dans les conditions et au moyen des actes suivants:-

Les Délégués Serbes ont remis à la Sublime Porte une note dans laquelle, en vertu de leurs pleins pouvoirs, ils déclarent au nom du Prince que la Serbie faisait hommage de fidélité envers la Cour Suzéraine et demandait à rentrer dans la situation qui existait avant les derniers malheureux événements, en assumant de nouveau l'exécution de toutes les charges contenues dans les Firmans délivrés jusqu'ici et dont elle reconnaissait l'autorité. La note, en outre, relate les conditions de la pacification, et constate l'accord existant sur ces points entre la Cour Suzeraine et la Principauté.

La seule des garanties morales qui a été omise est celle relative à l'entretien d'un Agent du Gouvernement Impérial à Belgrade, la mention de ce point ayant été écartée d'un commun accord afin de ne pas donner à l'établissement à Belgrade d'un Agent de la Cour Suzeraine, établissement qui avait été autrefois sollicité par la Principauté elle-même,

le caractère d'une mesure imposée à la faveur de circonstances exceptionnelles.

A la suite de la remise de cette note, qui ouvrait la voie à une entente entre la Sublime Porte et la Serbie, dans une séance qui a été tenu avec les Délégués, je leur ai [376]

déclaré que la Sublime Porte prenait acte du contenue de la note susmentionnée, et il a été convenu que le Gouvernement Serbe accorderait l'amnistie aux Serbes compromis dans les derniers événements, et que notre armée évacuerait les points occupées dans l'intérieur de la Serbie, ce dont procès-verbal a été rédigé et signé séance tenante.

Le Prince Milan a adressé, de son côté, un télégramme directement à son Altesse le Grand Vézir par lequel il ratifie et confirme les explications et assurances fournies par ses Délégués, proteste de sa fidélité envers la Cour Suzeraine et sollicite l'émanation de l'acte

devant consacrer le rétablissement des rapports existant antérieurement.

A cet effet, un Firman Impérial consacrant le rétablissement du statu quo ante vient d'être rédigé, et ce Firman sera incessamment envoyé à Belgrade par l'entremise d'un

fonctionnaire spécial.

L'ensemble de ces documents, dont vous trouverez les copies ci-jointes en annexe, explique au surplus le mode du rétablissement des rapports réguliers entre la Sublime Porte et la Principauté de Serbie sur le pied du statu quo ante, c'est-à-dire de l'observation de toutes les dispositions des anciens Hatts et Firmans Impériaux et de la satisfaction donnée à la Sublime Porte, quant aux conditions formulées par elle, sans qu'aucune atteinte ait été porté au Traité de 1856.

Le mouvement provoqué en Serbie une fois réprimé par la valeur de nos troupes, la Sublime Porte était appelée à choisir entre l'établissement d'un nouvel ordre de choses et le rétablissement du statu quo ante, entouré de certaines garanties morales de nature à calmer des appréhensions et à satisfaire à des réclamations autorisées par la nature même des relations existant entre la Cour Suzeraine et la Principauté. Il serait inutile d'énumérer ici tout au long les considérations qui militaient en faveur de la seconde de ces deux alternatives. Elles se présentent naturellement à l'esprit. En s'attachant à éviter de nouvelles négociations telles que celles que le changement du statu quo ante ne pouvait manquer de provoquer, la Sublime Porte a voulu donner une preuve de son désir d'abréger, autant qu'il dépendait d'elle, l'anxiété avec laquelle les Cabinets et l'opinion publique en Europe attendaient l'issue des négociations entamées directement avec la Serbie, et en même temps de se créer un titre de plus à la fidélité et à l'attachement du peuple et du Prince de Serbie.

Aussi, qu'il nous soit permis d'espérer que la modération dont le Gouvernement Impérial a fait preuve sera appréciée équitablement et qu'elle portera ses fruits. En ce que concerne la Principauté de Serbie plus particulièrement, il y a lieu de croire qu'éclairée sur le danger des entrainements inconsidérés, elle comprendra mieux la nécessité de respecter ses obligations envers la Cour Suzeraine et d'entretenir constamment avec elle les loyaux rapports qui sont la condition de son existence et de sa sécurité. Les Délégués du Prince nous ont déclaré que Sa Majesté le Sultan venait de rendre la Serbie heureuse et contente. La Sublime Porte ne désire maintenant qu'une chose, c'est que ce sentiment se consolide en se perpétuant.

> Veuillez, &c. (Signé) SAFVET.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Constantinople, March 8, 1877.

AS I informed you in my telegram of the 1st of this month, relations have been happily re-established between the Imperial Government and the Principality of Servia, in consequence of the understanding come to between the Sublime Porte and the Servian Delegates.

This result has been obtained in the terms and by means of the following:—

The Servian Delegates handed in to the Sublime Porte a note in which, by virtue of their full powers, they declare in the name of the Prince that Servia did homage for its fidelity to the Suzerain Court, and desired to return to the situation existing before the recent unhappy events, undertaking once more the execution of all the commands contained in the Firmans issued up till now, and of which she recognized the authority. The note, moreover, states the terms of pacification, and confirms the agreement existing on these points between the Suzerain Court and the Principality.

The only moral guarantee which has been omitted is that relating to the maintenance of an Agent of the Imperial Government at Belgrade,—the mention of this point having been left out by common consent, in order not to give to the establishment at Belgrade of an Agent of the Suzerain Court, formerly solicited by the Principality itself, the

character of a measure imposed by means of exceptional circumstances.

Following upon the delivery of this note, which opened the way to an understanding between the Sublime Porte and Servia, at a meeting which was held with the Delegates, I informed them that the Sublime Porte took cognizance of the contents of the abovementioned note, and it was agreed that the Servian Government should accord an

amnesty to the Servians compromised in the recent events, and that our army should evacuate the places occupied by it in the interior of Servia, of which the proces-verbal was

drawn up and signed at the same sitting.

Prince Milan, on his side, has addressed a telegram direct to His Highness the Grand Vizier, by which he ratifies and confirms the explanations and assurances furnished by his Delegates, makes protestation of his fidelity to the Suzerain Court, and solicits the issue of the document which is to assure the re-establishment of the relations pre-To this effect an Imperial Firman, assuring the re-establishment of the viously existing. status quo ante, has been drawn up, and this Firman will be immediately despatched to Belgrade by means of a special officer.

These documents together, of which copies are inclosed, fully explain the course of the re-establishment of regular relations between the Sublime Porte and the Principality of Servia upon the basis of the status quo ante, viz., the observance of all the provisions of the ancient Hatts and Imperial Firmans, and of the satisfaction given to the Sublime Porte, as far as the conditions drawn up by her are concerned, without any

infringement of the Treaty of 1856.

The uprising excited in Servia, once repressed by the valour of our troops, the Sublime Porte was called upon to choose between the establishment of a new state of things and the re-establishment of the status quo ante, protected by certain moral guarantees of a nature to allay apprehension, and to satisfy claims incidental to the very nature of the relations existing between the Suzerain Court and the Principality. It would be useless to enumerate here in full the considerations which favoured the second They are sufficiently obvious. In endeavouring to avoid fresh of these alternatives. negotiations, such as those which the alteration of the status quo ante could not fail to provoke, the Sublime Porte wished to afford a proof of its desire to lessen, so far as it depended upon her, the anxiety with which the Cabinets and public opinion in Europe awaited the result of the direct negotiations opened with Servia, and, at the same time, to create a further claim to the fidelity and attachment of the people and Prince of

Also, it may be permitted us to hope that the moderation of which the Imperial Government has afforded proof will be fairly appreciated, and that it will bear fruit. As far as the Principality of Servia is more particularly concerned, there is reason to believe that, enlightened upon the danger of ill-considered impulse, she will better understand the necessity of respecting her obligations to the Suzerain Court, and will ever maintain with her the loyal relations which assure to her her existence and security. The Delegates of the Prince have declared to us that His Majesty the Sultan has just made Servia happy and content. The Sublime Porte desires now but one thing—that this feeling should be consolidated by becoming lasting.

Accept, &c. (Signed) SAFVET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 331.

Note addressed by the Servian Plenipotentiaries to the Porte, February $\frac{16}{28}$, 1877.

[See Inclosure in No. 294.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 331.

Protocol signed by the Turkish and Servian Plenipotentiaires.

[See Inclosure in No. 252.]

Inclosure 3 in No. 331.

The Prince of Servia to the Grand Vizier.

Le 2 Mars, 1877. (Télégraphique.) J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Altesse que nous confirmons et ratifions pleinement le Protocole contenant les bases convenues pour le rétablissement des relations entre la Sublime Porte et la Serbie tel qu'il a été signé par nos Délégués Spéciaux, MM. Philipp Christitch et Démètre Matitch, de même que les éclaircissements et les assurances que les

Délégués ont donné à la Sublime Porte, et qui ont abouti au rétablissement du statu quo qui avait existé entre la Sublime Porte et la Principauté jusqu'au mois de Juin de l'année passée.

La Serbie, rentrant ainsi dans la plénitude des droits, des priviléges et des immunités dont elle a joui jusqu'alors, accepte avec un profond sentiment de fidélité les obligations qui découlent des Firmans émanés à différentes époques et par lesquels la Cour Suzeraine avait témoigné de sa sollicitude et de sa confiance envers la nation Serbe et son Prince.

Il appartient maintenant à Sa Majesté le Sultan de proclamer officiellement le rétablissement des relations de la Principauté avec la Puissance Suzeraine sur la base

convenue.

(Translation.)

March 2, 1877.

(Telegraphic.) I HAVE the honour to inform your Highness that we fully confirm and ratify the Protocol containing the bases agreed upon for the re-establishment of relations between the Sublime Porte and Servia, as signed by our Special Delegates, MM. Philip Christich and Demetrius Matitch, as also the explanations and assurances which the Delegates have given to the Sublime Porte, and which have resulted in the re-establishment of the status quo existing between the Sublime Porte and the Principality up till the month of June of last year. Servia, therefore, once more possessing all the rights, privileges, and immunities which she had enjoyed up till that time, accepts with the utmost fidelity the obligations resulting from the Firmans which have been issued at different times, and by which the Suzerain Court has borne witness of its solicitude and confidence towards the Servian nation and its Prince.

It will now be for His Majesty the Sultan to proclaim officially the re-establishment of the relations of the Principality with the Suzerain Power upon the basis agreed upon.

Inclosure 4 in No. 331.

Firman dated February 20, 1877.

·(Traduction.)

(APRES les titres d'usage.)

Notre sollicitude Impériale avait toujours eu pour objet tout ce qui pouvait contribuer à consolider la tranquillité et le progrès de la Principauté de Servie, qui fait partie intégrante de notre Empire, et à assurer le bonheur et la prospérité de ses habitants. Les immunités et priviléges contenus dans les Hatts Impériaux délivrés à diverses époques n'ont eu pour but que la réalisation de ce désir.

Une preuve éclatante de notre bienveillance particulière pour le peuple Serbe en considération de sa fidélité éprouvée envers notre Gouvernement Impérial avait encore été donnée notamment par la décision en vertu de laquelle la garde des forteresses Impériales sises en Serbe avait été confiée à la Principauté. Les rapports de confiance et de sincérité entre la Principauté et la Cour Suzeraine étaient ainsi consolidés et dévéloppés de jour en jour d'avantage lorsque, malgré les efforts de notre Gouvernement Impérial pour garantir l'ordre de choses existant, nous avons été péniblement affecté en voyant qu'il n'avait pas été possible de prévenir les événements malheureux qui menacèrent de troubler profondément aussi bien la situation intérieure de la Serbie que sa situation vis-à-vis de la Cour

Sur l'acceptation empressée de la proposition du rétablissement de la tranquillité qui avait été faite par notre Gouvernement Impérial dans le but d'épargner à la Serbie les malheurs de la guerre, et qui avait en vue le retour de la Serbie à la situation qui existait pour elle avant les derniers malheureux événements, vos Délégués, les très-honorables MM. Cristitch et Matitch, sont arrivés à Constantinople avec des pleins pouvoirs de votre part. Dans les pourparlers qui ont eu lieu entre eux et notre Sublime Porte, ils ont su lui donner verbalement et par écrit des explications et des assurances par lesquelles ils ont garanti que le contenu des Firmans délivrés à diverses dates serait scrupuleusement observé; que les obligations qui avaient été à la charge de la Serbie en compensation des priviléges et immunités de la Principauté seraient exécutées, et qu'on ne permettrait désormais rien qui fût de nature à troubler matériellement et moralement les bons rapports de la Serbie avec notre Gouvernement.

Ces explications et ces assurances ayant renouvelé et confirmé notre confiance Impériale dans la fidélité et la droiture de la Principauté et du peuple Serbe, nous avons ainsi approuvé et ratifié le rétablissement du statu quo ante; et, de même que notre pardon Impérial a été accordé à ceux des habitants des provinces voisines qui pendant les événements dont il a été question se sont enfuie et réfugiés dans la Principauté, de même le retour dans leurs foyers des habitants de la Principauté qui s'étaient réfugiés chez nous a été également assuré. Nous sommes convaincu que vous et le peuple Serbe vous apprécierez ce qui vient d'être arrêté comme une preuve manifeste de notre confiance et bienveillance Impériale à votre égard, et que vous vous attacherez à persister dans l'accomplissement des devoirs de la Principauté vis-à-vis de notre Gouvernement Impérial; et en conséquence nous vous avons délivré et envoyé notre présent Firman revêtu de notre sanction Impériale pour proclamer que sur cette base le statu quo ante a été rétabli, et que les ordres nécessaires ont été donnés à qui de droit afin de faire évacuer les points au delà de la ligne de démarcation qui se trouvent en la possession de notre armée.

Donné le 18 Safer, 1294 (20 Févier, 1877).

(Translation.)

(AFTER the usual compliments.)

Our Imperial solicitude has always had for its object everything which could contribute to insure the tranquillity and the progress of the Principality of Servia, which forms an integral part of our Empire, and the happiness and welfare of its inhabitants. The immunities and privileges contained in the Imperial Hatts, issued at different times, have had for their sole object the realization of this desire. A striking proof of our especial goodwill for the Servian people, in consideration of its proved fidelity towards our Imperial Government has been afforded by the decision by virtue of which the garrisoning of the Imperial fortresses situated in Servia has been entrusted to the Principality. The confidence and sincerity existing between the Principality and the Suzerain Court were thus consolidated and developed from day to day, when, in spite of the efforts of our Imperial Government to guarantee the existing state of things, we have seen with sorrow that it was not possible to prevent the unfortunate events which have threatened to seriously disturb the internal condition of Servia, as well as its relations towards the Suzerain Court.

Upon the immediate acceptance of the proposal for the re-establishment of tranquillity, which had been made by our Imperial Government in order to spare Servia the calamities of war, and which had in view the return of Servia to the situation existing before the recent unhappy events, your Delegates, the very honourable MM. Christich and Matitch, arrived at Constantinople with full powers from you. In the discussions which took place between them and our Sublime Porte they have been able to give verbally, and in writing, explanations and assurances by which they have guaranteed that the Firmans issued from time to time will be scrupulously observed, that the obligations which have been borne by Servia in return for the privileges and immunities of the Principality will be carried out, and that nothing would henceforth be permitted which might disturb materially or morally the good relations of Servia with our Government.

These explanations and assurances having renewed and confirmed our Imperial confidence in the fidelity and probity of the Principality and of the Servian people, we have approved and ratified the re-establishment of the status quo ante; and also, our Imperial pardon has been granted to those inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces who, during the events referred to, have fled and taken refuge in the Principality, and the return to their homes of the inhabitants of the Principality who have taken refuge with us has been equally assured. We are convinced that you and the Servian people will appreciate what has just been decreed, as a manifest proof of our confidence and Imperial goodwill towards you, and that you will persist in the accomplishment of the duties of the Principality towards our Imperial Government, and consequently we have issued and delivered our present Firman confirmed by our Imperial sanction to proclaim that upon this basis the status quo ante has been re-established, and that the necessary orders have been given for the evacuation of the places beyond the line of demarcation which are held by our army.

Given the 18th Safer, 1294, (February 20, 4,) 1877.

No. 332.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 21.)

(Télégraphique.)

LA solennité de l'ouverture du Parlement Ottoman a eu lieu aujourd'hui au Palais Impérial de Dolma Bagtché, où le Sénat et la Chambre des Députés avaient été convoqués.

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a ouvert lui-même la première session du Parlement, en présence des Ministres, des Grands Dignitaires, des ordres religieux, civils, et militaires, des chess des communautés non-Musulmanes, du Corps Diplomatique, et des principaux fonctionnaires de l'Etat.

Je vous enverrai par le premier courrier le discours prononcé à cette occasion par Sa

Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 21, 1877.

THE solemnity of the opening of the Ottoman Parliament took place to-day at the Imperial Palace of Dolma Bagtché, where the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies had been summoned.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan opened the first session of Parliament in person, in presence of the Ministers, the grand dignitaries, the religious, civil and military orders, the heads of the non-Mussulman communities, the Corps Diplomatic, and the principal functionaries of the State.

I will send you by the first courier the speech delivered on this occasion by His

Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

No. 333.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(Telegraphic.) Belgrade, March 20, 1877, 8 P.M. THE presentation of the Sultan's Firman to Prince Milan took place to-day in presence of all the Ministers, and has given satisfaction.

Pertew Effendi will leave Belgrade at once.

No. 334.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21, 11:45 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 21, 1877, 8 A.M. I COMMUNICATED to the Minister for Foreign Affairs instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of 19th instant. Safvet Pasha informed me, in reply, that the Porte had already given strict orders to military commanders on Montenegrin frontier to remain on the defensive.

There appears to be no intention of resuming hostilities, at least at present.

No. 335.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 21.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 21, 1877. IN reply to your telegram of the 19th I have received following from Vice-Consul at Adrianople:

"Heard of the alleged outrages ten hours distant from here last week, and I am making every inquiry. Spoken twice to Governor-General on the subject. He ignored the affair both times. Italian Consul-General says that disturbances have taken place of little importance. Will write."

No. 336.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 21, 1877. ON the 17th instant I repeated to you a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, reporting that he had received the following telegraphic information from Mr. Monson, dated the 16th instant.

The Montenegrin delegates telegraphed on the 15th instant the further answer of

the Turkish Government.

As regarded the refugees, it was said that they must confide in the generosity of the Porte.

As to the rectification of frontier, the Porte offered a small portion of Zubci and almost all Baniani; part of Piva, along the river of that name, as far as Bitsche; thence to the nearest point of the Tara, and along that river to Dovolj; thence to Jablano; thence along the present frontier to Kolaschin. But the Porte demanded the ultimate cession of Western Kolaschin.

The freedom of navigation of the Boiana was granted, and the Porte was willing to treat on the modus vivendi of 1875.

The Prince, in reply, telegraphed to the Delegates on the 16th instant that if the Porte would not engage itself to him as to the refugees, it must at least do so with Austria, England, and Russia. He must decline respecting Zubci. He adhered, roughly speaking, to his demands for Baniani, Nichsich, Duga, Piva, and Drobniak; refused to cede any Montenegrin territory whatever, or to abandon the Kuchi; gave up claim for right bank of Moratcha and to Spitza; accepted the free navigation of the Boiana under the Montenegrin flag, with stipulations for the maintenance of the channel; and agreed to treat on the proposals of 1875.

He further ordered his delegates to inform him whether the Porte consented to these conditions, as, if it did not, he would send the terms of a note to be presented, breaking off the negotiations, and instructing the Delegates to leave Constantinople with all due courtesy. In this case he would appeal to the Great Powers, and remain on the defensive

in his present position, on the principle of the uti possidetis.

In consequence of a telegram received to-day from Mr. Monson, stating that the Montenegrin Delegates had been unable to decypher the instructions sent to them by the Prince, and that His Highness was anxious that the substance of them should be communicated to the Delegates by the British and Austrian Chargés d'Affaires at Constantinople, I authorized you by telegraph to make known to them the substance of Mr. Monson's telegram.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 337.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 21, 1877.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 17th instant, reporting the steps taken by you in anticipation of the instructions sent to you by telegraph on the 16th instant, for procuring justice and redress in the case of the murder of the cavass of Her Majesty's Consulate at Aleppo; and I have to express to you my approval of your action in this matter.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 338.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 21, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called to-day, in company with General Ignatiew, to discuss the question of the alterations proposed by his Government in the Protocol on which we had provisionally agreed, and the conditions on which this Protocol should be signed.

I thought it right to communicate to them, in the first instance, what I understood to be the decision of the Cabinet, namely, that it would be inexpedient to enter into discussion of the verbal amendments that had been suggested in the Protocol, until an understanding had been arrived at on the question of demobilization.

I repeated what I had before stated, that Her Majesty's Government attached no special importance to the form in which the required assurance might be given; but that, inasmuch as the demobilization of the Russian forces was the inducement held out to us to sign the Protocol, and the assurance of it was our justification for so doing, we must be able to lay before Parliament evidence that our object in that respect had been secured.

Both Count Schouvaloff and General Ignatiew opposed this view. The objections [376]

which they took may be summed up briefly as follows. They contended in the first place that the bargain as offered by us was not a fair one. Turkey, not being required to sign the Protocol, was in no way pledged to disarm; the recommendation to do so, addressed to her by the Powers, being merely in the nature of advice. It was unreasonable, they argued, that Russia should bind herself to disarm as a condition of our signing a document which left Turkey free on that point. They objected, secondly, that the state of war still continues between Turkey and Montenegro; that if the Montenegrin State were to be attacked and invaded, Russia would be bound in honour to interfere for its protection, the fulfilment of which duty would be rendered impossible to her by a promise of demobilization. Thirdly, they argued that as a question of dignity it was unsuitable that Russia should be called upon to disarm before any similar appeal was addressed to Turkey.

It was the Porte which ought to take the initiative, inasmuch as it was not before Russia alone, but before all Europe, that she was called upon to lay down her arms. They observed, further, that the condition of the two armies was essentially different—the Russian army being composed of regular troops, subject to strict military discipline; whereas the Turkish forces were to a large extent composed of irregulars, whose remaining

under arms was a perpetual source of danger to the surrounding population.

In continuation of this argument, they pointed out that the demobilization of the Russian forces can be accomplished in eight days; that the Turkish troops, on the other hand, could not be sent tack to their homes under a period of many weeks, or perhaps months; and it was only reasonable, therefore, that the latter should be the first to begin the process. In connection with this subject, General Ignatiew observed that so large a part of the male population of Asiatic Turkey had been withdrawn from the cultivation of the soil for the purpose of being placed under arms, that unless they were speedily sent home, famine would be the inevitable result.

I asked whether they could give me any statement as to the conditions under which the Russian Government would undertake to demobilize, supposing always that they were

ready to give such assurances on any conditions and in any form.

Count Schouvaloff was not authorized to speak officially on the subject, but he expressed it as his opinion, in which General Ignatiew also concurred, that the Emperor would be willing to disarm on three conditions:

That the Porte should take the initiative.
 That peace should be concluded with Montenegro as it had been with Servia.

3. That the Turkish reforms should be seriously taken in hand.

And he added a further proviso that it must be understood that demobilisation would be stopped at once in the event of fresh massacres being perpetrated on the Christian

I said that for the present I should content myself with referring their observations

to the consideration of my colleagues.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 339.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, Beyrout, March 3, 1877. I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, reporting on the election of members to represent Syria in the Turkish National Assembly or Parliament.

> I have, &c. (Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 339.

Consul-General Eldridge to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Extract.) Beyrout, March 3, 1877. I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that on the 20th ultimo his Excellency the Governor-General examined at Beyrout, the votes given in favour of the

candidates to represent the Vilayet of Syria in the National Assembly at Constantinople, and the following persons were declared duly elected:-

Emin Effendi Djoundi, Mussulman, Notable of Damascus and President of the Medjlis Temiz of the Vilayet.

Derviche Effendi Shambour, Mussulman, Notable of Tripoli, and member of the Administrative Council of that place.

Nicholas Effendi Maccache, Maronite, Notable of Beyrout, and ex-member of the Administrative Council of the Vilayet.

Nicholas Bey Nauphal, Orthodox, Notable of Tripoli.

The two former, Emin Effendi and Derviche Effendi, having declined to accept the membership to which they were elected, they have been replaced by Hussein Effendi Beyhoum, Mussulman, Notable of Beyrout, and Atassi Effendi, Notable of Homs, whose names were the next on the list of candidates.

I am told that the elections were conducted with perfect regularity and fairness by the members of the various provincial Medjlisses, each writing down the names of four persons whom they considered most worthy to represent the vilayet; their names were placed in a sealed envelope by each elector and then forwarded to the Vali, who, when all the votes were collected, opened them in the presence of the Administrative Council, the principal functionaries, notables, and the religious heads of the various communities, and those who had obtained the largest number of votes were declared duly elected.

Although the whole proceeding did not create much interest or excitement, yet the manner in which it was conducted and the results obtained have produced very general

satisfaction amongst all classes.

If the results of the elections in the other provinces of Turkey are at all equal to those obtained in Syria, I think the interests of the different parts of the Empire will be very fairly represented in the National Assembly or Parliament, as I do not believe it possible that a better choice of Deputies, as representing public opinion in Syria, could have been made, which is a great proof that the elections were fairly and honestly conducted.

Some time ago it was a question of electing two members to represent Mount Lebanon in the National Assembly, but many persons looked upon this measure as contrary to the Règlement and likely to interfere with the privileges which the Lebanon enjoys, consequently much opposition was shown and the matter was allowed to drop.

For my own part I cannot see in what way the election of Deputies for the National Assembly which is to frame laws for the whole of the Turkish Empire and which are equally applicable to the Lebanon, would affect the special administrative privileges which were accorded by the Porte to the Mountain and guaranteed by the Great Powers.

No. 340.

Vice-Consul Jago to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, Damascus, March 4, 1877. I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the copy of my despatch of this day's date to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at the Porte reporting upon public affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

THOS. S. JAGO.

Inclosure in No. 340.

Vice-Consul Jago to Mr. Jocelyn.

Damascus, March 4, 1877. (Extract.) I HAVE the honour to report that his Excellency Nashid Pasha, late Vali of Syria, left Damascus for Beyrout on the 8th February, leaving the Defterdar Effendi as Acting

Governor-General pending the arrival of his successor, Zia Pasha.

On the 25th February Zia Pasha made his public entry into Damascus with the usual ceremonies, and after the reading of his firman entered upon his duties on the 27th February.

Owing to the reiterated instructions of the Porte on the necessity of preserving public order, and to the measures taken to that end by the Commander-in-chief, perfect tranquillity prevails; and the Christians and Jews being persuaded of the firm desire of the

[376] 2 G 2 Government to preserve peace have of late been free from those fears and sudden panics which less rigid police measures against the unruly of the Moslem population tended so frequently to generate in their minds.

The nomination to the Imperial Parliament of a Moslem and of a Christian member from Damascus has been declined by the nominees owing to dislike to expatriation, and

to injury to private interests which would result from absence from home.

As an accurate knowledge of Turkish is required, and is possessed by few in Damascus, the number of persons eligible by local standing and education is restricted, and is still more so by the general dislike among such few to accept a post which they consider will not give them at the capital the same prestige and consideration to which they are accustomed at home. In fact it is much to be feared that the Representatives of Syria may be ultimately found, for these reasons, to be drawn chiefly from a class to whom the personal emolument of office will form the sole inducement to acceptance.

Zia Pasha has expressed to me his astonishment at the state which Damascus at

present presents.

It will be my care to report in due time the results of his proposed attempts to bring about a better state of things, and to introduce reforms.

No. 341.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 6, 1877.

I HAVE been informed by the Secretary of Prince Nicholas that the Montenegrin Envoys report by telegraph that at the meeting yesterday Safvet Pasha took note of the demands which they had been instructed to make, and which his Excellency said that he would submit to the Grand Council.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 342.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 8, 1877.

I ASKED Prince Nicholas this afternoon if he would tell me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, what was the minimum that he would accept of the territorial concessions which he had asked of the Porte, and His Highness replied that I might state to your Lordship that in the matter of the seaport he might perhaps give way, but that he was determined not to abate any of his other demands.

If he gave up insisting for a seaport it would only be in deference to the Austrian Government.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 343.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th ultimo, respecting the Convention between the Turks and the Montenegrins for the transport of provisions to Nichsichs for the use of the former, and to Richa on Lake Scutari for the latter, I have to-day been requested by Prince Nicholas to invoke the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the execution by the Turkish authorities of the stipulations of that Convention. The snow has been falling since the 21st ultimo, and is six feet deep on the mountains. Consequently only 120 horseloads have yet arrived at Nichsichs; but the Prince has applied to the Austrian Government for assistance in clearing the road between Risano and Dragai, and will do his utmost to send the provisions quickly. The Turks, however, make this unavoidable delay a pretext for refusing to send any grain to the head of Lake Scutari; although they have accumulated in the town of Scutari itself a certain quantity of grain

which is Montenegrin property; and the people of the Eastern districts of the Principality are suffering terribly from famine in consequence. The Prince hopes that in the interests of humanity Her Majesty's Government will urge the Porte not to delay to forward the grain; engaging himself most solemnly to keep his part of the contract as soon as the route to Nichsichs can be cleared.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 344.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

Cettigné, March 10, 1877. My Lord, I INFORMED Prince Nicholas this afternoon of the renewed instructions sent by Her Majesty's Government to Mr. Jocelyn that he should use his good offices, if opportunity offers, to bring about an understanding between Turkey and Montenegro.

His Highness charged me to state to your Lordship that the Porte proposes to cede portions of four districts in the Herzegovina, in exchange for part of the Wassoievitchi,

which is his most valuable district.

His Highness declares that he foresees an agreement to be impossible, as he must insist on receiving at least as much as the Six Powers proposed; but that he has, nevertheless instructed his Delegates not to leave Constantinople for the present.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 345.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

Cettigné, March 11, 1877. My Lord, DURING my conversation with Prince Nicholas yesterday, His Highness remarked

hat the selection made by the Porte of Moukhtar and Constant Pashas as negotiators, was to him quite sufficient proof of the spirit which animates the Turks, and of the

improbability of any good result attending the negotiations.

I see by your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, which I have received this afternoon, that Mr. Jocelyn had pointed out to the Ottoman Government the impolicy of this selection, than which I can imagine nothing more likely to prejudice the chances of a harmonious solution of the questions at issue.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 346.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 22.)

Cettigné, March 11, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to Mr. Jocelyn's telegram of yesterday,* respecting the demands of Montenegro, I would remark that, while as yet Prince Nicholas continues to declare that he will not abate one item of his pretensions, there are at any rate two points upon which, whatever he may decide upon with regard to the others, I am confident it will be useless to attempt to persuade him to give way.

He will not make peace without obtaining the cession of Nichsich and the Douga Pass on the northern, and (probably) of the Kutchi district on the south-eastern frontier.

Nor will he consent to any terms which do not include adequate security for, and his own co-operation in, the undisturbed restoration of the refugees to their homes, with provision for their immediate wants and protection from the vengeance of the Mussulmans. Indeed, he cannot do otherwise; for it would be impossible to effect the return of these refugees, unless he can personally declare to them that they may re-enter the Herzegovina in safety.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

No. 347.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 22.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 11, 1877.

PRINCE NICHOLAS told me yesterday that he intended to summon certain of the insurgent Herzegovinian Chiefs to Cettigné this week, for the purpose of having them at hand in the event of its being necessary to concert upon measures rendered expedient by the turn of the negotiations at Constantinople.

Their presence here would in fact be equally imperative either in view of peace or of

a recommencement of hostilities.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

P.S.—Since writing the above I learn that Prince Nicholas has received telegrams from the Chiefs stating that it would be impossible for them to come to Cettigné this week. I presume that one very excellent reason may be that the quantity of snow makes locomotion in these mountainous regions a matter of extreme difficulty.

E. M.

No. 348.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, March 22.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 21 Mars, 1877.

LES négociations avec les délégués Monténégrins n'ayant pas encore abouti, le Gouvernement Impérial a cru devoir prolonger jusqu'au 13 Avril exclusivement l'armistice dont le terme a expiré aujourd'hui. Des ordres en conséquence ont été donnés à nos commandants militaires, et son Altesse le Grand Vizir a télégraphié cette prolongation au Prince Nicolas.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 21, 1877.

THE negotiations with the Montenegrin delegates not having yet been brought to a close, the Imperial Government has thought it right to prolong to the list of April exclusive the armistice, the term of which expires to-day.

Orders have consequently been given to our military commanders, and His Highness

the Grand Vizier has telegraphed this prolongation to Prince Nicholas.

No. 349.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

ON the receipt of your telegram of yesterday's date to the effect that the British Vice-Consul at Adrianople was making every inquiry respecting the outrages reported to have been committed near that place, I informed you by telegraph that Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis should be instructed either to go himself or to send some trustworthy person to ascertain the exact facts of the case.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY

No. 350.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 23.)

Extract.)

I HAVE no doubt that your Lordship is sufficiently weary of the question of impalements in Bosnia, and it was not my intention to have written another word on the subject. Mr. McColl, however, in a late letter to the "Times," mentions that Mr. Freeman reported from this Consulate, on the 17th March, 1876, that a certain Rado Buyich was said to have been impaled near Novi; while I, on the other hand, declared that for the

last twenty years I had not heard of a single instance of this old barbarous custom. All this is perfectly true, and, as I see that Parliament has asked for a copy of Mr. Freeman's despatch, I think it my duty to give your Lordship some explanation on the subject.

When the despatch in question was written, I was on my way from Constantinople to Serajevo. When I arrived here my time was wholly occupied in my endeavours to induce the authorities and the Mussulmans to allow the Christians to use bells in their churches, as reported to your Lordship. I only remained a week, but I did not, however, neglect to read over the despatches which had been written during my absence. That of March 17th represented nothing more to my mind than a repetition of the same cruelties and complaints which I had been hearing ever since the insurrection broke out, always difficult to prove, but which I had come to regard as, under the circumstances, inevitable, and if not all true, at least, all probable.

At that time, there having been no question of impalements, this peculiar atrocity, among others, did not attract my attention, and I subsequently stated, what I believed to be true, that I had not heard for many years of a single instance of this cruelty. Little or no impression either seems to have been made on any one here, as it is to be remarked that when the question of impalements on the Save were discussed, not one of my colleagues or any one else recollected or alluded in any manner to the case in question. Most, if not all, of these atrocities have been denied by the Turkish authorities; but I do not in any way avail of this circumstance, or give it any weight, as it is natural that they would do so.

A M. Heinrich Renner, special correspondent of the "Golos," however, has published, in the "Daily News" of 6th February, a letter, in which he states that himself and several Austrian officers were eye-witnesses of this atrocity, mentioning the same name and place as given in Mr. Freeman's despatch, and I have not the slightest intention of disputing the evidence given in this case. Their testimony, I may remark, with the fact of the matter having been reported here, and made known in Austrian newspapers, as is asserted, is of a very different nature from that of the Rev. Mr. MacColl with regard to his cases of impalements on the banks of the Save. He relied on his own eyesight while passing the object he saw at a certain distance. His statement would probably never have been given to the world, if, instead of so readily accepting the information tendered him by the Sclave steward on board the steamer in which he was travelling, he had cleansed his field-glass from the haze of the apparently cherished preconceptions by which it was clouded, and looked again. There is nothing astonishing that, considering all the peculiar circumstances of the case, he should have been misled by his own eyes.

However, I would ask any impartial person whether the inference to be deduced from the establishment of this case of impalement is in favour of Mr. MacColl's statement, or the reverse.

It seems to me that if, in a very remote part of Bosnia at the deserted station of a railway—by which, I believe, no more than a couple of third class passengers per day have ever been known to travel—this atrocity, committed by the infuriated inhabitants, was detected and brought to public notice, the inference clearly is that repeated impalements by the military authorities along the public highway of the Save, would, à fortiori, have not failed to have immediately become widely known, whereas no one individual has yet appeared to substantiate them.

Your Lordship will remember that my attention has almost entirely been directed to the question of the impalements avouched by Mr. MacColl on the banks of the Save. That these never occurred every possible information tends to show, but I have never on any occasion denied that atrocities have been committed in Bosnia during the insurrection. I am sorry to say that, without doubt, they have been far too frequent on both sides.

Mr. MacColl, in his last letter, states that I sought to discredit his evidence for three reasons:—

First, that for the last twenty years I had never heard of a single instance of impalement in Europe, or even in Asia.

This I affirm was strictly true until a few days ago, when I read his own letter mentioning Mr. Freeman's despatch, on referring to which I was for the first time aware that an impalement had been reported.

He continues by declaring that my second and third reasons were, that the Austrian authorities had never heard of any case of impalements in Bosnia, and that the Austrian press had never mentioned any impalements, omitting to add, what he must have known I meant, "on the banks of the Save," as reported by himself, to which my attention had been particularly directed, and to which, as I could not possibly speak with certainty as to what might have occurred in every corner of Bosnia, I have always referred.

I refrain to qualify the nature of these statements by any epithets similar to those which abound in Mr. MacColl's letters.

I think your Lordship will admit that the subject of the alleged impalements on the bank of the Save is, as far as I am concerned, completely exhausted, and I shall write

nothing more about it.

In connection with the reports of atrocities such as are mentioned in Mr. Freeman's despatch, I feel it necessary to state to your Lordship that they do not in any way impress me as they probably would a stranger, because I have so often heard them repeated, and in most of the cases I have taken the trouble to investigate—which during my seventeen years' residence here have not been few—I have, in general, found them false, or so exaggerated as to be unworthy of attention.

No. 351.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord,

I THINK it my duty to inform your Lordship, that, since my return to Serajevo, I have observed a certain distrust and reserve towards me on the part of some of the authorities and chief Mussulmans, which I can only imagine to be due to the publication in the Blue Books, and republication in Turkish here, of many of my despatches, which have spoken truthfully, though not very flatteringly, of the character of the governing classes in Bosnia; and also by the Turkish versions of the attitude of England at the late Conference, which they have assumed to have been friendly to Russia, and hostile to

themselves.

I have, therefore, thought it my duty to explain to them, that, in the conduct of the British Government there has been no question of hostility to Turkey, or friendship for Russia. That the efforts of Great Britain have been employed to bring about a peaceful solution of difficulties which endanger the very existence of Turkey, and that the only manner to do this was to go with Russia, as far as was just and reasonable, so as to be able to restrain her from action, and persistence in what was neither desirable for Turkey, nor Europe in general. I have pointed out to them that their Government and themselves have, by their own conduct, rendered the position of their friends almost impossible; but that even now the desire of Great Britain is to see them, if there is yet any hope, prosperous and powerful; but that this is utterly impossible as long as their Christian fellow subjects are oppressed and ill-treated, and the character of their Government remains the same.

Some of them, of course, deny that the Christians are ill-treated. Others admit that they have many just causes of complaint, but that the Mussulmans are almost as badly off. One very good Bosniac observed "what you say is not to be denied, and, though it is true

that Russia has applied the match, we ourselves have always fanned the flames."

I have reminded them of the long years during which England has steadily supported and befriended them, and asked them whether, in private life, they would continue to do the same to any person whose promises of good conduct were never fulfilled, who was always affording justification for the assertions of his enemies, who ill-treated his dependents, who borrowed money which was squandered, and of which repayment was refused, and who, finally, repudiated advice given for his own safety and reinstatement. I added that they and their Government had one chance more, and that was to avail of the present to show that there was a real determination to reform their wretchedly corrupt and unjust system of administration, and substantially improve the condition of their Christian subjects, in which case I felt convinced, that they would have no cause to complain of the attitude of Great Britain towards them.

They said that these remarks should be addressed to the men in power at Constanti-

I replied that they had been, but that, unfortunately, I could not say whether they would have any useful effect.

My words, in most cases, seemed to obtain a conviction of their truth and justice, and I hope that they may have the result of preserving and restoring my friendly relations with the Bosniac Mussulmans here, which have been formed and maintained by the persuasion that, if I have not hesitated to speak the truth as to their shortcomings, I have always endeavoured to defend them when unjustly calumniated.

I trust I have said nothing that your Lordship would hesitate to endorse.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 352.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

Scutari, March 13, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy

of a despatch I have this day addressed to Mr. Jocelyn, reporting the release of the Mohammedans held prisoners by the Mirdites, and the opening of the high-roads passing through their district.

I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 352.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Scutari, March 13, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th instant, I have the honour to report that the Turkish authorities have informed me that Zeinel Bey and his companion have been released by Prenk Bib Doda, and that they have arrived in Scutari, and that the roads are no longer considered blockaded, although the snow that has fallen during the last few days has really rendered them impassable.

I am also assured that the Chief Marco Gion Nozza is now in his own village

My colleagues and the native Christians here are still of opinion that the Mirdites and other mountaineers will not settle down until the Turkish Government recognizes their right to be governed by Christian authorities.

I have, &c. W KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

No. 353.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

Constantinople, March 14, 1877. My Lord,

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs gave me, a few days ago, the Report which has been drawn up by Ismail Bey, who was President of the Commission sent to investigate the conduct of Shefket Pasha at Slimnia and Boyadjik, in repressing the rising which took place in that district last year.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of it, and also one of a memorandum which Mr. Baring made, at my request, upon the statements which it contains, and which sufficiently demonstrates the futile nature of the vindication of the Pasha's conduct sought to be established by Ismail Bey.

I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 353.

Report of Special Commission on Attack on Boyadjik by Shefket Pasha.

(Traduction.)

CHARGES par la Sublime Porte de vérifier les sentences rendues par les Commissions Extraordinaires instituées à Philippopoli, à Sofia, et dans d'autres parties du vilayet, au sujet des affaires Bulgares, de l'informer de la nature et de la portée des faits qui ont motivé ces jugements, et de procéder aussi à l'examen de tous les procèsverbaux et interrogatoires qui sont restés jusqu'ici sans exécution, nous avons commencé notre œuvre par l'étude du dossier de la Commission d'Enquête envoyée dernièrement à Sélimno.

Voici le résultat de nos travaux :-

Un grand nombre d'affiliés des Comités formés en vue de fomenter la révolte contre le Gouvernement Impérial s'étant rendus à Sélimno s'y livraient à toutes sortes

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de menées séditieuses avec une multitude de gens sans aveu dont ils s'étaient assuré le concours. Informées de ces faits, les autorités Impériales envoyèrent sur les lieux, au commencement du mois du Mai, Ali Agha, chef de peloton, accompagné d'un nombre suffisant de gendarmes à l'effet de disperser les agitateurs, et de prévenir les dangers

qui menaçaient les sujets paisibles de Sa Majesté.

Arrivés à Seuyudli-Déré, localité sise dans la région occidentale de Sélimno, ces gendarmes furent nuitamment attaqués par les rebelles. Une balle partie des rangs de ces derniers vint frapper et tuer Ali Agha. Les miliciens qui l'accompagnaient ripostèrent à la décharge des insurgés, qui prirent aussitôt la fuite. La présence des rebelles dans les Balcans s'étant ainsi révélée, l'autorité a dû prendre les mesures commandées par les circonstances et expédier sur les lieux des détachements de force armée. Sur ces entrefaites, plusieurs insurgés Bulgares se rendirent le 8 Mai à Niké, un des villages situés au nord de Sélimno, pour soulever de vive force la population et augmenter ainsi leur nombre; ils leur enlevèrent des armes avec violence et se firent donner une certaine quantité de fromage, ainsi que le constate le reçu délivré à cet effet au nom du Comité par le Voïvo de Stodile, à un des bergers, Kara Katchak.

A la nouvelle de ces désordres, les autorités envoyèrent à la poursuite des révoltés deux bataillons de rédifs du 2^{me} ban se trouvant à Sélimno avec 120 gendarmes et volontaires. Ces troupes ayant rencontré les rebelles entre Niké et Papas, un combat s'ensuivit. Un des soldats fut blessé, mais les insurgés ne pouvant résister au feu et à l'attaque des troupes Impériales s'enfuirent vers les Balcans où, poursuivis de près, ils furent complètement battus. Le Voïvode Stévil et dix de ses compagnons tombèrent morts entre les mains de nos soldats, en même temps que 59 autres furent faits prisonniers. Ceux-ci portaient un drapeau de satin vert représentant d'un côté un lion brodé d'or et de soie, et de l'autre une croix blanche entourée de la devise "mort ou liberté."

Ces prisonniers furent conduits à Sélimno, où ils subirent leur interrogatoire. Ils avouèrent que le Vendredi, 7 Mai, ils se réunirent au nombre de 28, dans les Balcans de Kouche, où ils levèrent l'étendard de la révolte; qu'ils se rendirent ensuite à Niké, où leur porte-drapeau Sert Costa Oghlou Stéphan, tué depuis, planta leur bannière sur l'église du village; qu'ils y firent venir des prêtres afin d'y célébrer un service divin pour le succès de leurs armes; que là Déli Radé, habitant de Niké, se joignit à eux; qu'ils grossirent plus tard à Tebryan leurs rangs de 25 hommes et à Bache de 16; qu'ainsi leur nombre total se trouva porté à 70; qu'ils se firent livrer, contre reçu, par les Kara Katchaks, au nom du Gouvernement Provisoire, des armes et du fromage, et qu'ils se dirigeaient de nouveau sur Niké dans le but de forcer ceux des villageois qu'ils avaient soulevés de force et qui s'étaient enfuis à renter dans leurs rangs, lorsque les troupes Impériales les rencontrèrent et les capturèrent après un combat d'une demiheure. Ils déclarèrent, en outre, que pendant leur assemblée à Couch-Bikar, c'est le nommé Stolon qui avait tiré un coup de fusil sur le chef de peloton Ali Agha, et que le nommé Christo de Choumla avait de son côté tué un meunier Musulman d'Osman Pazar qui n'était pas armé.

A peine ces insurgés avaient-ils été dispersés, que les habitants Bulgares du village de Boyadjik, de concert avec certains autres de leur coreligionnaires qu'ils avaient attirés des localités avoisinantes, tout armés, se déclarèrent dans la nuit du 15 Mai en état de rébellion. Ils ne laissèrent pénétrer personne dans leur village, et

ne permirent à aucun Musulman d'en sortir.

Ce village étant situé à une distance de six heures de Sélimno et de trois heures de Yamboli, le Gouverneur de Sélimno, afin d'accélérer l'ouverture de l'enquête, télégraphia au Caïmacam de Yamboli de se rendre en personne sur les lieux et de s'y livrer à des investigations rigoureuses. Ce Caïmacam s'étant par conséquent dirigé sur Boyadjik avec trois gendarmes et huit cavaliers de l'armée irrégulière, et ayant rencontré devant le village environ 300 individus armés et 50 cavaliers, n'y pénétra pas et dépêcha deux ou trois gendarmes pour appeler auprès de lui le Mukhtar et les membres du Conseil des Anciens. A cent pas du village, ces émissaires furent interpellés par les cris, "Ne venez pas, vous serez tués."

Ne pouvant pénétrer jusqu'au milieu du rassemblement, les gendarmes durent s'arrêter à mi-chemin et annoncer de loin que le Caïmacam appelait auprès de lui le Mukhtar et les membres du Conseil des Anciens. Le Mukhtar et l'un de ces derniers se détachant alors du milieu de l'atroupement s'avancèrent de quelques pas et, sur leur demande, le Caïmacam s'étant rendu lui-même auprès d'eux, leur donna communication des ordres de l'autorité et leur fit entendre qu'il était venu pour leur défense et leur sécurité.

Il lui a été répondu que les villageois sauraient se défendre eux-mêmes et l'on

s'opposa à son entrée dans le village; il n'est même pas parvenu à pénétrer dans le

quartier habité par les Musulmans.

Le nombre considérable des rebelles faisait supposer qu'ils avaient reçu des renforts des villages voisins. Le Caïmacam s'est empressé de porter tous ces événements à la connaissance du Mutessarif qui, à son tour, en a avisé Chevket Pacha, alors à Sélimno.

A la réception de cette nouvelle, Chevket Pacha s'est incontinent transporté à

Boyadjik et a réprimé l'insurrection.

Pendant l'affaire 139 maisons ont brûlé et, sur une population de 469 âmes, 135 personnes ont été tuées ou ont disparu; de même une femme a été tuée par l'hasard. Cette correction infligée aux rebelles a exercé une influence décisive et salutaire sur la masse des insurgés des villages d'Eski et de Yéni-Zaghra, dont on avait déjà signalé la concentration à Beche Tépé, et qui se sont empressés de livrer leurs armes à Izzet Bey, Colonel des dragons, pour se disperser ensuite; c'est encore à l'impression produite par cette répression qu'est dû le revirement subit qui s'est opéré dans l'attitude des autres villages du district. Tels sont les faits qui ont été constatés soit par le Rapport du Conseil d'Administration et de la Court d'Appel de Sélimno, soit par les documents qui ont été présentés par la Commission d'Enquête.

Passons maintenant à l'examen des trois chefs d'accusation portés contre Chevket Pacha dans le Rapport de Mr. Baring, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Britannique à Constantinople, qui avait été chargé par son Gouvernement d'une mission spéciale à

Philippopoli.

Voici en quoi consistent ces accusations:

Il est dit, en premier lieu, dans le Rapport de Mr. Baring, que Chevket Pacha, à son arrivée à Sélimno, a eu le tort de se faire accompagner par des troupes irrégulières, ce qui aurait donné lieu à une échauffourée dans le village, pendant laquelle trois

Bulgares auraient trouvé la mort.

Or, l'enquête ouverte sur les lieux mêmes, corroborée par les dépositions et les explications données à cet effet par Haïdar Bey, Mutessarif de Sélimno, par le Métropolitain de l'endroit, ainsi que par Arifi Effendi, par Saïb Agha, Mihilaki Agha, et Rousdjou Agha, tous membres du Conseil d'Administration, a rétabli les faits de la manière suivante:—

L'envoi à Sélimno des têtes coupées de quelques insurgés tués dans les Balcans, et la vue de leur drapeau capturé, avaient déjà produit une grande surexcitation sur les esprits, lorsque le Lundi, 10 Mai, vers 10 heures à la Turque, quelques volontaires natifs de Kassem Baba, qui se trouvaient attablés dans un cabaret du quartier Kadikeuy, se prirent de querelle, et deux d'entre eux furent blessés. Le cabaretier, un certain Zaharin Ghaspodin, pris de terreur à la vue du sang versé, courut, tout en jetant de hauts cris, en prévenir la police. Cet incident, insignifiant en lui-même, suffit pour mettre en émoi toute la population du bourg, qui ne se rendait pas compte au juste de ce qui était survenu. Les Musulmans se rassemblèrent en hâte et se préparèrent à défendre leurs quartiers, les Bulgares affolés fermèrent leurs boutiques et s'enfuirent de tous côtés pour chercher un refuge. Malheureusement, tous ne parvinrent pas à s'échapper à temps, et dans la mêlée qui s'ensuivit les nommés Vodjou et Dimitri Petré Oghlou perdirent la vie, et le nommé Thodori Ahmak Oghlou fut blessé.

Cet événement ayant eu lieu en l'absence de Chevket Pacha, il n'y a rien qui puisse lui être imputé. En effet, le Férik ne s'est rendu à Sélimno que le surlendemain, c'est-à-dire, le 12 Mai, et dès son arrivée il fit acte d'une grande prévoyance en dispersant la foule qui s'était rassemblée dans le village pour tirer profit des circonstances. En conséquence l'accusation portée de ce chef par Mr. Baring contre Chevket

Pacha se trouve être dénuée de fondement.

D'après le second chef d'accusation, Chevket Pacha, tout en faisant désarmer de force la population Bulgare de Yamboli, aurait livré au pillage des soldats et des Bachi-Bozouks les maisons Bulgares, et les auraient excités à commettre divers autres méfaits.

Pour ce qui regarde cette accusation, voici les faits tels qu'ils résultent des dispositions et des explications fournies à ce sujet par le Caïmacam de Yamboli, ainsi que par le Conseil d'Administration du district, par Hafez Agha, notable Musulman, par Yorghi Agha Caradish Oghlou, et Yorghi Agha Zafer Oghlou, notables Bulgares.

Les rebelles qui se trouvaient réunis dans les montagnes du district de Sélimno avaient commencé à trouver des partisans et des adhérents parmi les paysans des villages circonvoisins. Ainsi, il ne se passait pas de jour sans que quelques Bulgares de Yamboli n'allassent se joindre clandestinement aux bandes d'insurgés et se livrer à toutes sortes d'actes repréhensibles. Ces faits, ajoutés à la nouvelle de l'apparition

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des révoltés avec des drapeaux dans les défilés de Muran, distants de six heures de Yamboli, donnèrent bientôt lieu à des manifestations et des troubles parmi les habitants du village. Hachim Effendi, Caïmacam de l'endroit, invita alors les notables Bulgares à dénoncer et à livrer à l'autorité les fauteurs qui se trouvaient au sein de leur communauté et à tâcher de rétablir la confiance entre la population Musulmane et la population Chrétienne. Deux boulangers, qu'on disait être les seuls coupables, furent dénoncés. Mais les autorités supérieures n'en constataient pas moins peu de jours après l'affiliation de certains habitants Bulgares de Yamboli avec des bandes d'insurgés. Ces individus furent arrêtés et expédiés au chef-lieu du vilayet. dant cette circonstance enleva de plus en plus la confiance de la population Musulmane qui se prépara, dès lors, à garder les environs du village.

Le Caïmacam s'étant donc entendu avec les notables Bulgares du pays, il fut convenu que tous les Bulgares livreraient leurs armes aux autorités. Mais avant que cet engagement fût exécuté, on apprit que les insurgés avaient fait leur apparition dans les vignes sises non loin de la station du chemin de fer. Dès ce moment, il n'a plus été possible de rétablir la confiance dans le village et des troupes furent par Chevket Pacha se porta alors avec conséquent requises du chef-lieu du vilayet. diligence vers Yamboli à la tête d'un bataillon de troupes régulières et prit les dis-

positions nécessaires en vue d'y ramener l'ordre et la confiance.

A son arrivée, ayant eu connaissance de la mesure arrêtée relativement à la livraison par les Bulgares de leurs armes, il somma ceux-ci de s'exécuter jusqu'à deux heures du lendemain. Non seulement rien n'a été fait dans cet espace de temps et même quelques heures après, mais on a même appris que dans le quartier de Gurgova les magasins venaient de se fermer et qu'un accident y était survenu. Dans de telles circonstances, il aurait été sans doute contraire aux règles de la prudence de tenir les troupes éparpillées. Le Férik les a donc immédiatement rassemblées et s'est mis en état de se renseigner sur les causes du trouble et de prendre ensuite les mesures exigées par le cours des événements. Il s'est transporté à cet effet à Bahdjélik-Arassi, localité sise en dehors du quartier Gurgova; il y a convoqué les notables Bulgares et était en train de les interpeller lorsqu'on lui a porté la nouvelle que des gens sans aveu appartenant aux miliciens indigènes que l'autorité locale avait recrutés pour la défense du pays, s'étaient rendus de toutes parts dans le quartier sus-indiqué d'y saccager les maisons de la grande rue. Ce désordre a été immédiatement réprimé et les armes des agitateurs ont été livrées au Gouvernement. Pas un seul soldat appartenant aux troupes régulières ne s'est trouvé mêlé dans cette affaire; de même Chevket Pacha y est resté complètement étranger. Quelques uns des effets enlevés par les malfaiteurs ont été retrouvés et remis par les soins de l'autorité à leurs propriétaires. Il est vrai que Pop Mihal, vicaire du Métropolitain et Andréa Agha, Membre du Conseil, ainsi que d'autres individus, ont prétendu que des soldats et des Bachi-Bozouks avaient participé pour une large part à ce pillage et ont même présenté deux listes contenant l'inventaire des objets volés; cependant les renseignements fournis par le Dr. Tahmann, sujet Allemand, homme impartial, qui se trouvait sur les lieux en qualité de correspondant, ont confirmé la non participation des troupes dans cette œuvre de destruction dont les seuls coupables ne sont autres que les gens sans aveu susmentionnés. Chefket Pacha ne saurait donc non plus être rendu responsable de ce chef. Ci-joint nous soumettons à votre Altesse avec leurs traductions les inventaires précités, la quantité des effets enlevés nous paraissant tant soit peu exagérée, il appartient aux autorités locales d'en vérifier l'exactitude, de les découvrir et les restituer aux propriétaires légitimes.

Reste le troisième point d'accusation qui se résume ainsi.

A son arrivée au village de Boyadjik, bien que la population eût déjà mis bas les armes, le Férik aurait mis à mort une foule de gens et après le sac du village, vingtcinq personnes arrêtées par les Bachi-Bozouks ayant été amenés devant lui, il les aurait invitées à se tenir par les mains et leur aurait dit, "Allons! échappez-vous," et au moment où ils s'en allaient il aurait fait tirer sur eux.

Or, l'enquête ouverte à ce sujet a rétabli les faits sous leur véritable jour, comme

votre Altesse le verra ci-après.

La population de Boyadjik, armée sept ou huit jours avant l'attaque du village, avait séquestré par force les domestiques Chrétiens se trouvant au service des Musulmans de l'endroit et gardé les abords du village en posant des sentinelles tout autour. Elle avait ensuite bloqué le quartier habité par les Musulmans qu'elle menaçait et empêchait de sortir de leurs maisons; en même temps on s'opposait à l'entrée des Musulmans dans le village. Un, entre autres, a été poursuivi avec des armes à feu. Les personnes de passage n'étaient pas mieux traitées. A la vue de ces désordres, les Musulmans dépêchèrent furtivement l'un des leurs, le nommé Redjib Agha, à Sélimno, qui rendit compte au Mutessarif des événements qui se passaient à Boyadjik. Alors, Hachim Effendi, Caïmacam de Yamboli, fut expédić sur les lieux pour s'enquérir des faits qui y étaient survenus. Arrivé devant le village, il en a vu l'entrée interdite. Il a eu beau répéter aux paysans qu'il laisserait pour veiller à leur défense autant de gendarmes qu'ils en auraient besoin, le Mukhtar et deux Bulgares, Membres du Conseil des Anciens, que la population assemblée dans l'intérieur du village avait délégués, ont répondu qu'ils n'avaient pas besoin de défenseurs et qu'ils étaient à même de se défendre eux-mêmes. Ils ont déclaré, en outre, qu'ils ne recevraient personne et qu'ils ne permettraient à personne de pénétrer dans le quartier Musulman. Force a donc été au Caïmacam de revenir à Yamboli, d'où il a tout télégraphié au Mutessarif de Sélimno.

Il était 4 heures de la nuit lorsque le Mutessarif prévint, à son tour, Chevket Pacha, qui se trouvait en ce moment à Sélimno et avait le commandement de la force armée, de ce qui se passait à Boyadjik. Chevket Pacha proposa alors au Mutessarif de l'accompagner au théâtre de la rébellion, mais celui-ci s'y refusa pour différents motifs. Vu la gravité de l'affaire, le Férik se mit sans perdre un seul instant en mouvement avec ses troupes et gagna bientôt Boyadjik. Il y rencontra aussitôt cinq à six Bulgares venus au devant de lui; il les interrogea, leur demanda le but de leur conduite et ce que signifiait la réunion des gens en armes qu'on voyait aux abords du village. Ils répondirent qu'ils n'avaient pas pu se faire écouter par les

chevket Pacha, à cette réponse, renvoya les délégués en leur recommandant de faire entendre raison à la jeunesse. Mais à peine les délégués étaient-ils arrivés au milieu du rassemblement populaire, que des coups de feu partirent du côté des Bulgares, ils avaient pour objectif quelques policemens qui s'étaient rendus au quartier Musulman et quelques Bachi-Bozouks qui étaient accourus des villages circonvoisins dans le but de s'enquérir de la situation faite aux Musulmans qu'on disait assiégés chez eux, l'un deux fut tué et deux ou trois furent blessés. En même temps que Chevket Pacha apprenait cette attaque, on commençait du haut du cimetière à tirer également sur les soldats. Alors, et se conformant en cela aux instructions télégraphiques datées du 12 Mai, reçues de Son Excellence le Serdar Ekrem, le Férik riposta au feu des insurgés et dispersa leur attroupement.

Tel est le résultat de l'interrogatoire auquel ont été soumis les Musulmans du village et des dépositions faites par ceux-là mêmes qui ont été au courant de cet événement, et notamment par le nommé Marin Djidjour, qui appartient à un autre

village.

Le Mukhtar Ghrosa, un de ceux qui s'étaient opposés à l'entrée de Hachim Effendi dans le village, et que celui-ci a reconnu dans l'interrogatoire dont il a été l'objet, chercha à représenter l'affaire sous un tout autre aspect; il a voulu faire attribuer le mouvement des Bulgares au fait que les troupeaux du village ayant été menacés par la population des willages voisins, on se serait rassemblé, et on aurait placé à cet effet en sentinelle autour du village des gens armés. Il a soutenu que son escorte seule de Bachi-Bozouks était cause qu'on n'avait pas admis le Caïmacam dans le village. ajouté que, voyant Chevket Pacha arriver avec les troupes de ligne, ils s'étaient empressés d'aller à sa rencontre pour le recevoir, mais que le Férik, transporté de colère à la vue de l'attroupement des Bulgares sur la hauteur du cimetière, et supposant qu'ils s'étaient renforcés par des secours venus du dehors, les aurait vertement réprimandés et renvoyés de sa présence, sur quoi il aurait immédiatement donné le signal de Le Mukhtar a également nié que les villageois aient opposé aux assaillants la moindre résistance; que les habitants Musulmans du village aient été l'objet de menaces ou de vexations, et que des passagers aient été arrêtés. A la suite de ces déclarations, on a dû procéder à l'interrogatoire des six Bulgares qui avaient eu, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, une audience de Chevket Pacha. Ceux d'entre eux qui étaient encore vivants, c'est-à-dire, Dimitri, fils de Philipp, Pétro, fils de Théodore, les tailleurs Deltcho et Mita, ayant été, en conséquence, interrogés chacun séparément, ils ont tous fait des réponses identiques à celle du Mukhtar. De même ceux pour lesquels on avait entendu dire qu'ils s'étaient rendus également à la rencontre de Chevket Pacha et qui étaient encore vivants, c'est-à-dire, Guerghi Isveltro Oghlou et Guerghi Nico Oghlou, ont confirmé la version avancée par le Mukhtar. Quant à Mihal Isladam Oglou, qui était venu dénoncer lui-même au Gouvernement l'armement des paysans, la détresse des Musulmans, et les mauvais traitements dont ils étaient en butte, les poursuites dont avaient eu à souffrir les gens de passage et la résistance des révoltés à la force armée, le même Mihal revenait le lendemain en compagnie de Mr. Baring, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Britannique, et infirmait ses dépositions de la veille, en alléguant qu'il les avait faites à l'instigation et sur les instances pressantes d'un certain Ghalib Bey, Musulman indigène, et sous l'influence des

boissons alcooliques.

Néanmoins, tous ces individus appartenant au même village se sentaient naturellement solidaires des méfaits commis et des pénalités à encourir; ils étaient donc intéressés à cacher ou à atténuer leurs crimes afin de se faire passer pour des innocents. Aussi, en raison même de l'accord qui existait entre eux, leurs dépositions ne sauraient-elles être admises comme véridiques. A supposer même qu'on en puisse dire autant des récits faits par les Musulmans, reste le témoignage des gens neutres, étrangers au village, ainsi que celui du susdit Marin Djidjour. Or, il en résulte que c'est du côté du village qu'a été entendue la première détonation, que les vingt-cinq personnes dont on impute à tort la mort à Chevket Pacha faisaient partie d'un groupe d'insurgés qui, traqués dans leur fuite par des Bachi-Bozouks, étaient venues tomber devant les deux détachements qu'on avait laissés sur la place de l'attroupement: qu'alors des coups de feu avaient atteint quelques uns des fuyards, mais qu'en ce moment Chevket Pacha ne s'y trouvait point là puisqu'il était sur la colline du cimetière; ce dont nous avons acquis la certitude soit par les documents qui ont été placés sous nos yeux soit par les explications verbales que nous ont données à ce sujet son Excellence Ismaïl Bey, Président, et son Excellence Djémil Pacha, membre de la Commission.

Dans cet état de choses, il est établi qu'à la suite de l'armement de la population de Boyadjik, et de son refus de recevoir chez elle le Caïmacam de Yamboli, Chevket Pacha, avisé par le Mutessarif que le dit village se trouvait en état d'insurrection, s'y

est rendu comme il a été rapporté plus haut.

A son arrivé sur les lieux, et à la vue du rassemblement des gens armés qui se trouvaient au village, et sur la hauteur du cimetière, il a interpellé les six personnes venues à sa rencontre sur le but de ces manifestations, et en a reçu la réponse qu'on n'avait pu faire entendre raison aux jeunes gens devenus maîtres de la situation. Il les a renvoyés alors en leur enjoignant d'exhorter les paysans à livrer leurs armes au Gouvernement. Mais à peine les délégués avaient-ils pénétré au milieu du rassemblement que des coups de fusil partis du village venaient atteindre un Tartar et quelques Bachi-Bozouks.

En même temps que Chevket Pacha recevait cette nouvelle, on commençait à tirer du haut du cimetière; ainsi on répondait par des coups de fusil à l'injonction du Férik de déposer leurs armes. C'est alors que Chevket Pacha a dû agir conformément à ses instructions, et exécuter ce que ses devoirs militaires lui prescrivaient dans une pareille circonstance.

En soumettant à votre Altesse le résultat de notre enquête avec les documents à l'appui, nous laissons à sa haute sagesse le soin d'apprécier ces faits et de prendre, en conséquence, les mesures qu'elle jugera nécessaires.

(Translation.)

THE Sublime Porte having instructed us to verify the sentences given by the Extraordinary Commissions, instituted at Philippopoli, at Sofia, and in other parts of the vilayet, with reference to Bulgarian affairs, to inform it of the nature and tendency of the facts on which their sentences were based, and to proceed also with the examination of all the *procès-verbaux* and examinations which have not hitherto been investigated, we began our work by the study of the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry lately sent to Selimno.

The result of our labours is as follows:—

A large number of men affiliated to the Committees which had been formed with the object of fomenting revolt against the Imperial Government, having assembled at Selimno, abandoned themselves to all sorts of seditious practices, in concert with number-less bad characters, whose co-operation they had secured. Having received information of this, the Imperial authorities sent thither at the beginning of the month of May Ali Agha, squadron commander, accompanied by a number of gendarmes sufficient to disperse the agitators, and to ward off the dangers which threatened the peaceful subjects of His Majesty.

Having arrived at Scuyudli-Déré, a place situated to the west of Selimno, these gendarmes were attacked at night by the rebels. A ball from their ranks struck and killed Ali Agha. The militiamen, who were with him, replied to the discharge of the insurgents, who immediately fled. The presence of rebels in the Balkans being thus made evident, the authorities were obliged to take the measures which the state of

affairs rendered necessary, and to send thither detachments of troops. In the meantime many Bulgarian insurgents proceeded on the 8th of May to Niké, a village to the north of Selimno, to force the people to rise, and thus to increase their numbers; they took arms from them with violence, and made them give them some cheese; this is proved by a receipt given in the name of the Committee by the Boivo of Stodile, a shepherd, Kara Katchak by name.

Having received intelligence of these disorders, the authorities sent two battalions of Redifs of the second reserve which were at Selimno with 120 gendarmes and volunteers to pursue the rebels. These troops met the rebels between Niké and Papas, and a fight ensued—a soldier was wounded, but the insurgents, who were not able to resist the attack of the Imperial troops, fled to the Balkans, where, closely pursued, they were completely beaten. The Viovo of Stevile and ten of his companions tell dead into the hands of our soldiers, and at the same time fifty-nine others were made prisoners. They carried a green satin flag representing on one side a lion embroidered in gold and silk, and on the other a white cross, surrounded by the motto, "Death or Liberty."

These prisoners were taken to Selimno, where they were examined. They confessed that on Friday, May 7th, they came together to the number of 28 in the Kouche Balkans, where they raised the standard of revolt; that they then went to Niké, where their standard-bearer, Ser Costa Oghlou Stephan (since killed), raised their standard on the village church; that they made some priests come there to celebrate a divine service for the success of their arms; that there Deli Rade, an inhabitant of Niké, joined them; that they increased their ranks later on at Tebryan by 25 men, and at Bache by 16, and that thus their total was raised to 70; that they took from the Kara Katchako-giving a receipt for them in the name of the Provisional Governmentarms and cheese, and that they again went in the direction of Niké with the object of forcing those villagers whom they had forced to rise and who had fled, to enter into their ranks, when they were met by the Imperial troops, who captured them after half-an-hour's fight. They declared, moreover, that during their assembly at Coneh Bikar, it was a man named Stolan who fired at the sub-officer Ali Agha, and that Christo of Choumla had for his part killed an unarmed Mussulman miller of Osman Bazar.

Hardly were these insurgents dispersed, when the Bulgarian inhabitants of the village of Boyadjik, together with some others of their own faith, whom they had collected armed from the neighbourhood, declared themselves in a state of revolt in the night of May 15. They would not let anyone come into their village, nor allow any Mussulman to leave it.

As this village was situated six hours from Selimno and three hours from Yamboli, the Governor of Selimno, with the object of hastening the opening of the inquiry, telegraphed to the Kaïmakam of Yamboli to come there in person and to institute a rigorous inquiry.

This Kaïmakam, having consequently started in the direction of Boyadjik with three gendarmes, and eight horsemen of the irregular army, and having met before the village about 300 armed men and 50 horsemen, did not go into it, and sent two or three gendarmes to summon to his presence the Mouktar and the Members of the Council of Elders. When a hundred yards from the village these messengers were met by the cries: "Do not come or you will be killed."

As they could not penetrate to the midst of the crowd, the gendarmes were forced to stop half-way and announce from afar that the Kaïmakam summoned to him the Mouktar and the Members of the Council of Ancients. The Mouktar and one of the Council, leaving the middle of the crowd, advanced some steps forward, and at their request the Kaïmakam went to them and communicated to them the orders of the authorities, and explained to them that he had come to defend and guard them.

They answered him, that the villagers would know how to defend themselves, and they opposed his going into the village; he could not even get into the quarter where the Mussulmans lived. The large number of the insurgents led to the supposition that they had received reinforcements from the neighbouring villages. The Kaïmakam hastened to inform the Mutasserif of these events, who, in turn, informed Chefket Pasha, then at Selimno.

On receiving this news Chefket Pasha immediately went to Boyardjik, and suppressed the insurrection.

In this operation 139 houses were burnt, and out of a population of 469 souls 135 persons were killed or disappeared; a woman also was accidently killed. This punishment inflicted on the rebels exercised a decisive and salutary influence on the mass of insurgents of the villages of Eski and of Yéni-Zaghra, the assembling of whom at Beche-Tépé had been announced, and who immediately gave up their arms to Izzet Bey.

Colonel of Dragoons, and then dispersed. The sudden change effected in the attitude of the other villages of the district is also owing to the impression produced by this suppression. These are the facts affirmed, both by the report of the Council of Administration, and of the Court of Appeal of Selimno, and by the documents presented by the Commission of Inquiry.

Let us pass now to the examination of the three heads of the accusations brought against Chefket Pasha in the report of Mr. Baring, Secretary of Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, who was entrusted by his Government with a special mission to

These accusations are as follows:—

It is said in the first place, in Mr. Baring's report, that Chefket Pasha, on arriving at Selimno, committed the fault of being accompanied by irregular troops, which is said to have given rise to an affray in the village, during which three Bulgarians were killed.

Now, the inquiry held on the spot, corroborated by the depositions and explanations given on this point by Haidar Bey, Mutessarif of Selimno, by the Metropolitan of the place, as well as by Arifi Effendi, by Saib Agha, Mihilaki Agha and Rousdjon Agha, all of them members of the Council of Admistration, has established the facts as follows:-

The sending to Selimno of the decapitated heads of some insurgents killed in the Balkans, and the sight of their captured flag, had already produced a great excitement, when on Monday, May 10, about 10 o'clock Turkish time, some volunteers, natives of Kassem Baba, who were seated in a public-house in the Kadikeuy, began to quarrel, and two of them were wounded.

The inn-keeper, whose name was Zaharin Ghaspodin, terror-struck at the sight of bloodshed, ran uttering loud cries to inform the police. This incident, insignificant in itself, sufficed to agitate all the population of the village, who were not exactly aware

of what had happened.

The Mussulmans assembled in haste, and prepared to defend their quarter. The Bulgarians wildly closed their shops, and fled in every direction to seek refuge. Unhappily, all did not succeed in escaping in time, and in the mélée which followed, certain men named Vodjou and Dimitri, Petre Oghlou, lost their lives, and Thodori Ahmak Oghlou was wounded.

This event having taken place when Chefket Pasha was absent, he cannot be blamed for it. In fact, the Ferik only arrived two days afterwards at Selimno, viz., May 12, and from the time of his arrival he showed great foresight in dispersing the crowd assembled in the village to take advantage of the state of affairs.

Consequently, the accusation brought under this head by Mr. Baring against

Chefket Pasha proves to be without foundation.

According to the second head of accusation, Chefket Pasha, while disarming by force the Bulgarian population of Yamboli, is said to have given up the Bulgarian houses to be pillaged by soldiers and Bashi-Bazouks, and to have excited them to commit various other crimes.

As regards this accusation, here are the facts as they appear from the depositions and explanations furnished on the subject by the Kaïmakam of Yamboli, as well as by the Administrative Council of the district, by Hafez Agha, a Mussulman notable, and by Yorghi Agha Caradish Oghlou and Yorghi Agha Zafer Oglou, Bulgarian notables:-

The rebels who had collected in the mountains of the district of Selimno had begun to find partizans and adherents among the peasants of the neighbouring villages, so not a day passed without some Bulgarians of Yamboli going and clandestinely joining the bands of insurgents and indulging in all sorts of reprehensible actions. This, added to the news of the appearance of rebels with flags in the defiles of Muran, six hours distant from Yamboli, soon gave rise to manifestations and disturbances among the inhabitants of Hachim Effendi, Kaimakam of the place, then invited the Bulgarian the village. notables to denounce and hand over to the authorities the ringleaders, who were in the bosom of their community, and to endeavour to re-establish mutual confidence between the Mussulman and Christian populations.

Two bakers, who were said to be alone culpable, were denounced. But the superior authorities nevertheless a few days afterwards ascertained that certain Bulgarian inhabitants of Yamboli were affiliated to the insurgent bands. These individuals were

arrested, and sent to the capital of the vilayet.

Meanwhile, this circumstance destroyed more and more the confidence of the Mussulman population, which thenceforward prepared to guard the neighbourhood of the village.

The Kaïmakam having then come to an understanding with the Bulgarians notables in the country, it was agreed that all the Bulgarians should hand over their arms to the authorities. But before this arrangement was carried into effect, it became known

that the insurgents had made their appearance in the vineyards situated at no great distance from the railway station. From that moment it was no longer possible to re-establish a feeling of security in the village, and troops were consequently summoned from the capital of the vilayet. Chefket Pasha went then with all speed to Yamboli, at the head of a battalion of regular troops, and took the necessary steps to restore order and security.

On his arrival, knowing what had been decreed relative to the Bulgarians handing over their arms, he called on them to comply before 2 o'clock the next day. Not only was nothing done by that time, and even some hours later, but it even became known that in the district of Gurgova the shops had just been closed, and that an accident had

happened there.

Under such circumstances, it would undoubtedly have been contrary to the dictates of prudence to keep the troops in scattered detachments. The Ferik, therefore, immediately re-assembled them, and was enabled to learn the causes of the disturbance and at once to take the measures rendered necessary by the course of events. For this purpose he moved to Bahdjélik-Arcassi, a locality outside the Gurgova quarter; he convoked there the Bulgarians of note and was on the point of questioning them when the news was brought to him that vagabonds belonging to the native militia regiments which the local authorities had recruited for the defence of the country, had come from all parts to the above-mentioned quarter to plunder the houses of the High Street there. This disturbance was at once repressed and the arms of the agitators were handed over to the Government. Not a single soldier belonging to the regular troops was found implicated in this affair; Chefket Pasha, too, had nothing at all to do with it. Some articles of property carried off by the wrongdoers were discovered and restored by the authorities to the owners.

It is true that Pope Mihal, Vicar of the Metropolitan, and Andrea Agha, Member of Council, as well as other individuals, pretended that soldiers and Bashi-Bazouks had to a large extent joined in the pillaging, and even gave two lists containing an inventory of the articles stolen; but the information furnished by Dr. Tahmann, a German subject and an impartial man, who happened to be there on the spot as a correspondent, confirmed the fact that the troops did not participate in the work of destruction, the only people to be blamed for which are the vagabonds above mentioned. Chefket Pasha could not, therefore, be held responsible on this head. Herewith we submit to your Highness, with their translations, the inventories we have cited. As, however, the quantity of the articles stolen seem to us to be a little exaggerated, it is the duty of the local authorities to verify their accuracy and to discover and restore the articles to their lawful owners.

There remains the third point of accusation, which can be summed up as follows:—
On his arrival at the village of Boyardjik, although the population had already laid down their arms, the Ferik is reported to have put to death a number of them, and after sacking the village, when twenty-five persons arrested by the Bashi-Bazouks were brought before him, he is reported to have told them to hold hands and to have said, "Go! Be off with you!" and when they were going away he is supposed to have had them fired at.

Now the inquiry held on the subject has brought the true facts to light, as your

Highness will perceive below.

The population of Boyardjik being armed seven or eight days before the attack on the village had forcibly confined the Christian servants who happened to be in the service of the Mussulmans of the place, and guarded the approaches to the village by posting sentinels all round. They then blockaded the quarter inhabited by the Mussulmans, whom they threatened and prevented from coming out of their houses: at the same time they opposed the entry of Mussulmans into the village. Amongst others, one was pursued with fire-arms. Travellers were no better treated. In view of these disturbances the Mussulmans secretly despatched one of their number, Redjib Agha, to Selimno. who gave an account to the Mutessarif of what was going on at Boyardiik. Thereupon Hachim Effendi, Kaïmakam of Yamboli, was sent to the spot to inquire into what had happened. On arriving at the village he found he was not allowed to enter. It was in vain that he repeated to the peasants that he would leave for their protection as many police as they required; the Mukhtar and two Bulgarians, Members of the Council of Elders, whom the inhabitants assembled inside the village had sent as delegates, replied that they had no need of defenders, and that they were quite able to take care They declared, moreover, that they would receive no one, and that they would permit nobody to penetrate into the Mussulman quarter. The Kaïmakam had to [376]

return to Yamboli, whence he telegraphed the whole account to the Mutessarif of Selimno.

It was 4 o'clock at night when the Mutessarif in his turn warned Chevket Pasha, who happened to be at the time at Selimno, and had the command of the armed force, of the state of affairs at Boyadjik. Chevket Pasha thereupon proposed to the Mutessarif to accompany him to the scene of the rebellion, but he refused for various reasons. In view of the gravity of the situation, the Ferik, without losing a single moment, started with his troops, and soon reached Boyadjik. He there at once encountered five or six Bulgarians who had come to meet him. He questioned them, asking them what was the object of their conduct, and what was meant by the body of armed men to be seen at the approaches to the village. They replied that they could not get the younger men to listen to them.

Chevket Pasha, on receiving this answer, sent back the Delegates, advising them to make the young men listen to reason. But scarcely had the Delegates reached the middle of the popular assembly, when some shots came from the side of the Bulgarians, aimed at some policemen, who had gone to the Mussulman quarter, and at some Bashi-Bazouks, who had run up from the neighbouring villages to find out what was being done to the Mussulmans, who were said to be besieged in their houses. One or two were killed, and two or three were wounded. Just when Chevket Pasha heard of this attack they began to fire also on the soldiers from the cemetery above. Thereupon, in conformity with the telegraphic instructions, dated the 12th of May, received from his Excellency the Serdar Ekrem, the Ferik answered the fire of the insurgents, and dispersed the mob.

Such is the result of the questions which have been put to the Mussulmans of the district, as well as of the depositions of those who were well acquainted with what hap-

pened, notably one Marin Djidjour, who belongs to another village.

The Mukhtar Ghrosa, one of those who had opposed the entry of Hachim Effendi into the village, as he admitted in the cross-examination to which he was subjected, sought to give quite a different aspect to the affair; he wished to attribute the movement of the Bulgarians to the fact that the flocks of the village were in danger from the population of the surrounding villages, and that in consequence they rallied together and placed armed sentinels round the village. He maintained that it was only owing to his escort of Bashi-Bazouks that the Kaïmakam was not admitted into the village. He added that seeing Chevket Pasha arrive with troops of the line they hastened to go to meet and receive him, but that the Ferik, beside himself with anger at the sight of the mob of Bulgarians on the cemetery height, and supposing that they had got reinforcements from without, had reprimanded them severely, sent them from his presence, and at once gave the signal of attack.

The Mukhtar also denied that the villagers offered any resistance to their assailants, that the Mussulman inhabitants of the village were the object of threats or annoyances, and that travellers were arrested. In consequence of these declarations it was necessary to examine six Bulgarians, who had had, as we have said above, an audience of Chevket Pasha. Those who were still alive, that is to say, Dimitri, son of Philipp; Petro, son of Theodore; the tailors Deltcho and Mita, having been consequently questioned separately, all made replies identical with that of the Mukhtar. Likewise those who had been reported to have gone also to meet Chevket Pasha, and who were still alive, viz., Guerghi Isveltro Oghlou, and Guerghi Nico Oghlou, confirmed the story put forward by the Mukhtar. With reference to Mihal Isladana Oglou, who had come himself to denounce to the Government the arming of the peasants, the distress of the Mussulmans, and the bad treatment to which they were exposed, the persecutions that travellers had had to undergo, and the resistance of the rebels to the troops, this same Mihal returned the next day with Mr. Baring, the Secretary to the British Embassy, and denied his depositions of the day before, alleging that he had made them at the instigation and urgent persuasion of a certain Ghalib Bey, a native Mussulman, and under the influence of drink.

Nevertheless, all those men belonging to the same village naturally felt themselves responsible for the misdeeds committed and liable to the punishments incurred; they were, therefore, interested in hiding or extenuating their crimes so as to pass as innocent; moreover, from the very reason of the agreement existing amongst them, their depositions could not be admitted as worthy of belief. Even supposing that one could say the same of the stories told by the Mussulmans, there remains the evidence of neutral persons, strangers to the village, like that of the above-named Marin Djidjour. Now, it results from this that it was from the side of the village that was heard the first discharge; that the twenty-five persons whose death is wrongly attributed to Chevket Pasha formed part of a group of insurgents who, being followed as they fled by some Bashi-Bazouks, came suddenly upon the two detachments which had remained on the

camping-ground; that then some discharges struck some of the fugitives, but that at that moment Chevket Pasha was not there, since he was on the hill of the cemetery; we have ascertained the certainty of this, both from the documents which have come under our eyes and from the verbal explanations which his Excellency Ismail Bey, President, and his Excellency Djemil Pasha, Member of the Commission, have given us on this point.

It is therefore established that after the arming of the inhabitants of Boyadjik, and their refusal to receive the Kaïmakam of Yamboli, Chevket Pasha, informed by the Mutessarif that this village was in a state of revolt, went thither as has been reported

above.

On his arrival on the spot, and at the sight of the assemblage of armed men who were in the village and on the rising ground of the cemetery, he questioned the six persons who came to meet him as to the object of these proceedings, and received as answer that they could not make the young men, who were masters of the situation. listen to reason. He sent them back then, enjoining them to exhort the peasants to give up their arms to the Government, but scarcely had the delegates arrived in the midst of the crowd when some gunshots from the village struck a Tartar and some Bashi-Bazouks. At the same time that Chevket Pasha received this news, they began to fire from the height of the cemetery; thus they answered the command of the Ferik to lay down their arms by a discharge of firearms. It was then that Chevket Pasha was forced to act in accordance with his instructions, and perform that which his military duties prescribed under such circumstances.

In submitting to your Highness the result of our inquiry with the confirmatory documents, we leave to your lofty wisdom the appreciation of the facts, and the adoption, in consequence, of the measures which you may judge necessary.

Inclosure 2 in No. 353.

Memorandum by Mr. Baring on Report of Commission appointed to inquire into Shefket Pasha's conduct.

THE Special Commission appointed by the Porte to inquire into the conduct of Shefket Pasha, in the Sandjak of Slimnia, while suppressing the so-called insurrection in that province, has now published its Report; and though it was not within its province judicially to acquit or condemn Shefket Pasha, it has done its best thoroughly to vindicate the character of the Pasha, and to clear him from the charges that have been brought against him.

The Report opens with an account of the organization of insurgent bands in the Balkans, who resisted the forces sent against them by the authorities, and actually had the audacity to force some villagers to provide them with a certain quantity of cheese! Now from the opening phrase one would gather that vast numbers of insurgents were congregated together, whereas a little further on we read that the band which spread terror far

and wide throughout the province amounted only to 70 men.

The Report further says that two Mussulmans were killed and one wounded. I think, therefore, that so far the attempt to prove that the insurrection in the province of Slimnia was at all serious has failed most signally, and that I was justified in stating, as I did in my Report, that it was a very insignificant affair, and that only a few persons of indifferent character belonging to Slimnia took any part in it.

The Report then gives some account of the affair of Boyadjik, of which I will speak later on, and then replies to three separate accusations brought against Shefket Pasha in

my Report.

Firstly. I had accused Shefket Pasha of bringing Bashi-Bazouks to Slimnia, and thus

causing disturbances in which three Bulgarians lost their lives.

The Report gives an account of how this disturbance took place, and says that two men "who unfortunately were unable to escape" were killed, and one wounded, thus tacitly admitting that the Mussulmans in their fury killed any Christians whom they happened to meet.

Nothing is said of the arrest or punishment of the murderers.

The Report says that Shefket Pasha was not in Slimnia at the time of the occurrence,

and that therefore my accusation against him falls to the ground.

I certainly was given to understand when I was at Slimnia that Shefket Pasha was present during this occurrence. Perhaps I was misinformed, but at any rate I still hold him responsible for these disorders, as it was he who called out the Bashi-Bazouks, though the state of the country did not in the least justify the measure.

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The second accusation is, that Shefket Pasha, while disarming the people of Yamboli,

allowed the troops and Bashi-Bazouks to pillage.

Persons in Yamboli, says the Report, sympathized with the insurgents in the mountains about Slimnia, and not a day passed without Bulgarians going from Yamboli to join the rebel bands, and to commit all sorts of reprehensible acts. The Report, however, does not enlighten us upon what was the nature of these last. Perhaps, however, the requisitioning of the cheese, which seems to have inspired Ismail Bey and his colleagues with such horror, is the principal outrage referred to.

Be this as it may, Hachem Effendi, the Kaïmakam of Yamboli, wishing to restore confidence in the town, called upon the Bulgarian notables to give up to the authorities any persons whom they knew to be connected with the revolutionary movement. The Bulgarians disarmed two men, who were arrested; it was soon discovered, however, that other Bulgarians were in communication with the insurgents, and accordingly more arrests were made. It was then decided that the Bulgarians should give up their arms, but before the decision could be carried out, news came that insurgents had appeared near the town. Troops were telegraphed for, and Shefket Pasha arrived, and "took the necessary measures for restoring order and confidence."

The Report does not, however, state what is perfectly well known, viz., that the appearance of insurgents near the town was a false alarm, got up by some timid persons who mistook some men working near the railroad for rebels, and of this fact the Commissioners must have been perfectly well aware when they drew up their Report.

This document goes on to say that Shefket Pasha, when he heard about the surrender of the arms, gave orders that they must be given up by 2 o'clock on the following day, but as we are left in ignorance as to the hour when this order was issued, it is impossible to say whether a reasonable time was given to the people in which to comply with it or not.

While the arms were being collected, a report reached Shefket Pasha that a disturbance was going on in one of the quarters of the town. He immediately went there, and then heard that some Bashi-Bazouks were engaged in plundering. He gave immediate orders for them to be disarmed, and all disturbance ceased. No regular troops took part in this pillaging, though, indeed, the report confesses that Pope Mihal, the representative of the Bishop, and Andrea Agha, a member of the Council, and other witnesses, deposed that soldiers and Bashi-Bazouks plundered alike. Against this evidence, the Report sets off that of Dr. Tahmann, a German, who had stated that the soldiers had nothing to do with the pillaging; consequently Shefket Pasha cannot be held responsible for the acts of the Bashi-Bazouks.

As I do not see that Ismail Bey has done anything to disprove what I said in my Report respecting Shefket's abominable behaviour at Yamboli, I will not discuss the question any further, but will pass on to the most important point—viz., the destruction of Boyadjik, which is treated of in the early part of the Report, and again at the end, when an attempt is made to refute the charges brought against Shefket Pasha in my Report. It is said that 1 had accused the Pasha of causing twenty-five men to be shot, who had been brought to him, and to whom he said, "Now, then, be off!" and then ordered the soldiers to fire.

If Ismail Bey, before criticizing my Report, had taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with its contents, he would have discovered that I had never mentioned a word about this story.

It will not be necessary for me to repeat here Ismail Bey's account of how and why Boyadjik was destroyed. It is enough to say that the Report dwells on the importance of the insurrection in that village, on the refusal of the inhabitants to allow the Kaïmakam of Yamboli or any other Mussulman to approach them, and on the resistance offered to the troops of Shefket Pasha.

In the early part of the Report, when the destruction of the village is spoken of, the affair is thus laconically dismissed: "Shefket Pasha went to Boyadjik and suppressed the insurrection."

A little lower down, the chastisement inflicted on the rebels is spoken of as having exercised a salutary influence on the insurgents of other villages, this showing at once that Ismail Bey fully approves Shefket's behaviour.

Not a word is said about the exactions of the Turks of Korfole, nor of the conduct of the Circassians, which obliged the inhabitants of Boyadjik to adopt measures for their own defence; and, in fact, I am informed on good authority that Ismail Bey refused to hear evidence on these points.

The only real reason why the people of Boyadjik refused to treat with the Kaïmakam of Yamboli were that they had no confidence in his assurances, and that he was accompanied by Bashi-Bazouks.

In the latter part of the Report an account is given of what happened on the arrival of the troops, and the Bulgarians are charged with having first fired on the Bashi-Bazouks, and then on the soldiers themselves.

The only evidence, however, which apparently the Commissioners can bring forward to support their version of the affair is that of one Marin Djidjour; whereas, on the other hand, they are bound to admit that a number of other witnesses told precisely the same story as I told in my Report, and which I gathered not only from Bulgarian, but also from Turkish, sources. These depositions, however, are dismissed as unworthy of credence.

Boyadjik is a village situated in an open plain, without any natural means of defence, and one is inclined to ask whether it is likely that its inhabitants, even supposing they were armed when Shefket arrived, which 1 deny that they were, would offer resistance to a strong force of regular troops provided with artillery.

If a determined resistance was offered which necessitated the burning of a whole village, surely some soldiers must have been killed or wounded, but the Report only speaks of one

Bashi-Bazouk killed, and two or three wounded, before the real attack was made.

Mention is made of the evidence of Sladan Oglou Mihal, who had deposed to the arming of the Bulgarians, &c., but who, "returning the following day with Mr. Baring, Secretary of the British Embassy, contradicted what he had stated the day before."

Now I beg to state that Mihal did not return in my company, for the good reason that I never saw him in my life. It is perfectly true that I lately heard the whole of his story, how he was threatened with death by Ghalib Bey if he refused to bear false witness, and how he subsequently confessed the real truth; but, as I need hardly say, that the evidence was taken months after I was at Slimnia, I am at a loss to conceive on what grounds Ismail Bey asserts that I had any connection with the retractation of this evidence by the witness.

Nothing is said in the Report about the "Soultans" of Foundoukli, in whose possession quantities of stolen cattle were well known to be, and one of whom especially was the sworn friend of Shefket Pasha. I have been now told, on good authority, that when Edib Effendi was at Slimnia he saw documents given by Shefket to the effect that the cattle in the hands of these "Soultans" were on no account to be taken from them.

It is not necessary to discuss further the different points of Ismail Bey's Report, but I will only say that I maintain the whole of what I wrote about the destruction of Boyadjik, and do not consider that he has effectually disproved a single one of my statements.

When he was appointed President of the Commission of Inquiry, it was easy for any-

body who knew him at all to foretell the result.

When he was member of the Special Commission at Philippopolis, he did all in his power to prevent justice being done, and to thwart the Christian members. I feel perfectly convinced that had he remained, Achmet Agha and the other would not even have been condemned. If, therefore, he fought so hard to obtain the acquittal of a few leaders of Bashi-Bazouks, what would he not do to clear a Pasha from charges brought against him by foreigners.

Unfortunately Ismail Bey's Christian colleague, Abro Effendi, was not a man likely to put any check upon his proceedings, as while at Philippopolis this gentleman made it a

point of honour to support the Turks in everything they said or did.

One of the bad results of Ismail Bey's Commission has been that Haydar Bey, who was Mutessarif of Slimnia while I was there, has been obliged to resign. One cannot actually say that he has been dismissed, but his position was made so intolerable that he had no alternative but to leave.

This functionary was deservedly popular at Slimnia with all classes, and did his duty well during the troublous times through which his province passed last year, but he possessed the disagreeable quality of speaking the truth at unacceptable times and to unwilling ears, and this habit has now cost him his place.

(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Constantinople, March 11, 1877.

No. 354.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 14, 1877.
WHILE I was with the Grand Vizier the other day, his Highness placed in my hands a paper, of which the inclosed is a translation, containing a list of those reforms for which

the sanction of the Chamber of Deputies was not required, and which, he assured me,

were being actively carried into execution.

The Commissions of Control formed, he said, an exception to these. It would be impossible to set them to work in those districts where the insurrection had not yet entirely ceased, such as Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and all would have to await the promulgation of the laws with which they would have to deal.

I have forwarded a copy of this list to Her Majesty's Consuls in the several provinces, and have instructed them to report as to the faithful execution of its provi-

sions.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 354.

Reforms promised by the Porte.

LES réformes promises sont de deux espèces: la première comprend celles qui dépendent de la Chambre des Députés, et la deuxième celles qui peuvent être mises à exécution dès à présent. Voici les réformes qui appartiennent à cette dernière catégorie.

D. Réforme de la gendarmerie.—R. Le règlement élaboré à cet effet a été remis au

Colonel Baker (Anglais) lequel, après discussion, soumettra par écrit ses observations.

D. Subdivision des Cazas en Nahiés.—R. Des circulaires et des instructions ont été transmises dernièrement aux vilayets à cet égard.

D. Formation d'une gendarmerie composée de Chrétiens et de Musulmans.—R. Des communications ont été adressées à ce sujet aux vilayets. Dans quelques provinces déjà

les Chrétiens sont admis dans la gendarmerie.

D. Admission des élèves Chrétiens dans les écoles.—R. Par ordre Impérial ils seron admis dans les écoles militaires et dans l'école administrative. Déjà ils sont reçus au Lycée Impérial et à l'Ecole de Médecine.

D. Prohibition pour l'avenir aux Circassiens de s'établir en Roumélie.—R. Il est décidé de ne plus admettre l'établissement en Roumélie des Circassians arrivant par

groupes et en grand nombre.

D. Prohibition de se servir désormais de Bashi-Bozouks sans un cas de force

majeure.—R. Ceci aussi est décidé.

D. Comprendre dans l'amnistie ceux qui ont été condamnés dernièrement à la suite

de l'insurrection de Bulgarie.—R. On y avisera.

- D. Formation d'une Commission pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine et de deux autres Commissions, l'une pour le Vilayet du Danube, et l'autre pour celui d'Andrinople. Choix de leurs membres Musulmans et Chrétiens. Nomination de leurs Présidents.—R. Il est décidé de former ces Commissions prochainement. La formation de celle pour la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine est subordonnée au rétablissement de l'ordre et de la tranquillité. Quant à la formation de l'autre Commission elle dépend de la promulgation des lois.
- D. Remise des arriérés des impôts dus jusqu'au mois de Mars de l'année courante.—R. Les districts qui ont souffert à la suite des événements en seront exemptés.
- D. Distribution de terrains aux laboureurs en Bosnie et en Herzégovine.—R. Des terrains vagues de l'Etat ont été donnés et se donnent encore. Les populations Chrétiennes peuvent acquérir avec leur propre argent des terres là où bon gré leur semble.

D. Liberté de culte.—R. Il est décidé d'accorder le libre exercice des cultes, tel qu'il

existe depuis l'époque de la conquête.

D. Juridiction exclusive des autorités ecclésiastiques pour les causes spéciales des différentes confessions.—R. Il est décidé d'agir dans ce sens suivant ce qui s'est pratiqué de tout temps à cet égard.

En un mot, les propositions contenues dans la Note Andrassy ont été acceptées et seront mises en pratique.

(Translation.)

THE promised reforms are of two kinds: the first comprises those with which the Chamber of Deputies is concerned, and the second those which can be put into execution at once.

The following are the reforms which belong to this last category.

Q. Reorganization of the gendarmery.—A. The regulations elaborated with this

intention have been placed in the hands of Colonel Baker (an Englishman), who, after having gone into the matter, will submit his remarks in writing.

Q. Subdivision of the cazas into nahiés.—A. Circulars and instructions relating to

this have lately been transmitted to the vilayets.

Q. The formation of a gendarmery composed of Christians and Mussulmans.—
A. Communications on this subject have been addressed to the vilayets. Already in some provinces Christians are admitted into the gendarmery.

Q. Admission of Christian pupils into the schools.—A. By Imperial command Christians will be admitted into the military schools and into the administrative school. They are already received into the Imperial Lyceum and School of Medicine.

Q. The prohibition to Circassians of establishing themselves for the future in Roumelia.—A. It is decided no longer to allow of the settlement in Roumelia of Circassians arriving in bands or in large numbers.

Q. Prohibition for the future of making use of Bashi-Bazouks except in a case of

special emergency.—A. This point is also settled.

Q. To include in the amnesty those who have lately been condemned on account of

the insurrection in Bulgaria.—A. This shall be taken into consideration.

- Q. That a Commission be formed for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also two other Commissions, one for the Vilayet of the Danube and the other for that of Adrianople. Choice of their members, Mussulman and Christian; nomination of their presidents.-A. It is decided that Commissions shall be formed shortly. The formation of that for Bosnia and Herzegovina must be dependent on the re-establishment of order and tranquillity. As to the formation of the other Commission, this waits only for the promulgation of the laws.
- Q. The remission of arrears of taxes due up to the month of March of the present year.—A. Those districts which have suffered in consequence of the events which have taken place will be exempted.
- Q. Allotment of lands to field labourers in Bosnia and Herzegovina.—A. Waste lands belonging to the State have been given for this purpose, and are still being given. Christian populations can obtain land with their own money wherever seems best to them.

Q. Liberty of worship.—A. It has been decided to grant the free exercise of

religious worship as it has existed since the time of the conquest.

Q. Exclusive jurisdiction of the several ecclesiastical authorities over special cases arising amongst the different denominations.—A. It has been decided to act in this sense according to what has been the custom for all time in this respect.

In a word, the propositions contained in the Andrassy Note have been accepted, and

will be put into practice.

No. 355.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

Constantinople, March 14, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, inclosing copy of a Petition from the Christian inhabitants of Tartar-Bazardjik, denouncing the petition of thanks to the Sultan for the grant of a Constitution.

The case mentioned is not an isolated one, as will be shown by the copies of Mr. Calvert's despatches, which I have the honour to inclose, and which were inadvertently

omitted to be sent by the last messenger.

Although the attempt to coerce the inhabitants of Philippopoli did not meet with the same success as that at Bazardjik, it was mainly owing to the action of the Greek priests, whose opposition to the idea of a deputation to bring the address to Constantinople caused it to be forwarded through an official channel, thus depriving it of half its value.

In representing the matter to the Grand Vizier, I begged him to note that the official who had lent himself to such a work of deceit was no less than the Mutessarif, who, I considered, had thereby entirely forfeited the confidence of his Government.

I have been endeavouring to get him removed, and replaced by a Christian, Ikiades Effendi, one of the members of the Commission of Inquiry into the Bulgarian atrocities, whose appointment would, I believe, be regarded with satisfaction by all classes of the population.

I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 355.

Acting Vice-Consul Calvert to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Philippopoli, January 15, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that since the promulgation of the Constitution, a formality which was attended with hardly any public display, and has, I may say, produced no impression whatever on the body of the people, a movement has been set on foot by some of the leading Mussulmans of this town to bring about a reconciliation between the Bulgarian Christians and Mussulmans, and also to induce a representative section of the former community to put their signatures to a document expressing contentment with their present condition and gratitude for the liberal institutions indulgently granted to them by the Sultan.

In the former object they have, nominally at least, succeeded. The Bulgarian notables could not openly refuse to forget the past, or reject the hand of friendship held out to them by their Mussulman fellow-subjects. That a real reconciliation should, however, under present circumstances, come to pass is, of course, out of the question.

But the Bulgarian notables have, up to the present, contrived pretexts for delaying to sign the proposed address, rightly fearing that by so doing they would forfeit the sympathy of Europe for their just grievances. The Mussulmans are, however, pressing the matter, and the Bulgarians are likely soon to yield. In all this movement the action of the Turkish authorities does not appear, the essential point being to obtain what may appear as a spontaneous expression of loyalty.

In connection with this subject, an incident has happened which some of my colleagues have thought worthy of official notice. A deputation of women from Batak came here on Saturday last to protest, they said, against any address being signed which might lead the world to believe that their condition calls for no further improvement.

Yesterday a Consular meeting was convoked by my French colleague for the purpose of taking into consideration the protest of these women. The Russian and the French Vice-Consuls were for addressing a collective despatch to our respective Embassies on the subject, but my Austrian and Greek colleagues agreed with me that the matter was not important enough to warrant such a step; that it would be better for each of us to report it separately.

I have every reason to suspect that the demonstration was prompted by persons in Philippopoli, being intended to counteract the effect of the address to which the Bulgarian notables have been called upon to adhere. I believe that my Austrian and Greek colleagues are of the same opinion. And if this view of the matter be correct, the demonstration is deprived of all significance as an expression of popular feeling. The Bulgarian peasantry feel their wrongs acutely, but are not accustomed to such methods of making themselves heard.

l have, &c. (Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 355.

Acting Vice-Consul Calvert to Mr. Jocelyn.

THE unofficial efforts reported in my despatch of the 15th ultimo as having been commenced to induce the non-Mussulman notables of Philippopolis (especially the Bulgarians) to sign an address expressive of contentment and devotion to the Government have fallen through, owing to the stubbornness—not of the Bulgarian community, whose leading members, as I ventured to anticipate, ended in signing the address—but of the Greek primates, who disapproved of the Delegates (three Mussulman Beys) whom the Mussulman community, as having initiated the idea, claimed the right of appointing, to the exclusion of Christian Delegates, for the purpose of conveying the address to Constantinople.

The failure of this movement has caused some bitterness among its promoters, but is not, I am in a position to state, regretted by the minority of liberal-minded Mussulmans in the town, who from the first have deprecated the attempt made to obtain insincere assurances of loyalty from the representatives of a section of the population notoriously and with good reason discontented with its condition.

I have, &c. (Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 355.

Acting Vice-Consul Calvert to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Philippopoli, February 10, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to report that the proposed address to the Porte, which fell to the ground owing to the refusal of the Greeks to sign it, has been resuscitated by the exertions of the Mutessarif. The address will probably in a day or two be sent to Constantinople, having been signed to-day by the Greek Bishop, whose lead the notables of the community have been waiting to follow.

The difficulty with regard to the persons to be appointed as bearers of the address has been got over by the abandonment of the plan of sending a deputation to the capital. The document is to be forwarded by the authorities, and thus will lose the unofficial and spontaneous character which, in the minds of its originators, was to have constituted its main value.

I have, &c. (Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

No. 356.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 14, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch which has reached me from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Adrianople with regard to the satisfaction felt at the

nomination of a Christian Sub-Governor to that vilayet.

In a letter to me of the 11th instant, Mr. Dupuis states, on the other hand, that in the Firman which was read by the new Governor to the notables of the town upon his assuming office no mention whatever was made of the Sub-Governor, and that functionary was not even present on the occasion, the ceremony in question having, perhaps designedly, been performed at an earlier hour than had been originally intended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 356.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir. Adrianople, March 8, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival of his Excellency Ali Pasha, the new Governor-General for this vilayet, accompanied by Ohannes Effendi, the Christian Musteshar, Assistant Governor, and that they have entered upon their respective duties.

These nominations, which, as I learn, give general satisfaction, will carry conviction to every mind, and go far to show that the Ottoman Government is desirous to ameliorate the condition of its Christian subjects in this province, and if only they be retained in their posts the provincial administration must before many months greatly improve under such men.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. DUPUIS.

No. 357.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 14, 1877.

A FEW days ago the Minister of Police sent privately to inform me that steps were

being taken to promote a fresh insurrection among the Bulgarians.

He averred that the Russian Vice-Consul at Philippopolis, M. Geurow, who is now here, was the person charged to carry out this design, and said that he was about to proceed to Bucharest to confer with the Central Slavonic Committee in that city, and so to arrange matters as to ensure the insurrection breaking out at the end of the present month simultaneously with the hostile action of Russia in the northern provinces.

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I had my doubts about the correctness of this information, and consequently

requested Mr. Calvert to make inquiries and to report to me the result.

He replied by denying that there was the least disposition on the part of the population in his neighbourhood to rise, or that they had even been tampered with by Russian Agents, but he mentioned that the notable Mussulmans of Philippopolis had sent a person, named Hodjazade, to Constantinople to endeavour to prevail upon the Government to pardon Achmet Agha and his companions, maintaining that they had done their duty as true Mussulmans and had saved the community from extermination, alleging also that there was imminent danger of a fresh insurrection.

As this confirmed my suspicion of the statements made to me by the Minister of Police, I called upon one of the Sultan's officers, and requested him to remind His Majesty of the promise he had given me some weeks ago with regard to the execution of the

sentences of the Commission.

I am inclined to believe that the Sultan is anxious to comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in this matter, but dreads a possible fanatical outbreak, should the executions take place at Philippopolis, a course which I have hitherto recommended.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 358.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, - Constantinople, March 15, 1877.

THE peculiar circumstances in which Turkey is now placed have favoured the formation of political factions or parties among the population whose aims are essentially different, but whose attempts to attain them may lead to the occurrence of very serious events.

In the first place there are the adherents of Mahmoud Neddin Pasha, who would wish to see him recalled from exile, and the Russians at the gates of Constantinople.

There is the National party, the followers of Midhat Pasha, who are rather disposed for war than for peace, and favour the execution of the constitutional reforms without European intervention; the preponderance of the Mussulmans being, however, strictly maintained.

There is the fanatical revolutionary party, who desire to have the Constitution abolished, the Sultan dethroned in favour of the son of the late Sovereign, the Christian element subdued by organized massacres in various parts of the Empire, and Europe, as they imagine, deprived of all power of intervention.

These reckless men, who fortunately are not numerous, have lately been suspected of a desire to unite with the Mahmoudists, and your Lordship will recollect that a few months ago, a plot having been discovered against the Palace, some of their chiefs were exiled to islands in the Archipelago.

The Palace party, consisting, as I have already reported elsewhere, of incapable and self-sufficient many is at present the one in payor

self-sufficient men, is at present the one in power.

Its leaders appear to be working in the dark, without any definite plan of action, fearful of undertaking anything which might compromise the national exclusiveness to which they hold, and apparently living only for the day.

There is the great party of men who are the lovers of order and of good government, and dreading the consequences of what is now pressing around them, ever ready

to rally to any party who might come to power in support of their opinions.

Finally, there is a small party, but one numbering among its ranks the majority of the Christian population, who are weary of promises unfulfilled, and of engagements only made to be broken, whose fervent desire it is to see a European intervention in favour of a solid and lasting administration, which shall secure to them that equality and justice to which they have hitherto been strangers.

There is no doubt that the present situation is an extremely critical one, and the country, torn as under by the efforts made in so many different directions under the factions.

I have named, is drifting to a crisis which cannot long be delayed.

A few weeks may suffice to determine its character, and it is the opinion of all serious politicians here that the part intended to be played by Europe in dealing with this country should, in order to be effective, be at once declared.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 359.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 15, 1877.

THE Montenegrin Delegates arrived here on the 2nd instant, but it was not until the following Monday that I was able to ascertain accurately upon what terms they were authorized to conclude peace.

I stated in my telegram of the 8th that, generally speaking, the demands for a rectification of frontier resembled the cession recommended in the 4th Protocol of the Conference; but, in point of fact, they comprise more territory in one direction, and less in another

The portion south of the tribe of the Zubei, including, therefore, Sutorina, is not asked for; nor is the district of Kolaschin insisted upon, nor yet the little triangle formed by the River Odalia and the villages of Selisto and Fundina; whereas the islands at the mouth of the Moratcha, which are strongly fortified, and have proved a constant source of annoyance to Montenegro, are demanded.

The Port of Spizza is also proposed, but I have reason to believe not imperatively

required.

The plea put forward by the Montenegrins for the large demands they make is one which they have always given under similar circumstances—namely, the extreme poverty of the ground, owing to its rugged and mountainous character, the absence of plains and pastures to enable the people to live by agricultural pursuits, and driving them, in spite of themselves, to prefer war, and its chances of gain by plunder, to peace, which, from their account, is tantamount to starvation and misery.

In addition to the territorial concessions above named, the Prince requires the free navigation of Lake Scutari and of the River Boyana, with an undertaking on the part of the Porte to dredge the latter to a depth sufficient for his largest craft, pledging himself to supply a certain number of hands to aid the Porte in the work.

The return of the Herzegovinian refugees who have sought an asylum in Montenegro during the insurrection, and whose number the Delegates state to exceed 80,000, is strongly

insisted upon.

These demands were sent in to the Porte on the 6th, and two days later Safvet Pasha intimated to the Delegates that they could not be accepted as a basis of negotiations, but added that the Porte would offer a rectification of frontier in three places on the northern frontier, in return for the cession of the north-eastern corner as far as the Tara River down to Kom.

I determined to call upon Moukhtar Pasha, who had been appointed by Safvet Pasha to treat with the Delegates, to ascertain his reasons for so peremptory a refusal of the Prince's demands.

He explained to me with great courtesy that the cession of Nichsich and its neighbourhood, though perhaps desirable as a means of ridding Turkey of a troublesome burden, was not to be thought of, unless the Porte was prepared practically to give up the control over more than one-half of the Herzegovina, which would become virtually annexed to Montenegro.

He stated that, speaking as a military man well acquainted with the country, there existed no adequate line of defence, alone to be called a frontier, nearer the present boundary than the line comprising the fortresses of Trebinje, Gatzko, and Fotcha; that therefore, wherever a Commission might trace a frontier for the Principality further south than it, the marauding and ambitious character of the population would be certain to extend it until checked by the Turkish defences.

He said, moreover, that the plain of Nichsich was at present supporting the wants of 10,000 inhabitants—almost as many as it could supply, and therefore that it was out of the question to suppose that the entire mountain population could derive any benefit from

the use of land which was already so fully occupied.

On the southern side, he had refused the cession of the right bank of the Moratcha, because the fortresses of Sputz and the islands at the head of Lake Scutari form the chain of works which guarded Albania, and that the nature of the ground south of the river did not admit of any other line being selected with advantage.

The port of Spizza was, he said, in dangerous proximity to Antivari, and no natural boundary existed between the two places; but he did not appear to consider this point as

altogether excluded from discussion.

I left his Excellency with the opinion confirmed, which I had already expressed to your Lordship by telegraph, that his nomination to treat was about to prove an obstacle to the success of the negotiation.

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A Council was held at the Porte on the following day to discuss the matter, and I was informed by Safvet Pasha that there was little chance of coming to an understanding

as long as the Prince of Montenegro maintained his original pretensions.

On my mentioning that I had been instructed to tender my good offices to endeavour to bring about an arrangement, he said he fully appreciated your Lordship's desire for a pacification, and that he was quite alive to the danger which menaced Turkey should none be arrived at.

He declared, however, that concessions such as those claimed by the Prince would infallibly create so much discontent among the Mussulman population in general, that the

Government might be altogether unable to control it.

This morning one of the Delegates informed me that the Porte had yesterday given its final answer, determined by the decision taken at a second Ministerial Council held on the 13th, and that he had transmitted it by telegraph to the Prince, and would await His Highness' instructions.

I fancied that I could detect in his manner that, although much disappointed at so unfavourable a reply, he did not despair of being able to come to an understanding upon another basis; and this appears to agree with the information conveyed to me by your Lordship respecting the moderation which had been recommended to the Prince by the Russian Government.

M. Petrovich, I observed, laid far greater stress than before upon the consent of the Porte to receive the insurgent refugees, and less upon the rectification of territory to be granted.

> I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

No. 360.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord, Rustchuk, March 17, 1877.

AN event took place here about three weeks ago between some Turks and some Roumanian frontier guards, which I at once briefly reported to Her Majesty's Embassy, stating that as soon as I learnt the result of a Commission agreed upon between this and Bucharest for the full investigation of the affair, I would report more fully. this Commission has not been able to come to any understanding on the subject; and as I see several versions of the affair in the papers, I hasten to transmit to your Lordship herewith inclosed copy of my report to the Embassy.

The Commission proceeded to the spot, inspected the scene of the occurrence, but were unable to come to any understanding, and the Pasha is now waiting the instructions of

From what I have heard from disinterested parties here, I am inclined to believe the truth to be that the Roumanians, seeing the Turks on the newly-formed island, belonging as yet to neither party, determined to drive them to their own island, and which the Turks refused to accede to, on which the frontier guards at once fired on them.

The affair, however, has quite cooled down here, and no one appears to give the matter

any further attention.

Directly I learn the ultimate settlement of the affair, I will not fail to report to your Lordship, and also to the Embassy.

> I have, &c. (Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure in No. 360.

Consul Reade to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Rustchuk, March 2, 1877. I HAVE the honour to report to you an occurrence here about a week ago, which at first created much irritation amongst the Turks of this place, but which has at length greatly subsided.

It appears that some Turks were cutting wood on an island of the Danube, belonging to this province, and extended their cutting to an adjacent small island, which has been formed since the division of the Danube was made by the Boundary Commission, when they were attacked and fired upon by a number of Roumanian frontier troops, who, on seeing them, approached in a boat. Two of the Turks were killed, and several, I hear, wounded, one of the latter of whom has since died.

The Roumanians, who were in far greater numbers than the Turks, seized all the

latter and conveyed them, together with the two dead men, to Giurgevo.

The Turks of this place, hearing of this, were greatly incensed, but the authorities managed to prevent any collision, and now, I hear, there is a joint Commission at Giurgevo inquiring into the affair.

Directly I hear of the result of the Commission, I will report it to you.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. READE.

No. 361.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 22, 1877. ARMISTICE with Montenegro prolonged till 13th April.

No. 362.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 22, 1877, 11.40 P.M. Prince of Montenegro's final demand for the cession of Kuci and Nichsich was communicated yesterday to the Porte.

Porte refuses, and question will be referred first to a Ministerial Council and after-

wards to the Chambers.

No. 363.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 23.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 23, 1877.
PRINCE NICHOLAS accepted this morning a proposal from the Grand Vizier for the prolongation of the armistice till the 13th of April.

No. 364.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Blunt.

Foreign Office, March 23, 1877.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated the 6th instant, and I have to express to you my approval of the suggestion made by you to the Pasha of Salonica for the dispatch of two members of the local Grand Council, a Turk and a Christian, to inquire into and report fully respecting the grievances complained of by the inhabitants of Podarsko.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 365.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Foreign Office, March 23, 1877.

I APPROVE of your proceedings with reference to the interview which you had with Dervish Pasha and Mustafa Pasha, as reported in your despatch of the 3rd instant, relative to Mirdite affairs, and of the language which you employed on that occasion.

l am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 366.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

Foreign Office, March 23, 1877. My Lord,

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and I communicated to him what I understood to be the view of the Cabinet as to the conditions on which Great Britain should become a party to the Protocol proposed by his Government. I said that it was not our wish to break off the negotiations; that, on the contrary, we were not only willing, but anxious to find a practical solution; but that we could not accept the proposal made to us in the conversation which I had had with his Excellency and General Ignatiew on Wednesday last, according to which demobilisation on the part of Russia was made dependent upon the three conditions of Turkish reform being seriously undertaken, of Turkey taking the initiative in disarmament, and of peace being made between Turkey and Montenegro.

I said nothing on the last of these three points, and not much in regard to the first; but I dwelt on the objections to its being expected that the Porte should begin to

disarm while still menaced by an army on the frontier superior to its own.

Count Schouvaloff did not see the matter from this point of view, but spoke in strong terms of the humiliation which would be inflicted on Russia if she were expected to disarm in the face of a powerful Turkish force, prepared at any moment for war. He said that it had been more than once seriously debated at Constantinople whether the Porte would not do wisely in taking the initiative and declaring war without further delay, and he pointed out the unsatisfactory position in which Russia would be placed should the Porte determine on taking this step after Russian disarmament had begun.

I contended, on the other hand, that there was no question of humiliation involved; that it was as being immeasurably the stronger of the two, and on no other account, that Russia was asked to take the initiative in disarming; and I could not admit as serious the idea that aggression on the part of Turkey was apprehended, when once the acts of the

Russian Government had shown that peace was desired.

Count Schouvaloff, however, maintained his point, and said that, however strong might be the desire for peace in Russia, there was not one of the eighty millions of Russians who would not think it disgraceful to disarm in the face of a Turkish force ready to take the field.

I expressed my regret, and inquired whether he thought any solution could be

found on the basis of simultaneous disarmament by both States.

His Excellency, in reply, suggested a course of proceeding which, as he said, had occurred to him, but for which he had not the sanction of his Government. If I thought it likely to meet with acceptance here, but not otherwise, he would ascertain the view which would be taken of it at St. Petersburgh.

His plan was as follows:-

That the Protocol should be signed in the first instance; that the Porte, if willing to listen to the advice of the Powers, as given in the said Protocol, namely, that they should disarm, and undertake the work of reform seriously, should send an Ambassador or Envoy of some kind to St. Petersburgh to treat directly with Russia on the question of mutual demobilization. In that case, if Count Schouvaloff's advice was adopted, the Emperor would consent to disarm at the same time as the Porte.

I asked what was to follow in the event of the Porte refusing to take this step. In that case, Count Schouvaloff said that, as had already been stated by him on previous

occasions, the Protocol would have no effect.

Count Schouvaloff did not ask for an immediate discussion of his suggestion, which

I said I would consider, and refer to my colleagues.

In the course of our conversation, which was of some length, Count Schouvaloff asked whether we had taken into consideration a suggestion thrown out by General Ignatiew while here, namely, that all mention of demobilization should be struck out of the l'rotocol. I answered that I remembered that General Ignatiew had mentioned this among other possible solutions of the difficulty, but I did not understand him to lay any particular stress upon it.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No., 367.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 24, 12.3 P.M.)

Constantinople, March 24, 1877, 11:30 A.M. (Telegraphic.) FOLLOWING received this morning from Consul at Erzeroom, dated 14th instant:--

"175 Redifs on way to Erzeroom stopped at Gelintpatek, Kehlabar, and Hosberick, in district of Bunes, have desecrated church, maltreated priest, beat Christians, outraged women, three violated by about sixty men were left dying. Authorities refuse protection. Villages were deserted, Christians fearing massacre having fled, military authorities here supine, Christians begin to suffer severely, dread opening their shops, acts of oppression and cruelty occur daily.

"I brought the above immediately to the knowledge of Foreign Minister, who begged me to assure your Lordship that no effort shall be spared to discover and punish with all rigour perpetrators. His Excellency telegraphs in this sense to Governor-General of the Province; have given the name of the official commanding the offenders."

No. 368.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Foreign Office, March 24, 1877. Sir. WITH reference to your telegram of yesterday, respecting the outrages reported by Her Majesty's Consul at Erzeroom, I approve of your having made representations to the. Porte on the subject.

You will strongly urge the prompt punishment of the offenders. The continuance of such acts of fanaticism and cruelty are a disgrace to the Turkish Government, and arouse

the just indignation of Europe.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 369.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

Foreign Office, March 24, 1877. My Lord, THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and made to me a proposal, which he said was his own, but which he would obtain the permission of his Government to make in their name if I thought it would be favourably viewed by the English

It was agreed between us that it would probably be best that nothing should be signed until peace had been concluded between Turkey and Montenegro.

If peace was so concluded, Count Schouvaloff suggested that the Protocol, with such amendments as may be agreed to in the course of discussion, should be at once signed.

Before its signature the Russian Ambassador should make a declaration in the name of his Government, and leave with me a Memorandum, to be used publicly if necessarv, to the effect that if the Porte accepts the advice of the Powers, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and to take in hand seriously the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, the Sultan may send a Special Envoy to St. Petersburgh to treat on the question of disarmament, to which disarmament the Emperor of Russia will also on his side consent.

Count Schouvaloff added a proviso that, if a recommencement of massacres took place similar to those which had occurred in Bulgaria, then the engagement on the part of Russia to demobilize her army would no longer hold good.

I expressed no positive opinion upon the proposal, but said that it seemed to me to be worthy of discussion, and that I would submit it to the consideration of my colleagues.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 370.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 24, 1877.

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF read to me to-day a telegram which he had received from his Government stating that according to the reports received at St. Petersburgh the Porte was inclined to prefer a pacific solution of the present difficulty, and was in dread of a rupture. It was believed that the present Turkish Government was not in a sufficiently strong position to carry into effect its intentions; and that if it were to be upset, anarchy and chaos would ensue and would lead to massacres that would render the maintenance of a pacific attitude by Russia impossible.

Connt Schouvaloff was instructed to urge this view strongly upon Her Majesty's Government and to point out that the past persistence of Russia with regard to it ought

to be taken as a proof of her desire to remove every obstacle to peace.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 371.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 25.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a further despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople relative to brigandage in the Greek provinces of Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 371.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir.

Salonica, March 10, 1877.

TELEGRAPHIC intelligence reached the authorities here this morning that seven Greek robbers of Carabatac's band, whose sudden appearance in Macedonia I reported to you in my despatch of the 19th ultimo, have been captured by the Turkish police in the vicinity of Allassona, and sent under strong escort to Larissa.

Last week the Turkish police in district of Doiran captured three out of a band of six Albanian brigands, who a few days before had waylaid and plundered a caravan proceeding to the fair at Serres. Two Turkish "seimen" or village guards, who had joined the police in pursuit of these brigands, were killed by the latter before the above capture was effected.

It is most desirable that the Porte should direct the authorities in its Greek provinces to deal promptly and with the utmost rigour of the law with the brigands and other criminals, some of them notorious offenders, who have fallen into their power. Scarcely any capital punishments have been witnessed in this vilayet since the execution of some of the murderers of the French and German Consuls; and yet from that time till now, a period of nine months, a great number of murders have been perpetrated; a few only of their authors have been apprehended, while one or two only of these have been executed.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 372.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to my telegram of the 24th instant, Grand Vizier informed me yesterday that he has telegraphed to both the civil and military Governors of province to investigate reported outrage, and to punish most severely the perpetrators.

No. 373.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 25.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 25, 1877, 10.20 A.M.

FOREIGN Minister has again refused the cession of territory demanded by Montenegrin Delegates. They will await the arrival of the note from Prince directing them to break off negotiation and to return. This will involve delay of ten days, during which it might still be possible to do something.

No. 374.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord,

Aleppo, February 28, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this day's date, reporting to Mr. Jocelyn the arrival of a new Governor-General, Kiamil Pasha, who is distinguished by the highest possible qualifications for his post.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 374.

Consul Skene to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Extract.) Aleppo, February 28, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival here of Kiamil Pasha to succeed Emin Pasha as Governor-General of this province.

Kiamil Pasha became very favourably known here by the able and upright discharge of his duties as Governor of the town of Aleppo six years ago, and his return as Governor-General of the Province of North Syria has been hailed with universal satisfaction.

I have not the least hesitation in saying that Kiamil Pasha is the most highly-gifted and fully efficient provincial ruler with whom it has been my lot to become acquainted.

No. 375.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 13, 1877.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, containing Mr. Jocelyn's report of the strategical reasons alleged by Moukhtar Pasha against the compliance by the Porte with the demands of Prince Nicholas, I have no hesitation in saying that as regards the Herzegovina these reasons are utterly fallacious, as every European military man who knows the ground, and the history of the last campaign, will agree. Nichsich is, and always must be, a source of weakness, and not of strength, to the Turks, as I have frequently pointed out in my official reports to your Lordship; and the line Trebigné, Gatzko, Focha, is now, and has always been, the Turkish line of defence.

There is more to be said for the retention of Spuz by the Turks, as that fortress is a point of great strategical importance for the defence of Albania; and part of a system of fortifications to which the Porte is justified in attaching value.

Moukhtar Pasha's false reports of his victories in the Herzegovina make it now incumbent upon him to maintain a fatally erroneous line of argument in the discussions at Constantinople.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 376.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 26.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 15, 1877.

I WENT to the Palace this afternoon, and told Prince Nicholas that I had heard from Sir Andrew Buchanan that it appears almost certain that an understanding will be arrived at with Russia for the preservation of peace. While I was with His Highness, he received a telegram from the Italian Agent, who is at Ragusa, to the same effect. M. Durando added that M. Melegari stated that the Porte refuses to cede Nichsich and Spuz to Montenegro; and that as therefore a rupture of the negotiations is to be dreaded, the Italian Government appeals to His Highness' well known moderation and love of peace to make concessions.

From all that has passed between the Prince and myself, I am sure that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to persuade him to give up his demands for Nichsich on the side of the Herzegovina, and for the district of the Kutchi on that of Albania. His Highness may be brought to relinquish his other pretensions on the side of Albania, if he gains what he asks for in the Herzegovina. But I think that it would be advisable to wait for a fresh communication from the Montenegrin Delegates, and allow His Highness to make the first concession spontaneously. I venture therefore to recommend that Her Majesty's Government should defer for the present instructing me to use pressure, the time for which is not, in my opinion, yet come.

My Austrian colleague agrees with me entirely as to the expediency of this course, and as to the steps we should take together; and after my interview with the Prince this afternoon, we decided upon telegraphing to our respective Governments in the sense of this despatch.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 377.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 16, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant respecting the transport of stores to Nichsich, I have the honour to inclose copies of telegrams, from the last of which your Lordship will see that the case is very urgent as regards the Kutchi and the refugees, who are in fact reduced to fearful extremities.

I have thought myself justified in pressing Consul Green to urge the Commander-inchief at Scutari to expedition, as I know the delays which may otherwise be interposed.

The provisions of which the Porte complains as bad were those for which the Turkish authorities themselves are responsible, Prince Nicholas having only undertaken the transport of that which he received for the purpose from the Turkish contractors.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 377.

Sir A. Buchanan to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

JOCELYN requests me to inform you that the quality of the provisions supplied to Nichsich by Prince Nicholas has been so bad as to be practically unfit for consumption. The Porte has asked to be allowed to revictual Nichsich itself from Scutari, the food being transported either by Turks or by Montenegrins if the former are objected to. If this were granted, orders would be immediately sent for the acceleration of the transmission of grain to the eastern districts.

Inclosure 2 in No. 377.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Telegraphic.)

PLEASE telegraph as follows to Jocelyn:—

Cettigné, March 14, 1877, noon.

"Prince Nicholas requests me to state that he readily accepts the proposition of the Porte to allow the revictualling of Nichsich from Scutari to be effected by means of Turks, to whose employment he has no objection whatever, and will do all in his power to facilitate the operation by placing, if the Porte wishes, 200 horses, gratis, as far as Spuz at their disposal, being all the horses available.

"I am telegraphing to Consul Green to concert matters with Vali at Scutari so as to obviate delays and difficulties. Prince desires me to express to you his gratitude for your good offices, and his hope that the Porte will immediately give orders for the transmission of his grain, His Highness being determined on his side to carry out faithfully all the stipulations of his agreement."

Inclosure 3 in No. 377.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 14, 1877, noon.

MR. JOCELYN telegraphs that the Porte proposes to revictual Nichsich itself, by

employing Turks to transport the provisions, and that if Prince Nicholas consents orders will also be given to forward immediately from Scutari the grain destined for Monte-

negro.

Prince Nicholas agrees to allow the Turks to transport the provisions to Nichsich themselves, and has ordered Prefect of Danilograd to communicate with the commandant at Spuz with this object. His Highness will, if the Porte wishes, lend the Turkish authorities at Spuz 200 horses gratis, being all that he has at his disposal. Prince will also, if deemed advisable, send an agent to Scutari to arrange details. Please consult the Vali and acquaint me by telegraph with the result, and as to arrangements for conveying Prince's agent to Scutari.

Inclosure 4 in No. 377.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 14, 1877, 11 P.M. HAVE seen the Commander-in-chief, who will give me an answer after he has received instructions from Constantinople.

Inclosure 5 in No. 377.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS has received notice that a large number of the Kutchi and refugees are reduced to extremities for want of food. I beg you to exert your influence with the Commander-in-chief for the immediate forwarding of at least a portion of the grain to Riéka, as the necessity is urgent, and there is a complete understanding with the Porte. Please telegraph me when the grain will be despatched to Riéka.

No. 378.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord,

I HAVE only time before the departure of the early mail this morning, to inclose a copy of a telegram received at two o'clock during the night by Prince Nicholas, from M. Bojo Petrovich, his delegate at Constantinople.

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2 L 2

This telegram contains the propositions made by the Porte yesterday, which, as your Lordship will see, while enlarging the territorial concessions previously offered, do not

include the cession of Nichsich, Spuz, or Spitza.

My Austrian colleague and I were summoned at once to the Palace, and after a long discussion with the map before us, the Prince decided on yielding as far as Spuz and Spitza are concerned, and on holding firmly to his demands on the side of the Herzegovina, that is to say, that he insists on having Nichsich. In short, he maintains his claim to the uti possidetis, as settled by the "Commission Arbitrale" at Ragusa, last December.

He may make some slight concessions of minor importance, but if the Porte does not give way about Nichsich, his present determination is to order his delegates to leave

Constantinople.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 378.

M. Petrovich to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le $\frac{3}{15}$ Mars, 1877.

AUJOURD'HUI avons obtenu réponse suivante:-

Pour rapatriement, les insurgés auraient amnistie; quant à l'assistance, devront s'en

rapporter simplement à la générosité de la Porte.

Secondement comme rectification de frontière, on donne du côté de Zubzi une partie comprise entre Vucizub et Kousko; les Baniani presqu'entier; du côté de Piva, suivant la rivière de ce nom jusque vis-à-vis Bitche, et de là sur point le plus rapproché de Tara, en traversant Bitche. Ensuite frontière suivant Tara jusqu'à Dovolje, de là à Yablonoviorch; ensuite suivrait ancienne frontière jusqu'à Kolachin, mais ils demandent que de Kolachin la frontière suit la Tara jusqu'à sa source, et de là au Kom.

Libre navigation Boyana accordée, et sont prêts traiter sur mode de vivre suivant

bases de votre lettre.

Avons maintenu nos demandes, mais prévoyant que Porte cèderait difficilement autre chose, pensons serait bien mettre tort de son côté en cédant sur certains points.

Ne ferons rien sans ordres que nous attendons au plus vite.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March $\frac{3}{15}$, 1877.

WE have obtained to-day the following reply:-

As regards repatriation, the insurgents would have amnesty; as regards assistance, they must trust simply to the generosity of the Porte.

Secondly, as regards rectification of frontier, on the side of Zubzi a portion is given comprised between Vucizub and Kousko, the Baniani almost entire; on the side of Piva, following the river of that name to opposite Bitche, and thence on the point nearest Tara, traversing Bitche; then frontier, following Tara to Dovolje, thence to Yablono-viorch; would then follow old frontier to Kolachin, but they demand that from Kolachin the frontier shall follow the Tara to its source and thence to the Korn.

Free navigation Boyana granted, and they are ready to treat respecting modus vivendi

on bases of your letter.

We have maintained our demands, but foreseeing that Porte would with difficulty yield further, we think it would be well to put it in the wrong by yielding on certain points.

We will do nothing without orders, which we expect as soon as possible.

No. 379.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord, Canea, Crete, March 12, 1877.

IN my despatch of the 6th instant I had the honour to report the popular meetings which had been held by the Christians throughout the west, and in the centre of Crete, which had for their object the taking of an oath of brotherhood, and which are justly regarded as so many demonstrations against the Government. The temper which prompted them continues to pervade all classes of the Christian community, and renders it a task of great difficulty for the authorities to continue to administer public affairs. The petty Governors in the country districts may be said to have almost abdicated the functions of government, finding themselves unable to carry out any orders obnoxious to the people.

Lawlessness is on the increase, and, were it not for the authority possessed by the Christian Chiefs over their followers, the island would very soon be in a state of anarchy. These Chiefs, however anxious not to alienate public sympathy from their cause by allowing acts of violence to be committed under their eyes, keep the people in check; and it may be said without exaggeration that they, and not the Ottoman authorities, are at present the ruling power in the rural districts. In spite, however, of their influence, cases of robbery do constantly occur, a flock of thirty sheep having, for example, been carried off from a Mussulman farm close by this town only the other day. On the Albanian zaptiehs being reproached for their supineness in tracing the robbers, they replied that they had no heart in their duty, that they had been left twenty months in arrears of pay, and that when, lately, they had received six months' pay, it was given in paper money which is not current in the shops, and on which a loss of nearly 40 per cent. is incurred. The whole corps is profoundly dissatisfied, not to say disaffected, and it is only force which keeps them from deserting en masse, every application for leave to depart being sternly refused.

With the people ripe for revolution, and the guardians of public order kept from deserting by coercion, the prospects of continued peace in the island are far from encouraging.

I have, &c. (Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 380.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord, Belgrade, March 19, 1877.

I REPORTED by telegraph on the 17th instant the arrival at Belgrade of Pertev Effendi, and I have now the honour to report that Prince Milan informed me that difficulties had arisen in regard to a disputed island on the Drina, and the saluting of the Turkish flag on the occasion of the Sultan's Firman, of which Pertev Effendi is the bearer, being officially presented.

His Highness stated that for some time back the custom of firing cannons on such occasions had fallen into disuse, and that he had been informed by the Servian Delegate

at Constantinople that this ceremony would not be exacted.

As Pertev Effendi has received contrary instructions, the Firman (a copy of which has already been handed to the Servian Government and given satisfaction) cannot be officially presented until these difficulties can be got over.

Pertev Effendi, having referred to his Government, now awaits further instructions.

I have, &c. (Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 381.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord,
WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of November the 30th of last year,*
transmitting a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, upon the
subject of outrages which it is said to have been perpetrated by the Servians in the neighbourhood of Sienitza, and requesting to be furnished with a report thereon, I have the
honour to transmit herewith copy of a communication I have received from the Servian
Government on that subject.

I have, &c. (Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

^{*} See "Turkey No. 1 (1877)," pp. 717 and 740.

Inclosure in No. 381.

M. Ristitch to Mr. St. John.

Belgrade, le 1 Mars, 1877. M. le Gérant,

L'AGENCE et Consulat-Général d'Angleterre m'a fait l'honneur de me communiquer par note du 9 Janvier dernier (N.S.), une lettre d'un médecin Anglais, datée de Siénitza, et rapportant, sur la foi d'un jeune Bosniaque, des faits graves à la charge des troupes Serbes.

Justement ému de cette communication, le Ministre de la Guerre s'est empressé de donner aux autorités militaires l'ordre de faire les recherches les plus sevères pour arriver à la vérité sur les actes imputés à leurs troupes et c'est le résultat de cette enquête dont j'ai l'honneur de vous faire part aujourd'hui.

Il en ressort que les faits imputés aux troupes Serbes ne peuvent être conformes à la vérité, car aucun détachement de l'armée Serbe n'a pénétré dans la région indiquée. Du reste l'enquête n'a pu révéler le moindre indice pouvant mettre sur la trace de ce massacre

qui, cependant, n'aurait pu rester ignoré.

Nos troupes ayant toujours accueilli et pris sous leur protection les familles qui fuyaient leurs foyers, le récit du jeune Bosniaque serait déjà par lui-même dépourvu d'invraisemblance. Il est plus que probable que ce jeune homme, se voyant entre les mains des Turcs, aura inventé ce récit pour déguiser la vérité.

Agréez, &c. (Signé) J. RISTITCH.

(Translation.)

Sir, Belgrade, March $\frac{1}{13}$, 1877.

THE Agency and Consulate-General of England has done me the honour to communicate to me in a note of 9th of last January (N.S.) a letter from an English doctor dated from Siénitza, and bringing, on the word of a young Bosniac, grave accusations against the Servian troops.

Justly moved by this intelligence the Minister of War hastened to give the military authorities the order to make the most minute inquiry so as to arrive at the truth of the acts imputed to their troops, and I have now the honour to inform you of the result of

this inquiry.

It appears that the deeds imputed to the Servian troops cannot be in conformity with the truth, since no detachment of the Servian army penetrated into the district alluded to. The inquiry, moreover, has not succeeded in discovering the slightest trace of this massacre, which, nevertheless, could not have remained unknown.

Since our troops always welcomed and protected the families which fled from their homes the story of the young Bosniac is already in itself improbable. than probable that this youth, seeing himself in the hands of the Turks, may have invented this story to disguise the truth.

> I have, &c. (Signed) J. RISTICH.

No. 382.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26.)

My Lord, St. Petersburgh, March 21, 1877. THE unsatisfactory state of the negotiations between the Porte and Montenegro is

causing some disquietude to the Imperial Government.

It is feared that, if the negotiations should be broken off, a fresh stimulus will be given to the insurgent elements in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which may lead to further serious complications.

A renewal of the war between Turkey and Montenegro will seriously endanger the relations between Russia and Turkey. The protectorate of Montenegro by Russia has been traditional, and the personal feelings of the Emperor and Imperial family for that small State and its ruler are of that chivalrous and religious character that will never permit of of a Turkish invasion of Montenegro.

I am informed to-day that at the instance of the Powers, the Prince of Montenegro has given up his demands in regard to Spuz and for a seaport, but that he holds to the

acquisition of Nichsich, and the plain surrounding it.

It is also said that the Porte is influenced by a fear of the fanatical party at Constantinople, who have publicly posted up placards threatening the Turkish Ministers with death if they should cede any territory to Montenegro.

As it is not likely that the Prince of Montenegro can be induced to make further concessions, it appears to me that the Porte would act wisely in view of the dangers which a renewal of the war may produce, if it could be induced to give up the small territory in question on condition of the fortress being razed.

It is hoped here that Her Majesty's Government will use their influence at Constantinople to impress on the Porte the urgent necessity of concluding peace with Montenegro.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 383.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 26, 4.30 p.m.)

Constantinople, March 26, 1877, 12:17 P.M. (Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING received from Vice-Consul Calvert dated yesterday:-"Disregard any report that may reach you of burning of a Bulgarian village and massacre of inhabitants. It is quite untrue.'

No. 384.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

Foreign Office, March 26, 1877. My Lord, THE Russian Ambassador called to-day and reverted to the subject of the proposed Protocol. I expressed to his Excellency the regret I felt at the unsatisfactory turn which the negotiations between Turkey and Montenegro seemed to have taken. I reminded Count Schouvaloff that we had both agreed as to the inutility of signing any Protocol

until the Prince of Montenegro should have accepted terms of peace. Count Schouvaloff, in reply, said that he could not admit the possibility of Europe allowing itself to be embroiled in war by the differences between Turkey and Montenegro on so comparatively insignificant a question as the cession of Nichsich. He could not doubt that so soon as it was seen that no other obstacle to peace remained the general

feeling of the Powers would put an end to this sole remaining cause of difference.

But, in order that that feeling might operate, it would be necessary that other obstacles should be removed in the first instance. The Powers must be made to understand that if once Prince Nicholas and the Sultan came to terms, the Protocol would be signed and peace maintained. He further observed that the form in which, according to his proposal, the consent of the Emperor is to be given to demobilization, leaves it practically in the power of the Porte to fix the day and the hour on which such demobilization should take place, since it would rest with the Porte to decide whether and when a Turkish Envoy should be sent to St. Petersburgh to treat on the subject.

Count Schouvaloff told me that he had telegraphed this last proposal to his Govern-

ment for approval, and expected a reply to-night or to-morrow.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 385.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Foreign Office, March 26, 1877. I HAVE received your despatch of the 7th instant respecting the present tendency of Mirdite affairs; and I have to express to you my approval of the advice given by you to the Turkish authorities as to the policy which ought to be pursued by the Porte in this respect. I am, &c.

DERBY. (Signed)

No. 386.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 26, 1877. Sir,

I RECEIVED telegraphic information from the Acting British Consul-General at Belgrade, dated the 25th instant, to the effect that difficulties were raised by the Porte with regard to the evacuation of the island on the Drina, which had before the commencement of the war formed part of Servian territory; and that under these circumstances the Servian Foreign Minister was desirous of obtaining the good offices of Her Majesty's Government in urging the Porte not to contravene the status quo ante.

I repeated this information to you by telegraph this day, and instructed you to use

your good offices in the matter.

I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No. 387.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 26, 1877. PRINCE NICHOLAS informed Mr. Monson yesterday that all the Chiefs and leading men of the Herzegovina, upwards of one hundred in number, were then in Cettinge in compliance with the summons which he had issued. His Highness stated that he feared the Porte did not take into consideration that the expense of maintaining the refugees was excessive; that the spring was rapidly approaching; and that unless these refugees were sent back to their homes by the end of April they would be unable to sow their crops for this year's harvest, and that the Turkish Government would thus become burdened with the support of an idle population during the whole of this year. Highness said that he had now made complete and satisfactory arrangements with the Chiefs, and would undertake that, if the Porte would agree to his co-operation, and would accept his moral and material assistance, the refugees should be reinstated in their homes within thirty days, for which purpose he would himself provide means of transport and would aid in rebuilding houses and other necessary matters.

Under these circumstances the Prince said that he was anxious for Her Majesty's Government to join with that of Austro-Hungary in pressing this important matter upon

the serious attention of the Porte.

Upon the receipt of this information, which Mr. Monson communicated to me by telegraph, I instructed you by telegraph to take steps in conjunction with your Austrian colleague for pressing on the Porte the expediency of coming to a decision, and making suitable arrangements with regard to the refugees.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 388.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 17, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, inclosing copy of a telegram addressed by the Montenegrin Delegates to Prince Nicholas respecting the further propositions of the Porte, I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the telegram which His Highness despatched yesterday afternoon.

Your Lordship will observe that the Prince declares that he will never send back the refugees now on Montenegrin soil without being assured as to their future; and that, if the Porte objects to make any engagement with him on this subject, he proposes that she should pledge herself to the desired effect to Austria, England, and Russia, if these Powers

will accept the responsibility.

As to the frontier rectification, the Prince maintains his demands on the side of the Herzegovina, which include Nichsich; but declines the corner of the Zubzi offered by the Porte. He declares against the cession by Montenegro of any portion of the Vassoievitchi; nor will he abandon the Kutchi, who have acted as his allies, and on whose territory so much fighting took place last autumn. He relinquishes his claim to Spuz, Spitza, and the islands, but on the express condition that all the fortifications within a modern cannon-shot of the Albanian frontier shall be dismantled. He stipulates for the free navigation of the Bojana and of Lake Scutari under the Montenegrin flag, and for the proper maintenance of the channel of the river.

Finally, the Prince states that in the event of the Porte's refusing these conditions, his Delegates will be instructed to hand to the Ottoman Government a note announcing the rupture of negotiations, and that His Highness will maintain the defensive, without attacking, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. In this event, the Prince adds, that he will appeal from Constantinople to Europe; and he terminates his instructions by an injunction

for the observance of courtesy in the method of departure.

I telegraphed the substance of this despatch to your Lordship at 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon.

I do not think that the Prince will make any further concessions of importance without the united and urgent pressure of the Great Powers, or at least of England and Austria; and even then it will simply be because peace is imposed upon him, and not

because he recognizes the equity of the terms.

My own opinion, if it is not unbecoming in me to express it, is that the territorial arrangement stated above as those to which the Prince consents, are such as the justice as well as the expediency of the case render the most acceptable; and that the Porte would be wise to agree to them without further haggling.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 388.

The Prince of Montenegro to M. Petrovich.

(Télégraphique.)

Cettigné, le 4/16 Mars, 1877, après midi.

DEPECHÉ hier reçue.

Quant au rapatriement, je me rends compte des susceptibilités de la Porte pour traiter avec moi sur le sort des Herzégoviniens à leur rentrée, mais, d'autre part, je ne les renverrai jamais chez eux sans être sûr qu'ils pourront y vivre. Comme dernier moyen de conciliation, je propose que la Porte prenne les engagements nécessaires vis-à-vis de l'Autriche, de l'Angleterre, et de la Russie, si ces Puissances veulent bien se charger d'être les intermédiaires.

Quant aux frontières, je décline avec remercîment l'offre de Zubzi, j'accepte Baniani, je maintiens absolument ma demande de la ligne de Somina Plamina par Ravno et Bische à la Piva, Nichsich inclus; de là je demande que la frontière suive la Tara jusqu'à Moikovaz et se dirige de là à Sisko Sezero. Quant aux Vasseiovitchi vous pouvez déclarer que je ne céderai jamais ce territoire Monténégrin, de même que je n'abandonnerai jamais les Kutchi. La concession que je consens à faire est de renoncer à l'enclave de Spusz, aux Iles, et à Spizza, à la condition expresse que toutes les fortifications situées à moins d'une portée du canon moderne de la frontière soient supprimées. Cette demande est strictement conforme aux usages internationaux, et, dans le cas présent, ne prive la Porte que de moyens d'agression et d'obstruction auxquels elle ne peut tenir dans ses dispositions amicales actuelles.

Enfin vous stipulerez, non seulement la libre navigation du lac et de la Boyane sous notre pavillon, mais l'ouverture et l'entretien du chenal. Cette stipulation est aussi

importante que les autres.

Vous présenterez ces conditions aussi clairement et fermement que courtoisement, et, si la Porte les refuse, vous m'en informerez de suite. Dans ce cas je vous enverrai la minute d'une note à remettre, pour rompre les négociations et déclarer que je me tiens, sans attaquer, sur la défensive, sur la ligne de l'uti possidetis, en faisant appel à l'Europe.

La note remise, vous prendrez civilement congé.

(Signé) NICOLAS, Prince de Monténégro.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 4, 1877, afternoon.

TELEGRAM yesterday received.

As regards the repatriation, I understand the susceptibility of the Porte as to treating with me respecting the fate of the Herzegovinians on their return; but, on 13761

the other hand, I will never send them home without being sure that they will have the means of living. As a last means of conciliation, I propose that the Porte should take the necessary engagements to Austria, England, and Russia if those Powers will

take upon themselves the task of mediation.

As regards the frontiers, I decline with thanks the offer of Zubzi. Baniani. I maintain absolutely my demand for the line of Somina Plamina, by Ravno and Bische, to the Piva, Nichsich included; thence I demand that the frontier shall follow the Tara to Moikovaz, and thence should turn to Sisko Sezero. Vasseiovitchi, you can declare that I will never cede this Montenegrin territory, and that I will never abandon the Kutchi. The concession which I consent to make is to renounce the "enclave" of Spuz, the islands, and Spizza, on the express condition that all the fortifications situated within the range of a modern gun be razed. This demand is strictly in conformity with international usage, and in the present instance only deprives the Porte of means of aggresssion and obstruction to which it cannot hold in its present friendly disposition.

Finally you will stipulate, not only for the free navigation of the lake and of the Boyana under our flag, but for the opening and maintenance of the channel. This

stipulation is as important as the others.

You will present these conditions courteously but clearly and firmly, and if the Porte refuses them you will inform me at once. In such case I will send you the minute of a note to be presented, breaking off negotiations, and declaring that I remain without attacking, on the defensive, on the line of the uti possidetis, appealing to Europe.

After presentation of the note you will civilly take leave.

(Signed)

NICHOLAS, Prince of Montenegro.

No. 389.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 17, 1877. THE Princess Milena, the young Prince Danilo, and the rest of the younger children of his Highness' family, returned yesterday to Cettigné from the country residence at Oria Luka, which, in the event of a recommencement of hostilities, would be in dangerous proximity to the Turkish outposts on the Albanian frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 390.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 18, 1877. BEING anxious to know whether Prince Nicholas, whom I had not seen yesterday, had received any news from Constantinople, I called this morning at the Palace; when His Highness told me that he had heard nothing from his Delegates; but that Signor Durando had telegraphed yesterday from Ragusa a message from Signor Melegari. Italian Government informed Prince Nicholas that, in their opinion, he was not sufficiently conciliatory, and that his attitude rendered an agreement between Montenegro and the Porte very difficult.

His Highness stated to me that he had replied that he wished the Italian Government would tell him explictly what they want him to do, and what instructions they think that

he ought to give his Delegates.

The manner in which the Prince spoke confirmed my opinion that it is by far my most judicious course at this moment not to press him. His own good sense will carry him a long way in the direction of concession; and it is clearly more expedient that he should be allowed to advance of his own accord towards a compromise than that the foreign Agents should be perpetually irritating him by superfluous and precipitate

His Highness told me that he should telegraph to his Delegates that they had his authority to assent to the continuation of the armistice, if proposed by the Porte. I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 391.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 18, 1877.

I SAID to Prince Nicholas this morning that I saw by the Vienna and Trieste papers, received by yesterday's mail, that an understanding in a pacific sense between the Great Powers with respect to the Eastern question seemed imminent. His Highness observed that he supposed that I wanted to frighten him by insinuating that Russia would disarm; and I replied that I certainly thought that such a step on her part was very likely. He then admitted that he was prepared for such a contingency; but maintained that the Russian Slav Committee would, in the event of his requiring further aid, continue to supply him with it.

I have reason to know that His Highness is in reality quite aware of the very great

prospect that exists that Russia will shortly decide upon demobilisation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 392.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 18, 1877.

PRINCE NICHOLAS spoke to me this morning on the subject of the refugees, and said that he hoped that Austria, England, and Russia would not object to accept the responsibility proposed in his telegram of the 16th instant to his Delegates at Constantinople, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of yesterday. He declared that he could never bring himself to send back these unfortunates by assuring them that they would be cared for on their return home, unless he felt a conviction that he was telling the truth; and he was certain that they would never go back without such an assurance.

I think that I may safely say that this is really the case, and that from what I have seen of these people, and heard from their own lips, they would rather continue in their present misery, or even die of hunger and cold in Montenegro, than venture back into the Herzegovina without the guarantee of which the Prince speaks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 393.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 19, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th instant, I have the honour to inclose copies of further telegrams which have passed between Consul Green and myself respecting the transport of Montenegrin stores and the revictualing of Nichsich.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 393.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

DERVISH PASHA informs me he is doing all in his power to expedite the transit of the maize; the weather has, however, hitherto been most unfavourable. Yesterday two boats with the first cargo entered the Boyana, but he does not think the grain they carry can possibly be at Riéka under five days from this date. Two other vessels arrived at Medua yesterday; and are now transhipping their grain. Dervish Pasha suggests that you should get Suleiman Pasha, who has full powers in this matter, to send him orders to

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lend Montenegro 100,000 okes of maize, and in that case he would at once forward it to Riéka.

No instructions from Constantinople as yet about the revictualling of Nichsich,

Inclosure 2 in No. 393.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE just seen Dervish Pasha, who informs me that he has been authorized to act up to my request, to hasten by all the means in his power the despatch of grain to Montenegro. Consequently to-morrow morning a steamer will tow to Riéka five bondras with 3,000 okes of maize each, lent by the Turkish Government; the Pasha's aide-de-camp and the Montenegrin officer here will accompany the grain. After this the despatch of maize will probably be continuous. Dervish Pasha also wishes to commence at once the revictualling of Nichsich. The provisions are all ready at Spuz, but his Excellency points out that 200 horses are quite insufficient to effect the service quickly, and he argues that the Prince of Montenegro should supply 200 horses every day until the provisions are conveyed. He on his part will do his utmost to fall in with the wishes of the Prince. I should like to have a telegram from you to be able to say that His Highness is pleased with the Pasha's present action, and I hope you will be able to facilitate the matter of the pack animals for Nichsich.

Inclosure 3 in No. 393.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, March 18, 1877, 5.55 P.M.

DERVISH PASHA consents to receive a Montenegrin Agent with whom to make arrangements about the revictualling of Nichsich, and he would be glad if the Prince would send for the purpose M. Stefan Radovich. Orders will be given to the captain of the steamer that proceeds to-morrow to Riéka to bring the Agent here.

Inclosure 4 in No. 393.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.)

RECEIVED both your telegrams last night and have communicated with Prince's Secretary. Will telegraph you as soon as he gives me answer, but I fear that the Prince has but 200 horses in all disposable. He will doubtless appreciate Dervish Pasha's prompt action.

No. 394.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 19, 1877.
PRINCE NICHOLAS received yesterday evening from the Italian Government the telegraphic announcement that your Lordship had agreed with the Russian Ambassador in London as to the terms of a Protocol which embodied a pacific arrangement between the Great Powers and Turkey.

His Highness asked me last night if I could enlighten him upon the nature of the understanding arrived at, but I replied that I had no information as to the action which it had been decided to take with regard to Turkey. Of course, an essential article of the

agreement would be the demobilization of the Russian army.

The Prince, addressing himself to Colonel Thömmel and to me, observed that in the interests of the peace of Europe the news was doubtless very satisfactory; but that he feared that, do what they would, Austria and England would never succeed in animating Turkey with energy sufficient to carry out the promised reforms.

I have, &c.

(Sgined) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 395.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 19, 1877.

THE language which Prince Nicholas employs to me about the Kutchi district is so strong that I doubt whether any pressure would persuade him to abandon its inhabitants to the vengeance of the Turks; and I presume that this will be the hardest point to settle with the Porte as regard the territorial arrangements.

As for the district of Nichsich, if the Porte will not give way altogether, it may perhaps be possible to effect a compromise by giving the Prince the plain, and leaving the

Douga Pass and its forts in the possession of the Turks.

His Highness says that, of one hundred and eighty Mussulman families in Nichsich, eighty at least have let him know that they would accept his sovereignty.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 396.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27, 2:30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE been urging Turkish Government to withdraw their troops from the Drina Island and from Yavor, and I am informed that orders have been sent to military commanders to evacuate both these positions.

No. 397.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 27, 2:45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 27, 1877, 12.40 P.M. VICE-CONSUL at Adrianople having returned from scene of late outrages tele-

graphs following details yesterday:-

"On the 24th February, a gang of seven Turks visited Bektijides and subjected seven of the principal men to shameful treatment by beating them with sticks and cutting three with knives, one badly, and extorted from them various sums of money. Details will follow."

No. 398.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Foreign Office, March 27, 1877.

I HAVE to instruct you to ascertain whether it is true that arms have recently been distributed to the Mussulman population in the Turkish provinces.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 399.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, March 27, 1877, 5 P.M.
I HAVE instructed Mr. Jocelyn to join with his Austrian colleague in pressing on the Porte the expediency of coming to an arrangement as to the refugees.

No. 400.

Circular addressed to Her Majesty's Consular Officers in the Turkish Dominions.

Sir. Foreign Office, March 27, 1877.

IT is of great importance in the present disturbed state of the Turkish Empire, to which public attention in this country is so earnestly directed, that Her Majesty's Government should receive early and reliable reports of any acts of violence that may take place, and especially of any outrages that may be perpetrated on the Christian inhabitants of the Provinces.

I have accordingly to instruct you to be especially careful in investigating and reporting any such occurrences that may come to your knowledge; and I authorize you to charge in your public accounts the expense which you incur in visiting any places for the purpose of verifying the truth of the reports which may have reached you.

You will take immediate steps for giving instructions in accordance with this despatch

to all the Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents under your orders.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 401.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 27, 1877.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a Circular which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Consular officers throughout the Turkish dominions,* enjoining them to be especially careful in investigating and reporting on any cases of disturbances or outrages that may come to their knowledge; and authorising them to charge in their public accounts the expense of visiting any places where such occurrences are reported to have taken place.

In order to avoid any loss of time in the matter, I have telegraphed to you this day requesting you to give instructions in the above sense by telegraph to Her Majesty's Consular officers.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 402.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 15th instant, relative to the negotiations between Montenegro and the Porte, and I approve of your proceedings, as reported therein, with a view to bring about an understanding which would lead to the conclusion of peace.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 403.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

My Lord,

I APPROVE your proceedings as reported in your despatch of the 14th instant relative to attempts which have been made to coerce the Christian inhabitants of Philippopolis into sending a petition of thanks to the Sultan for the grant of a Constitution.

Jam, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 404.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 27, 1877.

L HAVE received your despatch of the 14th instant mentioning reports which h

I HAVE received your despatch of the 14th instant, mentioning reports which had reached you through the Minister of Police, as to steps which were being taken to promote a fresh insurrection among the Bulgarians, and I have to express to you my approval of your proceedings in instituting inquiries on the subject, and of your language to Said Pasha with regard to the execution of the sentence of the Commission.

lam, &c

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 405.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 27. 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me to-day and informed me that the Russian Government, being sincerely desirous of peace, would authorize him to make at the time of the signature of the proposed Protocol a declaration to the effect which he had mentioned to me in conversation on the 24th instant.

That declaration, of which Count Schouvaloff was to leave a memorandum with me to be used publicly if necessary, was, according to his Excellency's proposal, to be of the following tenour:—

That if the Porte accepts the advice of the Powers, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and to take in hand seriously the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, the Sultan may send a special Envoy to St. Petersburgh to treat on the question of disarmament, to which disarmament the Emperor of Russia will also on his

Count Schouvaloff added that if it were considered necessary the Russian Government would be ready to repeat the declaration directly by the telegraph at Constantinople.

His Excellency said that his Government objected only to anything which could delay the signature of the Protocol, believing that such delay would be prejudicial to the pacific solution desired by all the Powers. In Prince Gortchakow's opinion the unanimous voice of Europe, affirming its agreement and giving wise advice to Turkey, would act at this moment favourably on the decisions of the Porte, and it would be unwise to delay the opportunity of producing this effect. When the Porte found that Russia was ready to demobilize, and that it rested with itself alone to secure peace and to pursue its work of reorganization, it would show itself more moderate and conciliatory in the pending negotiations with Montenegro, which would thus remain the only obstacle to the definitive and pacific solution of the question. Prince Gortchakow believed, therefore, that it would be best to sign the Protocol as soon as possible, and even to forward its tenour to Constantinople by telegraph, so that it might be known before the 13th of April, at which date the armistice expired. Otherwise, Prince Gortchakow believed that the Porte would be exposed to great dangers, from which it behoved the Great Powers to save it by unanimous exhortation.

I told Count Schouvaloff that I would submit the proposals and views of his Government to my colleagues without delay, and would inform him of their conclusion.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 406.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord,
WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 21st instant, in which
you speak of the hope entertained at St. Petersburgh that Her Majesty's Government will
use their influence at Constantinople to impress on the Porte the urgent necessity of con-

cluding peace with Montenegro, I have to point out to you that Her Majesty's Government have repeatedly advised the Turkish Government to come to terms with Prince Nicholas.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 407.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 27, 1877.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 25th instant, in which you state that Prince

Nicholas had observed to you that he did not think that the Porte sufficiently considered the excessive burden thrown upon him by the maintenance of the refugees within his frontier, and the fact that unless the fugitives returned to their homes by the end of April, which was not far distant, it would be useless for them to sow their crops for this year's harvest, in which case it would be saddled until next year with the support of an idle population.

His Highness had, according to your report, added that his arrangements with the refugee Chiefs had been completed, and that he would undertake that, if the Porte would accept his co-operation, and his moral and material assistance, the fugitives should, in thirty days, be reinstated in their homes, he himself furnishing the means of transport and aid towards rebuilding their houses.

The Prince had concluded by asking Her Majesty's Government to unite with that of Austria-Hungary in calling the serious attention of the Porte to a matter which he considered to be of great importance.

I have to state to you, in reply to this communication, that Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the importance of an arrangement being effected by the Porte with regard to the refugees in Montenegro, and that I have instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople by telegraph to join with his Austrian colleague in pressing on the Turkish Government the expediency of taking decisive steps in the matter without delay.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 408.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCE has received a telegram from Constantinople stating that the Porte would not accede to his demands as to frontier, and that the channel of the Boiana must be put and kept in order by Montenegro.

The telegram made no mention of refugee question, and the Prince has telegraphed again for information respecting it.

No. 409.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

I HAD an interview with the Russian Ambassador to-day, and informed him of the conclusions to which Her Majesty's Government had come upon the question of the signature of the proposed Protocol. I said that, on a full consideration of all the circumstances, and being unwilling to run the risk of unnecessary delay, Her Majesty's Government had determined that the Protocol might be signed, supposing that an agreement upon all other points connected with it had been arrived at, without waiting for the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Montenegro. They could, however, only do so upon the condition that, inasmuch as it was solely in the interest of European peace that we had consented to sign any document such as that proposed, it must be understood that, in the event of the object which we had in view—namely,

disarmament and peace—not being obtained, the Protocol should be regarded as null and void.

No. 410.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 28, 1877.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your telegraphic despatch dated yesterday reporting that Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Adrianople has returned from Bektaory, and has reported that a body of Turks had shamefully ill-treated some of the principal inhabitants of that place, beating, wounding, and extorting money from them.

You will inquire what steps have been taken by the Turkish authorities to punish

the perpetrators of the outrages reported by Mr. Dupuis.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 411.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Holmes.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 28, 1877.

I APPROVE the language employed by you, as reported in your despatch of the 5th instant, with a view to remove mistrust with regard to the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in the present state of affairs in the East.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 412.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Foreign Office, March 28, 1877.

I APPROVE your having telegraphed to Consul Green, pressing him to urge on the Commander-in-chief at Scutari the necessity of forwarding at once a certain quantity of grain to Rieka for the relief of the Kutchi and refugees, as reported in your despatch of the 16th instant.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 413.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 30.)

(Extract.) Constantinople, March 20, 1877.

THE first Turkish Parliament was opened yesterday by the Sultan in person.

The ceremony took place in the great central hall of the Dolma Baghtche Palace, in the presence of all the principal Officers of State, the high religious Dignitaries of the Empire, and a certain number of the members of the Diplomatic Body.

Although, from the vastness of the place and the brilliancy of the dresses, the scene bore an imposing character, the proceedings themselves were conducted in a very

unpretending manner.

The members of the Senate and Chamber were arranged, standing respectively on the right and left of His Majesty, whose opening speech was read by his private Secretary, Saïd Pasha.

On its conclusion the Speech was returned to His Majesty, who bowed to the Parliament and to the Ministers, and retired, sending at the same time the Minister for Foreign Affairs to express to the members of the Diplomatic Body his gratification at their attendance.

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Neither my Russian nor my German colleagues were present, the latter being represented by his Second Secretary and dragoman, and the former by his dragoman alone.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

No. 414.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 30.)

My Lord, Constantinople. March 20, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith, copy of a translation of the Imperial Firman delivered to the Prince of Servia on the conclusion of peace with that Principality.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 414.

Firman dated February 20, 1877.

(Traduction.)

(Après les titres d'usage.)

NOTRE sollicitude Impériale avait toujours eu pour objet tout ce qui pouvait contribuer à consolider la tranquillité et le progrès de la Principauté de Serbie, qui fait partie intégrante de notre Empire, et à assurer le bonheur et la prospérité de ses habitants. Les immunités et priviléges contenus dans les Hatts Impériaux délivrés à diverses époques n'ont eu pour but que la réalisation de ce désir. Une preuve éclatante de notre bienveillance particulière pour le peuple Serbe, en considération de sa fidélité éprouvée envers notre Gouvernement Impérial, avait encore été donnée, notamment par la décision en vertu de laquelle la garde des forteresses Impériales sises en Serbie avaient été confiée à la Principauté. Les rapports de confiance et de sincérité entre la Principauté et la Cour Suzeraine étaient ainsi consolidés et développés de jour en jour davantage, lorsque malgré les efforts de notre Gouvernement Impérial pour garantir l'ordre de choses existant, nous avons été péniblement affectés en voyant qu'il n'avait pas été possible de prévenir les événements malheureux qui menaçaient de troubler profondément aussi bien la situation intérieure de la Serbie que sa situation vis-à-vis la Cour Suzeraine.

Sur l'acceptation empressée de la proposition du rétablissement de la tranquillité qui avait été fait par notre Gouvernement Impérial dans le but d'épargner à la Serbie les malheurs de la guerre, et qui avait en vue le retour de la Serbie à la situation qui existait pour elle avant les derniers malheureux événements, vos Délégués les très honorables MM. Christich et Malitch sont arrivés à Constantinople avec des pleins pouvoirs de votre part. Dans les pourparlers qui ont eu lieu entre eux et notre Sublime Porte, ils ont su lui donner verbalement et par écrit des explications et des assurances par lesquelles ils ont garanti que le contenu des Firmans délivrés à diverses dates serait scrupuleusement observé, que les obligations qui avaient été mises à la charge de la Serbie en compensation des priviléges et immunités de la Principauté seraient exécutées, et qu'on ne permettrait désormais rien qui fût de nature à troubler matériellement et moralement les bons rapports de la Serbie avec notre Gouvernement.

Ces applications et ces assurances ayant renouvelé et confirmé notre confiance Impériale dans la fidélité et la droiture de la Principauté et du peuple Serbe, nous avons ainsi ratifié et approuvé le rétablissement d'un status quo ante, et de même que notre pardon Impérial a été accordé à ceux des habitants des provinces voisines qui, pendant les événements dont il a été question, se sont enfuis et refugiés dans la Principauté, de même le retour dans leurs foyers des habitants de la Principauté qui s'étaient refugiés chez nous a été également assuré.

Nous sommes convaincus que vous et le peuple Serbe vous apprécierez ce qui vient d'être arrêté comme une preuve manifeste de notre confiance et bienviellance Impériale à votre égard, et que vous vous attacherez à persister dans l'accomplissement des devoirs de la Principauté vis-à-vis de notre Gouvernement Impérial; et en conséquence nous vous avons délivré et envoyé notre présent Firman, revêtu de notre sanction Impériale, pour proclamer que sur cette base le statu quo ante a été rétabli, et que les ordres nécessaires

ont été donnés à qui de droit afin de faire évacuer les points au delà de la ligne de démarcation qui se trouvent en possession de notre armée.

Donné le 18 Safer, 1294 (20 Février, 1877).

(Translation.)

(After the ordinary preamble.)

THE object of our Imperial solicitude has always been the attainment of all that could contribute to confirm the tranquillity and progress of the Principality of Servia, which forms an integral part of our Empire, and to ensure the happiness and prosperity of its inhabitants. The liberties and privileges contained in the Imperial Hatts proclaimed on different occasions have always had in view the realization of this desire. A striking proof, moreover, of our especial care for the welfare of the people of Servia, ir consideration of its proved fidelity towards our Imperial Government, had been given, notably by the decision in virtue of which the Imperial fortresses situated in Servia had been confided to the keeping of the Principality. The relations between the Principality and the Sovereign Court were being confirmed and developed day by day in greater confidence and sincerity, when, notwithstanding the efforts of our Imperial Government to guarantee the existing order of things, we were painfully affected at seeing that it had been impossible to obviate the unfortunate events which threatened to disturb profoundly the internal affairs of Servia, as well as its situation as regarded the sovereign Court.

Upon the eager acceptance of the proposal for the re-establishment of tranquillity which had been made by our Imperial Government, in order to spare Servia the misfortunes of war, and which had in view the return of Servia to the situation which it occupied before the recent unfortunate events, your Delegates, the Right Honourable MM. Christich and Malitch arrived at Constantinople with full powers from you. In the negotiations which took place between them and our Sublime Porte, they were able to give, verbally and in writing, explanations and assurances by which they guaranteed that the contents of the Firmans proclaimed at different periods should scrupulously be observed, that the obligations which had been imposed upon Servia, in return for the privileges and liberties of the Principality, should be performed, and that in future nothing should be allowed of such a nature as to materially and morally disturb the good relations existing between Servia and our Government.

These applications and assurances having renewed and confirmed our Imperial confidence in the fidelity and the uprightness of the Principality and people of Servia, we thus ratified and approved the re-establishment of a status quo ante, and as our Imperial pardon has been extended to those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces who, during the events in question, fled and took refuge in the Principality, so the return to their homes of the inhabitants of the Principality who had taken refuge

with us, has been likewise ensured.

We are convinced that you and the Servian people will regard the agreement come to as a manifest proof of our Imperial confidence and goodwill towards you, and that you will make it a point to insist on the fulfilment of the duties of your Principality as regards our Imperial Government; and consequently we have delivered and sent to you our present Firman, invested with our Imperial sanction, to proclaim that on this basis the status quo ante has been re-established, and that the necessary orders have been given in the proper quarter for the evacuation of the points beyond the line of demarcation which are now in the possession of our army.

March 4, 1877.

No. 415.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 29.)

WITH reference to my despatch of the 2nd instant I have the honour to inclose copy of a further despatch from Mr. Consul Blunt, forwarding a Memorandum on the subject of the alleged massacre at the village of Bouloustra, which has been drawn up by the Acting British Vice-Consul at Cavalla.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 415.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, March 16, 1877. CAPTAIN BAIRD, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Swiftsure," whom I requested Sir,

to procure for me information about the alleged massacre at the village of Bouloustra, district of Xanthi, in the event of his visiting Cavalla during his late cruise in the Archipelago, has just placed in my hands the inclosed Memorandum on the subject, which was prepared by the Acting British Vice-Consul on board the "Swiftsure" the day this vessel took her departure from there (the 14th instant).

Dr. Picchioli refers to the efforts Hallil Agha is making to screen one of the accused

parties in this outrage, a certain Ahmet Kehaya.

I have addressed a representation on the subject to the Pasha of Salonica, and requested him to send orders by telegraph to the Governor of Drama in the sense suggested by Dr. Picchioli.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 415.

Vice-Consul Picchioli to Consul Blunt.

(Translation.)

On board the "Swiftsure," (no date) 10.45 A.M.

HAVING just arrived on board to pay my respects to the Captain of the "Swiftsure," I learn that she leaves at midday for Salonica, I have therefore no time before me to write on my return to Cavalla. I therefore must write on board, but can only do so hurriedly and in telegraphic form.

First of all let me rectify a mistake I made in a name.

The man who is accused on all sides of having taken the leading part in the Bouloustra murder is not called Mahmoud but Achmet Kiaya, and is agent for a farm belonging to Khalil.

This said Achmet has been arrested by the excellent Bimbashi Mahmoud Effendi.

Achmet Kiaya's knife has been recognized by many persons.

This knife is now in the hands of the Kaïmakam of Xanthi, who is such a drunkard that no one can guarantee that he would not restore it to anybody who offered a good bribe. It would be far better to send both knife and pistols to Drama, where, please God, some day the case will be tried.

I know that Khalil denies that Achmet is in his employ, but he is trying underhand to save him, in which he does very wrong, and could easily come to harm himself.

Everybody knows for certain that it was Achmet who with his own hand murdered a member of the family Anastasi, but no one dares to give evidence for fear of Khalil.

I shall write to the Mutessarif of Drama asking him to let me know to what stage the trial has got. But it is necessary that you should prevail upon the Vali to act, in order that justice should be done.

The Bimbashi Mahmoud Effendi has been sent away from Xanti, but the Mutessarif of

Drama has had the good sense to give him another post.

This man has behaved very well, but fears some powerful vengeance for having arrested one of Khalil's men. This man could also make revelations, but neither does nor will make them, as he knows what would happen to him if he did.

Anastas, of Bolustra's property, bordered on Khalil's farm, of which the Turk

Achmet was "Kiaya."

People say that Achmet wanted a piece of Anastas' land, and as the young man of Anastas' family was the chief obstacle in the way he determined to get rid of him.

But nobody, not even the Christians, maintain that the murder was committed from motives of religious or political fanaticism.

> I am, &c. (Signed) D. PICCHIOLI.

No. 416.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 29.)

Constantinople, March 21, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, reporting the prevalence of sickness among the Circassian colonists at Armyro, near the Greek frontier, and that many of them are leaving that

part of the country in consequence.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 416.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, March 16, 1877. Sir, MR. VICE-CONSUL SUTER informs me in a recent letter from Volo that there is much sickness among the Circassian colonists at Armyro, near the Hellenic frontier, and that many are dying; that several lots, either permitted or clandestinely, have got away to Constantinople and that more are following. Thus it is likely, Mr. Suter adds, that district may soon get rid of the whole of those colonists.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

No. 417.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 29.)

Constantinople, March 23, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th instant, inclosing a list of reforms given to me by the Grand Vizier as being in course of execution, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Adrianople, reporting the introduction of one of these into the vilayet in

question.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 417.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Mr. Jocelyn.

Adrianople, March 20, 1877. Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that the local government of this vilayet has within the last few days named a Commission which will shortly commence organizing this province into communal divisions on the basis of 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants to each commune or district.

His Excellency Ali Pasha, the Vali, has also charged the Alai Bey, or Chief of the Police, of this city with the reorganization of the gendarmerie, or zaptiehs, to be composed of Mussulmans as well as Christians, and as there are several vacancies at present in this force, and four Christians having applied for admission into that service, they will probably be employed if they are found to be men of good character, and able to give security for their good behaviour.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. H. DUPUIS.

No. 418.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 29.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, March 23, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th instant, regarding an outrage committed at Potzarsko, near Vodina in Macedonia, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report which I have received from Mr. Consul Blunt on the subject.

I advised the Grand Vizier to act upon the Consul's suggestion of sending the newly appointed Christian Musteshar to investigate the case, and his Highness at once sent orders by telegraph that on his arrival at Salonica he should be instructed to proceed immediately to the district in question.

I have, &c. (Signed) N

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 418.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Salonica, March 12, 1877.

WITH reference to the outrages perpetrated in the Bulgarian village Potzarsko, I have succeeded in obtaining only this afternoon through a confidential channel, a copy of the telegraphic report which has been received by the Pasha of Salonica from the district Governor of Vodina relative to this serious affair.

I transmit to you herewith inclosed this document, and regret that owing to the

early departure of the steamer I am unable to accompany it with a translation.

The Mixed Commission, composed of a Turk and a Christian, and assisted by Turkish and Christian members from the Medjliss of Vodina, has proceeded to Potzarsko, and is investigating the affair, and I shall not fail to report the result as soon as the investigation is concluded.

In the meantime the case engrosses public attention here; and as an impression prevails that influences are at work to induce the Commission to suppress the truth, I think it would be well if the Porte directed the Musteshar of this vilayet, the newly appointed sub-Governor, who is expected to arrive here by to-morrow's steamer from Constantinople, to proceed to Vodina, and personally attend to the case. Such a measure would go far to satisfy public opinion in this place.

I should also report that the Pasha of Salonica has put under arrest the Captain of Police, who is accused of having connived at the perpetration of the outrages in question,

and has sent him to Potzarsko to answer the charges against him.

Delegates have also arrived here from Potzarsko to represent the case to the Pasha. My dragoman, M. Bizzo, is in communication with them; and they have declared to him that besides plundering the village the Turks also beat several of the inhabitants, destroyed their images and ravished some of the women.

I have spoken strongly to the Pasha of Salonica on the subject, and pointed out to him the feeling of indignation which these excesses will produce, and the discredit they will cause to his administration, and urged that the guilty parties should be visited with the utmost rigour of the law.

He observed to me that he was doing his best to learn the whole truth of the case; that he would not fail to punish the guilty parties, but that he had reason to think that the alleged excesses have been greatly exaggerated.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

P.S.—Not having had time to make a copy of the Vodina report, I beg you will forward it to Her Majesty's Secretary of State with a copy of this despatch.

J. E. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 418.

The Kaïmakam of Vodina to the Governor-General of Salonica.

(Traduction.) (Télégraphique.)

Le 19 Février (v.s.),1877.

QUELQUES jours après les événements du village de Bozaro, les autorités, aussitôt qu'elles en ont été informées, ont fait venir le nommé Bekir Pehlivan et ses compagnons nommés Metcho, Ahmedje, Halil et d'autres, et avant réuni le Conseil d'Administration et le Conseil Judiciaire, elles ont procédé à l'interrogatoire de ces individus, qui, depuis ce

moment, n'ont pas été un moment délivrés de prison.*

Le susdit Bekir Pehlivan et son compagnon Metcho ont reçu des habitants du susdit village, sous titre de dîme, 126 mesures de maïs, 900 ocques de poivre, et 2,227 ocques de haricots, et 11,000 piastres en argent, par l'intermédiaire du susdit capitaine, et après le départ de ce dernier du village de Bozaro, le susdit Bekir et ses compagnons ont encore encaissé 6,646 piastres, de sorte qu'en dehors de ce qui a été reçu en nature les susnommés ont encaissé en tout 17,646 piastres. Ceci ressort de leur interrogatoire et des investigations faites par les délégués envoyés d'ici. Ces délégués ont mis sous les scellés ce qui avait été pris en nature, c'est-à-dire, le poivre, le maïs et les haricots. Quant aux réclamations des habitants concernant beaucoup d'autres objets qui seraient pillés par les susdits malfaiteurs, Bekir Pehlivan, ainsi que les autres, opposent des dénégations péremptories et bien qu'on fasse à cet égard des investigations soutenues on n'a pu rien encore découvrir de manière que bien qu'on n'épargne aucun effort pour découvrir les objets dont le pillage est allégué, il est indispensable de complèter l'interrogatoire de tous ces malfaiteurs qui se sont rendus à Bozaro. Or, la plupart d'entre eux se trouvant dans un autre district et leur transfert étant difficile, nous avons l'honneur de suggérer l'opportunité de l'envoi d'un juge d'instruction sur les lieux pour procéder à leur interrogatoire, et que moi, votre serviteur, et le Caimacam de Yenidjé, nous soyons autorisés d'envoyer à un endroit convenable du Nahié (canton) de Caradja Abad, un membre du Conseil Administratif et un membre du Conseil Judiciaire, eu égard à l'importance du cas.

(Translation.)

(Translation.)

February 19, 1877 (o. s.) (Telegraphic.)

SOME days after the events at the village of Bozavo the authorities, as soon as they were informed thereof, summoned Bakir Pehlivan and his companions Metcho, Ahmedje, Halil, and others, and having assembled the Administrative and Judicial Councils, proceeded to interrogate these individuals, who from that time have not been for a moment released from prison.+

The above-named Bekir Pehlivan and his companion Metcho received from the inhabitants of the above-named village, under the designation of tithes, 126 measures of maize, 900 okes of pepper, and 2,227 okes of haricots, and 11,000 piastres in coin, with the assistance of the above-named captain. After the departnre of the latter from the village of Bozavo, the above-named Bekir and his companions further appropriated 6.646 piastres, so that in addition to what was received in kind the above-named took altogether 17,646 piastres.

This appears from their examination and from the inquiries made by the delegates sent from here. These delegates placed under public seal what had been taken in kind,

that is to say, the pepper, maize, and haricots.

Bakir Pehlivan, as well as the others, peremptorily deny the charges of the inhabitants respecting many other objects plundered by the above-named malefactors, and notwithstanding further investigations respecting them hitherto nothing has been discovered; so that, although no effort is spared to find the objects of which the plunder is asserted, it is indispensable to complete the inquiry of all these malefactors who have assembled at Bozavo. But, seeing that the greater part of them are in another district, and that their transfer is difficult, we have the honour to suggest that it is advisable to send a Judge to make inquiry upon the spot, and that I, your servant, and the Kaïmakam of Yenidje, taking the importance of the case into consideration, should be authorized to send a Member of the Administrative Council, and a Member of the Judicial Council to a suitable place in the Nahié (Canton) of Caradju Abad.

No. 419.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .— (Received March 29.)

Constantinople, March 23, 1877. My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant, I have the honour to inclose the official translation of the Sultan's speech on the occasion of the opening of the Turkish Parliament!

I have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 419.

Sultan's Speech at Opening of Turkish Parliament.

Messieurs les Sénateurs, Messieurs les Députés,

C'EST avec la plus vive satisfaction que j'ouvre le Parlement de mon Empire qui se

réunit aujourd'hui pour la première fois.

Vous connaissez tous que le développement de la grandeur et de la force des Etats

aussi bien que des peuples repose sur la justice.

Mon Gouvernement Impérial a puisé, à l'origine, sa force et son influence dans le monde au respect qu'il a porté à la justice dans l'administration de l'Etat, ainsi qu'aux droits et aux intérêts de toutes les classes de ses sujets.

L'un de mes ancêtres, Sultan Mehmed le Conquérant, de glorieuse mémoire, a accordé des immunités pour assurer la liberté individuelle et la liberté de conscience et des cultes.

Marchant sur ses traces, mes augustes prédécesseurs aussi n'ont jamais laissé porter atteinte à la liberté de conscience et des cultes. Il est incontestable que c'est par une conséquence naturelle de ce même principe de haute justice que nos diverses populations ont pu conserver depuis six siècles leur caractère national, leur langue et leur religion.

C'est grâce au respect qui entourait alors la justice et l'application des lois que la richesse et le bien-être de l'Etat et de la nation avaient reçu un développement si remarquable; mais, à la longue, les dispositions du Chéri et celles des lois établies n'étant plus observées, le cours du progrès se ralentit et la force première se changea en faiblesse.

Mais mon aïeul, Sultan Mahmoud, d'heureuse mémoire, ayant fait disparaître le désordre, cause réelle de l'affaiblissement dont l'Etat était frappé depuis longtemps, et conjuré la crise provoquée par la révolte des janissaires, a délivré l'Etat et la nation des entraves qui arrêtaient leur essor, et, le premier, il a ouvert la voie à l'introduction dans notre pays de la civilisation de l'Europe moderne.

Mon illustre père, feu Sultan Abdul-Médjid, suivant ce noble exemple, a promulgué le Tanzimat qui garantit la vie, les biens et l'honneur de nos sujets. Depuis lors les ressources du commerce et de l'agriculture de notre Empire se sont développées, les revenus de l'Etat se sont en peu de temps considérablement accrus; des lois et des règlements ont été élaborés pour favoriser les améliorations nécessaires et enfin, l'instruction dans les arts et dans les sciences a acquis une notable extension.

Ces premiers essais de réformes et la sécurité intérieure de l'Etat permettaient d'entrevoir pour l'Empire un avenir de progrès et de prospérité; mais la guerre de Crimée est malheureusement survenue et a arrêté les efforts qui tendaient à améliorer la situation

de l'Empire et de ses habitants.

Jusqu'alors notre Trésor Impérial n'avait contracté aucune dette à l'étranger; mais vu l'impossibilité de faire face aux dépenses urgentes de la guerre au moyen de nos propres revenus, on fut obligé de recourir à des emprunts extérieurs. C'est ainsi que la voie des emprunts s'est trouvée ouverte. Il est vrai que les Grandes Puissances alliées, reconnaissant la justice de notre cause, nous ont prêté un concours complet et efficace, qui comptera comme une grande page dans les annales de l'histoire, et grâce auquel un Traité de Paix a été conclu qui place l'intégrité et l'indépendance de notre Empire sous la garantie des Puissances Européennes.

Il était alors permis de croire que cette paix nous assurerait dans l'avenir le temps et les moyens de rétablir nos affaires intérieures et de faire réellement entrer le pays dans la voie du progrès.

Malheureusement, les événements qui se sont succédé ont amené un résultat opposé à celui qu'on était en droit d'espérer; des intrigues et des excitations coupables, en créant des embarras intérieurs et successifs, non-seulement ne nous ont pas permis de nous consacrer à la réorganisation et à la réforme de l'Etat, mais encore nous ont mis dans l'obligation de mobiliser chaque année des corps d'armée extraordinaires et de retenir sous les drapeaux une partie importante de la population valide du pays. Le développement de notre commerce et de notre agriculture en a été entravé. Malgré tant de difficultés et d'empêchements, le progrès moral et matériel ne s'est pourtant pas arrêté. L'augmentation constante des revenus de l'Etat depuis vingt ans est une preuve de l'amélioration qui ne cessait de s'epérer dans les conditions du pays et dans le bien-être des populations.

Bien que nos embarras actuels découlent des circonstances qui viennent d'être énumérées, il eût été possible cependant d'en atténuer sensiblement la portée, et de conserver le crédit de l'Etat si, dans l'administration des finances, on s'était attaché aux principes d'une stricte loyauté. Mais les mesures qui furent prises à cette époque, en vue, apparemment, d'améliorer les finances, ne pouvaient qu'augmenter la gravité de la situation du moment que, sans songer à l'avenir, on ne visait qu'à se procurer des expédients momentanés.

La persistance de ces difficultés, jointe à la nécessité de nous pourvoir d'un matériel de guerre nouveau et d'une marine cuirassée, devenus les principaux éléments de la puissance militaire des Etats, et, en outre, l'inobservation des règles d'économie, qui doivent régir le budget des recettes et des dépenses, ont introduit graduellement le désordre dans nos finances, ont augmenté nos dettes, et nous ont enfin conduits à l'état de gêne extrême dans lequel nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui.

Sur ces entrefaites, et sous l'influence d'intrigues et de menées subversives se produisirent en Herzégovine des événements qui prirent bientôt des proportions plus considérables.

Les hostilités avec la Serbie et le Monténégro ont tout-à-coup éclaté, et de sérieuses complications sont survenues dans le monde politique. C'est au moment où cette crise atteignait son plus grand degré d'intensité que, par la volonté du Très-Haut, j'ai été appelé à occuper le trône de mes augustes ancêtres.

Les difficultés et les dangers que présente notre situation générale ne peuvent être comparés à aucune des crises que mon Empire a traversées jusqu'ici. J'ai été obligé tout d'abord, afin de sauvegarder les droits de l'Empire, d'augmenter l'effectif de mes armées sur divers points, et d'appeler sous les armes 700,000 combattants. Puis, j'ai considéré comme un devoir de chercher, au moyen de réformes fondamentales, à mettre fin, avec l'aide de Dieu, au désordre de la situation, et à assurer ainsi notre avenir d'une manière

Il est évident que, grâce aux ressources dont la Providence a doté notre pays, et aux aptitudes de mes sujets, une bonne administration nous permettrait de faire en peu de temps des progrès considérables. Si nous n'avons pas atteint le niveau du progrès du monde civilisé, il faut en voir la cause dans l'instabilité des institutions nécessaires à l'Etat et des lois et règlements qui en découlent, instabilité qui provenait de ce que tout était l'œuvre d'un Gouvernement absolu qui méconnaissait le principe salutaire de la délibération en commun.

Les progrès obtenus par les Etats civilisés, la sécurité et la richesse dont ils jouissent, sont le fruit de la participation de tous à l'établissement des lois, et à l'administration des affaires publiques. J'ai cru nécessaire de rechercher pour nous aussi dans cette voie les moyens d'arriver au progrès en donnant pour base à notre système de législation le suffrage général du pays, et c'est dans ce but que j'ai promulgué la Constitution.

Par la création de ces nouvelles institutions, mon intention n'a pas été tant d'inviter les populations à assister à la gestion des affaires générales, qu'à faire servir ces institutions d'instrument puissant pour la réforme de l'administration, et pour l'extirpation des abus et des pratiques arbitraires.

Indépendamment des avantages qui lui sont inhérents, la Constitution est destinée à jeter les bases de la fraternité et de l'union parmi mes peuples et à ouvrir ainsi la voie à une prospérité également partagée entre tous.

Mes illustres ancêtres ont remporté de grandes victoires, qui ont réuni sous leur sceptre les populations multiples qui habitent ce vaste Empire.

Il restait pourtant à rallier des peuples si divers par les croyances et les nationalités. sous une loi unique dans le sentiment d'une même existence.

La Divine Providence, dans son inépuisable bonté, a voulu que cette œuvre reçût son accomplissement.

Désormais tous mes sujets, devenus enfants d'une même patrie et vivant sous l'égide tutélaire d'une même loi, seront appelés d'un même nom, de ce nom si hautement porté par mes aïeux depuis 600 ans et qui a laissé tant de souvenirs de gloire et de grandeur dans les fastes de l'histoire. Le nom d'Ottoman, jusqu'à présent personnifiant l'idée de

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force et de puissance, symbolisera dans l'avenir, j'en ai la conviction, le maintien en un seul faisceau des intérêts désormais identiques de tous mes sujets.

C'est en m'inspirant de ces principes et de ces intentions que je me suis tracé la voie dans laquelle je suis résolu à persévérer. Je m'attends maintenant à ce que votre co-opération efficace et intelligente permette de recueillir d'une Constitution, fondée sur la justice, les résultats que l'on est en droit d'espérer.

J'ai cru qu'il était d'une urgence absolue d'assurer la liberté et l'égalité de mes sujets, de mettre un terme au régime de l'arbitraire, de placer la confection et l'application des lois et la gestion des affaires sous le contrôle de la volonté du pays; en un mot de rattacher les règles de notre système administratif au principe constitutionnel et délibératif.

A l'effet de réaliser mes vœux les plus chers à ce sujet, j'ai décidé la réunion d'un

Parlement, composé du Sénat et de la Chambre des Députés.

Il vous incombe à présent de remplir fidèlement et avec droiture les devoirs législatifs confiés à votre patriotisme. Dans cette tâche, vous ne devez vous laisser influencer par aucune considération de personnes, et n'avoir en vue, dans l'exécution fidèle de vos travaux, que le salut et le bien-être de l'Etat et du pays. Les améliorations dont nous avons besoin aujourd'hui et les réformes administratives attendues de toutes parts sont de la plus haute importance. L'application graduelle de ces mesures dépend de l'accord qui régnera entre vous.

Le Conseil d'Etat s'occupe, d'un autre côté, de l'élaboration des projets de loi qui vous seront soumis.

Dans la présente session, vous serez saisis des projets de règlement intérieur de la Chambre, de loi électorale, de la loi générale concernant les vilayets et l'administration des communes, de loi municipale, du code de procédure civile, de lois relatives à la réorganisation des tribunaux, au mode d'avancement et de mise à la retraite des juges, aux attributions et au droit à la retraite de tous les fonctionnaires publics en général, de loi de la presse, de la Cour des Comptes, et enfin de la loi sur le budget.

Je désire vivement que ces diverses lois soient successivement étudiées, discutées et

Vous aurez à vous occuper d'urgence de la réorganisation des tribunaux, unique sauvegarde des droits de chacun, et de la formation du corps de la gendarmerie. Ce double but ne peut être atteint que par l'augmentation du chiffre des allocations spéciales.

Or, ainsi que vous le verrez par le budget soumis à la Chambre, nos finances se trouvent dans un état extrêmement difficile. Je vous recommande de vous appliquer avant tout à adopter en commun des mesures propres à parer aux difficultés de cette situation et à rétablir le crédit de l'Etat, tout en ayant soin de prendre simultanément les mesures propres à assurer les fonds exigés par les réformes urgentes.

Un des plus grands besoins de mon Empire et de mes sujets est le développement de l'agriculture et de l'industrie. Ce résultat, si indispensable au progrès de la civilisation et à l'accroissement de la richesse publique, est étroitement lié au développement des sciences

et de l'instruction publique.

Des projets de loi ayant pour objet l'amélioration des établissements scolaires et la fixation du programme des études vous seront soumis dans votre prochaine session.

En ce qui concerne la bonne application des lois précitées, ainsi que de toutes celles auxquelles il y aura lieu de pourvoir plus tard, on ne saurait attacher une trop grande importance au bon choix des fonctionnaires de l'Etat. Mes Ministres y consacreront tous leurs soins en même temps qu'ils veilleront à la mise en pratique du systême de récompenses et d'encouragements que la Constitution à établi en faveur des employés

Du jour de mon avenement, pénétré de cette vérité, j'ai décidé de fonder à mes frais une école destinée à fournir dans l'avenir le personnel de l'administration générale.

Ainsi qu'il est dit dans le règlement de cette école, les élèves sortant de cet établissement pourront aspirer aux postes les plus élevés de l'administration et de la diplomatie et ils seront recrutés sans distinction de culte parmi toutes les classes de mes sujets et leur avancement sera réglé d'après leurs capacités.

Depuis bientôt deux ans nous avons dû faire face à des complications intérieures. Durant cette période, notamment pendant les hostilités avec la Serbie et le Monténégro, mes fidèles sujets ont tous donné des preuves de patriotisme et mes troupes ont accompli, au prix de grandes souffrances, des actes de courage et de bravoure que j'apprécie

Dans tous ces événements, nous n'avons eu en vue que la défense de nos droits. Les efforts que nous avons faits dans ce but ont eu pour résultat le rétablissement de la paix avec la Serbie. Quant aux dispositions à adopter par suite des négociations engagées avec le Monténégro, elles seront soumises à votre examen dès votre première réunion et je ne saurais trop vous recommander de hâter vos délibérations à ce sujet.

Mes relations avec les Puissances Etrangères sont toujours empreintes de cette amitié et de cette déférence qui constituent pour mon Empire une tradition des plus précieuses.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ayant proposé, il y a quelques mois, de réunir une Conférence dans ma capitale, et les autres Puissances ayant appuyé les bases proposées, ma Sublime Porte a adhéré à cette Conférence. Si cette réunion n'a pas abouti à une entente définitive, nous n'en avons pas moins montré que nous étions prêts à devancer dans l'application les vœux et les conseils des Puissances qui pouvaient se concilier avec les Traités, les règles du droit international, et les nécessités impérieuses de notre situation et de nos droits.

Les causes de ce défaut d'entente se trouvent bien plus dans la forme et dans les

procédés d'application que dans le fond même de la question.

J'apprécie hautement la nécessité impérieuse de porter à un plus haut degré de perfection les progrès déjà si considérables réalisés, depuis l'origine du Tanzimat jusqu'à ce jour, dans toutes les branches de l'administration et dans la situation générale de mon Empire. Tous mes efforts seront consacrés à cette œuvre. Toutefois, je considère aussi comme un de mes plus grands devoirs celui de veiller à ce qu'il ne soit porté aucune atteint à la dignité et à l'indépendance de mon Empire. Le temps se chargera de prouver à tous la loyauté et la pureté de mes intentions.

Mon but étant de persévérer dans la voie du maintien et de la défense de nos droits et de notre indépendance, en aucun cas je ne m'en écarterai dans mes actes ultérieurs.

Avant comme après la Conférence, mon Gouvernement a constamment donné des preuves de sa sincérité et de sa modération qui, j'aime à l'espérer, contribureont à resserrer davantage les liens d'amitié et de sympathie qui nous unissent à la grande famille Européenne.

Que le Tout-Puissant daigne accorder le succes à nos communs efforts!

(Translation.)

Senators and Deputies, Gentlemen,

IT is with the most lively satisfaction that I open the Parliament of my Empire, which meets this day for the first time.

You all know that the development of the greatness and the strength of States,

as well as of peoples, is dependent upon justice.

My Imperial Government has, from the first, drawn its strength and its influence in the world from the respect which it has shown for justice in the administration of the State, as well as for the rights and interests of all classes of its subjects.

One of my ancestors, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, of glorious memory, granted

immunities insuring individual liberty, and that of conscience and of worship.

Following in his footsteps, my august predecessors also have never permitted liberty of conscience and of worship to be attacked.

It is incontestable that it is by a natural consequence of this very principle of lofty justice that our various populations have for six centuries been enabled to preserve their national character, their language, and their religion.

It is thanks to the respect which then surrounded justice and the application of the laws, that the wealth and the welfare of the State and of the nation had so remarkably developed, but, in the course of events, the provisions of the Chérif and those of the established laws being no longer observed, the march of progress became slower, and the original strength turned to weakness.

But my grandfather, Sultan Mahmoud, of happy memory, having restored order,—the absence of which was the actual cause of that gradual diminution of strength from which the State had so long been suffering,—and appeared the crisis provoked by the revolt of the Janissaries, delivered the State and the nation from the fetters which checked their development, and was the first to open a path for the introduction into

our country of the civilization of modern Europe.

My illustrious father, the late Sultan Abdul-Medjid, following this noble example, has promulgated the Tanzimat which guarantees the life, the possessions, and the honour of our subjects. Since that time the commercial and agricultural resources of our Empire have developed, the State revenues have in a short time increased considerably; laws and regulations have been elaborated in order to favour the necesssary improvements, and, finally, instructions in arts and sciences has received a notable extension.

These early attempts towards reform and the internal safety of the State permitted the anticipation of a future of progress and prosperity for the Empire; but the

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Crimean War unfortunately broke out and arrested the efforts which strove to ameliorate the position of the Empire and of its inhabitants.

Up to that time our Imperial Treasury had contracted no foreign debt; but in view of the impossibility of facing the urgent expenses of war with the means possessed by our own revenues, recourse was necessarily had to pecuniary aid from Hence it arose that the path was opened to loans. It is true that the Great Allied Powers, recognizing the justice of our cause, granted us complete and efficacious assistance, which will be held as a distinguished page in the annals of history, and thanks to which a Treaty of Peace was concluded, which places the integrity and the independence of our Empire under the guarantee of the European Powers.

It might at that time have been thought that this peace would ensure for us in the future both the time and the means necessary for re-establishing our internal affairs,

and for causing the country actually to enter the path of progress.

Unfortunately, the events which followed have produced a result entirely opposed to that which might have been expected; intrigues and mischievous agitations, creating internal and successive embarrassments, have not only prevented us from devoting ourselves to the reorganization and reform of the State, but have even compelled us each succeeding year to mobilize extraordinary corps-d'armée, and to keep a considerable portion of the able-bodied population of the country under arms. The development of our commerce and of our agriculture has been hampered. However, in spite of so many difficulties and obstacles, our progress, moral and material, has not been entirely checked. The steady augmentation of the State revenues for the last twenty years is a proof of the continuous improvement in the state of the country and the welfare of its population.

Notwithstanding that our actual embarrassments had their origin in the circumstance's which have just been enumerated, it would nevertheless have been possible to mitigate their effect very sensibly, and to maintain the credit of the State, if strictly loyal principles in administering finance had been adhered to. But the measures which were taken at that epoch, with the apparent view to improve the financial position, could not but increase the gravity of the situation from the moment when, regardless of the future, nothing was considered but how to procure expedients for the

moment.

The continued pressure of these difficulties, added to the necessity under which we lay to provide ourselves with a novel war material and an ironclad fleet, which had become the chief elements in the military power of States, and, besides, the neglect of those rules of economy which should govern the budget of receipts and expenses, have gradually introduced disorder into our finances, have increased our debt, and, finally, have brought us to that extremity in which at this moment we find ourselves.

In the meanwhile, and under the influence of intrigues and of subversive plots, events took place in the Herzegovina which before long assumed still greater pro-

portions.

The hostilities with Servia and Montenegro suddenly broke out, and serious complications followed thereupon in the political world. It was at the moment that this crisis reached its highest degree of intensity that, by the will of the Most High, I was

called to occupy the throne of my august ancestors.

The difficulties and the dangers which our general situation presents cannot be compared with any one of the crises through which my Empire has passed up to the present moment. From the very first I have been compelled, in order to protect the rights of the Empire, to increase the effective force of my armies on various points, and to summon 700,000 fighting men under arms. In the next place, I have considered it to be my duty to seek, by means of fundamental reforms, to put an end, by the help of God, to the disordered condition of affairs, and thus to secure our future in a lasting manner.

It is evident that, thanks to the resources which Providence has bestowed upon our country, and the natural aptness of my subjects, a good administration would have allowed us within a short space of time to make considerable progress. If we have not attained the level of progress which has been reached by the civilized world, the reason will be found in the instability of the institutions necessary to the State, and of the laws and regulations which spring therefrom,—an instability which had its origin in that the whole work was one of an absolute Government, which did not recognize the salutary principle of a common deliberation.

The progress which civilized States have made, the security and the wealth which they enjoy, are the fruits of a general participation in the establishment of laws and in the administration of public affairs. I have considered it necessary to seek for

ourselves also by this same path the means of attaining a like advancement, by establishing universal suffrage as a basis to our legislative system, and it is with this object that I have promulgated the Constitution.

In creating these new institutions, it has not been so much my intention to invite the people to aid in the management of general affairs, as to make these institutions useful as a powerful instrument for reforming the Administration, and for rooting out abuses and arbitrary practices.

Independently of its inherent advantages, the Constitution is destined to lay the foundation of fraternity and union among my people, and thus to open out a road for a prosperity to be equally shared among all.

My illustrious ancestors have gained great victories, which have united under

their sceptre the numerous populations which inhabit this vast Empire.

It, however, remained to bring together a number of peoples, differing so greatly in their beliefs and in their nationalities, under one law by the consciousness of a common existence.

Divine Providence, in its inexhaustible goodness, has willed that this task should

be accomplished.

Henceforth, all my subjects having become children of the same fatherland, and living under the protecting ægis of a common law, will be called by one and the same name,—by that name so proudly borne by my ancestors for 600 years, and which has left so many records of glory and greatness in the annals of history. The name of Ottoman, hitherto the personification of the idea of strength and power, will, I feel convinced, for the future be the symbol of the maintenance in one common union of the henceforward identical interests of all my subjects.

Actuated by such principles and intentions as these, I have marked out for myself the course in which I am determined to persevere. I await now from your efficient and intelligent co-operation the means to gather from a Constitution, founded

upon justice, the results which one has a right to hope therefrom.

I have considered it to be a matter of the greatest urgency to secure the liberty and equality of my subjects, to put an end to arbitrary rule, to place the making and the execution of the laws and the management of affairs under the control of the will of the country; in short, to unite the rules of our present administrative system to the constitutional and deliberative principle.

With a view to realize my dearest wishes to this end, I have determined to

assemble a Parliament, composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies.

It is now incumbent upon you faithfully and uprightly to fulfil the legislative duties confided to your patriotism. In carrying out this task you must not allow yourselves to be influenced by any respect of persons, and, in the faithful execution of your labours, your sole object must be the safety and welfare of the State and the country. The improvements of which at the present moment we stand in need, and the administrative reforms expected on every side are matters of the highest importance. The gradual application of these measures depends upon the harmony subsisting among you.

The Council of State, on the other hand, is engaged upon the elaboration of

projects of law, which will be submitted to you.

During the present session, you will be occupied with projects for the internal government of the Chamber, with the electoral law, with the general laws respecting the vilayets and the administration of the communes, with the municipal law, with the Code of Civil Procedure, with the laws relating to the re-organization of the Tribunals, with the method of promoting and retiring the Judges, with the functions and the rules for pensioning all public functionaries in general, with that of the press, of the Audit Office, and, lastly, with the Budget law.

I carnestly desire that these different laws may be in their turn studied, discussed,

and considered.

It will be your duty to occupy yourselves urgently with the reorganization of the Tribunals, the only safeguards of personal rights, and with the formation of the corps of gendarmes. This twofold object can only be obtained by adding to the number of special assignments.

Now, as you will see by the budget submitted to the Chamber, our finances are in a very embarrassing condition. I recommend you to apply yourselves, in the first instance, to the adoption of measures fitting to cope with the difficulties of this situation, and to re-establish the State credit, taking care at the same time to take such measures as to insure the money needed for urgent reforms.

One of the greatest wants of my Empire and of my subjects is the development

of agriculture and industry. This result, which is so indispensable to the progress of civilization, and to the increase of public wealth, is intimately connected with the development of science and of public instruction.

Projects of law for the improvement of schools and the settling of the programme

of studies will be submitted to you during the Session.

With respect to the proper application of the above laws, as well as of all those with which it will be necessary to deal later, you cannot attach too great importance to the good choice of the State officials. My Ministers will devote to it all their care, at the same time that they will guard over the application of the system of recompenses and encouragements which the Constitution has established to reward of honest officials.

From the day of my accession, convinced of this truth, I have decided to found, at my expense, a school destined to furnish the future staff of the general Administration

As is laid down in the regulations of this school, the pupils from it may aspire to the highest posts in the Administration and in diplomacy, and they will be recruited without distinction of religion from among all classes of my subjects, and their promo-

tion will be regulated after their ability.

For nearly two years we have had to contend against internal complications. During this period, specially during hostilities with Servia and Montenegro, my faithful subjects have all given proofs of patriotism, and my troops have accomplished, at the cost of great sufferings, acts of courage and bravery which I highly appreciate.

In all these circumstances we have only had in view the defence of our rights. The efforts we have made with this object resulted in the re-establishment of peace with Servia. With respect to the dispositions to be adopted as the result of the negotiations in progress with Montenegro, they will be submitted to your examination at your first meeting, and I cannot too earnestly recommend you to hasten your deliberations on this head.

My relations with foreign Powers are still characterized by that friendship and

deference which forms one of the most precious traditions of my Empire.

When Her Majesty's Government proposed some months ago, the meeting of a Conference in my capital, and the other Powers supported its proposed bases, my Sublime Porte joined it. If this meeting did not arrive at a definite understanding, we did not the less show that we were ready to anticipate the wishes and advice of the Powers as far they could be reconciled with Treaties, with the rules of international law, and the imperative necessities of our situation and of our rights.

The causes of this want of agreement are to be found much more in the form and

in the methods of application than in the substance itself of the question.

I thoroughly appreciate the imperative necessity of perfecting still more the progress already so highly realized, from the origin of the Tanzimat till this time, in all branches of the administration and in the general condition of my Empire. All my efforts will be devoted to this work. Moreover, I consider also the duty of guarding against any attack on the dignity and independence of my Empire as one of the highest that I have to perform. Time will prove to all the loyalty and purity of my intention.

Since my object is to persevere in the course of maintaining and defending our rights and independence, I shall not, under any circumstances, deviate therefrom in

my future conduct.

Before, as well as since, the Conference, my Government has constantly given proof of its sincerity and its moderation, which I have pleasure in thinking will help to knit still closer the ties of friendship and of sympathy which unite us to the great European family.

May the Almighty deign to grant success to our common efforts.

No. 420.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 29, 2.55 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Serajevo, March 29, 1877, 1.30 P.M.

NO arms have been distributed to the Turkish population since last year.

No. 421.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

WITH reference to the despatch addressed to you by Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, dated the 10th instant, I have to instruct you to call the attention of the Porte to the statements made by Mr. Blunt respecting brigandage in the Greek provinces Turkey.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 422.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, March 29, 1877.

I HAVE to instruct you to call the attention of the Porte to the present state of affairs in Crete, as reported by Mr. Consul Sandwith in his despatch to me of the 12th instant, a copy of which you will already have received from him.

l am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 423.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Holmes.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch of the 7th instant, commenting on the statement made by the Rev. Mr. McColl in a letter to the "Times," as to the impalement of a man named Rado Buyich near Novi, which was referred to in Mr. Freeman's despatch of the 17th of March of last year; and I have to instruct you to make further inquiry into this case, and to endeavour to ascertain whether the alleged impalement took place.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 424.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 29, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March 29, 1877. VICE-CONSUL at Adrianople reports that all the miscreants concerned in Bektidjis affair have been secured for trial, except one, who escaped. Ringleader confessed, but became insane, and is now confined at Constantinople.

I have directed Vice-Consul to proceed to other villages mentioned in "Times"

letter, and to report.

No. 425.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby .- (Received March 31.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th ultimo I have the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that Raef Effendi arrived on the 9th instant and entered upon the execution of his duties as Mutasserif of Beyrout, where he was most cordially welcomed by all classes of the population.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 426.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

(Extract.) Cettigné, March 19, 1877.

I HAD the honour to receive this day Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of yesterday, conveying to me your Lordship's wishes that I should co-operate with my Austrian and Russian colleagues in advising the Prince of Montenegro to be moderate in his demands respecting the frontier.

Colonel Thömmel has not yet received any new instructions from Count Andrassy.

Your Lordship may rest assured that I shall not fail to act in the sense of the orders above referred to, and that I am fully impressed with their importance, and alive to the anxiety of Her Majesty's Government for the conclusion of peace. My object in my frequent discussions with Prince Nicholas has hitherto been to avoid any appearance of pressure, and to confine myself to encouraging His Highness's own pacific dispositions whenever I have the chance. The Prince's good sense will do, and has already done, much to moderate his original pretensions, and I hope that he may be led, by the same inspiration, still further in a pacific direction, without the necessity of much extraneous propulsion.

A moment will probably come when it will be necessary for Austria and England to exert all their influence in favour of an extensive capitulation; and, with your Lordship's sanction, I propose, as does my Austrian colleague, to defer the employment of extreme and joint pressure until then.

No. 427.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 21, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a telegram from M. Petrovich, dated yesterday evening, informing Prince Nicholas that, as the armistice was to expire last night, the Porte has ordered its military commanders to undertake no operations, and to remain on the defensive.

I also inclose copy of His Highness' reply, sent this morning, instructing M. Petrovich to let Safvet Pasha know that the Montenegrin troops had received similar orders.

I telegraphed this information to your Lordship this day at noon.

I may add, on excellent independent military authority, that the Turkish troops would, under present circumstances, require from two to three months' preparation before they could resume the offensive.

I have &c.
(Signéd) EDMUND MONSON

Inclosure 1 in No. 427.

M. Petrovich to the Prince of Montenegro.

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le \(\frac{8}{20}\) Mars, 1877, 6·10 P.M.

ARMISTICE expirant cette nuit, Safvet nous prie porter à votre connaissance que
Porte ordonne aux Commandants militaires n'entreprendre aucune opération et se tenir sur défensive.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

ARMISTICE expiring to-night Safvet begs us to bring to your notice that the Porte has ordered its military Commanders to undertake no operations, and to remain on the defensive.

Inclosure 2 in No. 427.

The Prince of Montenegro to M. Petrovich.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, le $\frac{9}{21}$ Mars, 1877, 11 A.M.

EN réponse à votre dépêche d'hier je vous charge de dire à Safvet Pacha que mes troupes, ont ordre strict de rester sur la défensive. Vous devez posséder maintenant clairement le sens complet de la grande dépêche de Vendredi répétée par quatre voies différentes, et je vous en confirme le contenu.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March $\frac{9}{21}$, 1877, 11 A.M.

IN answer to your telegram of yesterday, I authorize you to inform Safvet Pasha that my troops have strict orders to remain on the defensive. You must now comprehend clearly the complete sense of the great telegram of Friday repeated by four different channels, and I confirm its contents.

No. 428.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 22, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, respecting the expiration of the armistice between Turkey and Montenegro, I have the honour to inclose copies of telegrams which have passed between Prince Nicholas, the Grand Vizier, and the Montenegrin Envoys at Constantinople, by the terms of which the armistice is prolonged until the 1st April exclusively.

The Prince was not very eager to agree to so lengthened a prolongation, which he

fears will have the effect of encouraging the Porte's resistance to his demands.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 428.

The Grand Vizier to the Prince of Montenegro.

Constantinople, le $\frac{9}{21}$ Mars, 1877, 6·30 P.M.

LES négociations entamées avec les Délégués de votre Altesse n'ayant pas encore abouti, le Gouvernement Impérial a cru devoir prolonger jusqu'au $\frac{1}{13}$ Avril, 1877, exclusivement, l'armistice dont le terme a expiré aujourd'hui. Des ordres en conséquence ayant été donnés aux commandants militaires Ottomans, je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien transmettre de son côté à qui de droit des ordres dans le même sens et m'en donner avis.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, March $\frac{9}{21}$, 1877, 6.30 P.M.

THE negotiations commenced with the Delegates of your Highness not having as yet come to any conclusion, the Imperial Government has thought it right to prolong to the $\frac{1}{13}$ April, 1877, exclusively, the armistice whose term expired to-day. Orders to this effect have been given to the Turkish military Commanders, and I beg your Highness to be good enough on your part to send orders to the proper quarter in the same sense and to inform me when you have done so.

Inclosure 2 in No. 428

The Prince of Montenegro to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.)

PAR dépêche du 20 courant j'avais chargé mes Délégués de dire à son Altesse Safvet

Pacha que mes troupes avaient des ordres stricts correspondants à ceux donnés par la

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Porte aux siennes. Je les charge maintenant de ma réponse à la proposition contenue dans la dépêche de votre Altesse du 21.

(Translation.)

Cettigné, March $\frac{10}{22}$, 1877, 11 A.M. (Telegraphic.)

BY a telegram dated the 20th instant, I had instructed my Delegates to state to his Highness Safvet Pasha that my troops had received strict orders corresponding to those issued by the Porte to those of Turkey. They are now charged with my reply to the proposal contained in your Highness' telegram of the 21st.

Inclosure 3 in No. 428.

The Prince of Montenegro to M. Petrovich.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, le $\frac{10}{22}$ Mars, 1877, 11 A.M. JE vous charge de déclarer à son Altesse le Grand Vizier que j'adhère à sa proposition, de prolonger l'armistice jusqu'au $\frac{1}{13}$ Avril exclusivement, afin de donner aux négociations entamées le temps d'aboutir dans un sens ou dans l'autre. Veuillez dire à son Altesse que mes ordres sont donnés en conséquence.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic). Cettigné, March $\frac{10}{22}$, 1877, 11 A.M. I HAVE to request you to state to his Highness the Grand Vizier that I accept his proposal to prolong the armistice until the $\frac{1}{18}$ April exclusively, in order to give time for the negotiations already commenced being brought to a definite conclusion in one sense or another. Be good enough to inform his Highness that my orders have been issued accordingly.

No 429.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

My Lord, Cettigné, March 23, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, respecting the transport of stores for Nichsich and Montenegro, I have the honour to inclose copies of further correspondence, showing the steps taken by Mr. Consul Green and by me to carry out the

arrangements proposed by the Porte, and agreed to by the Prince of Montenegro. Your Lordship will see that Mr. Green's energetic and judicious conduct has mainly

contributed to the success, thus far, of a very troublesome negotiation.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 429.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 19, 1877. DERVISH PASHA is very anxious to know the exact number of horses that he may expect from the Prince, so that he may make his arrangements at once.

He has asked me to telegraph the above and solicit an early reply. Part of the

maize from Oboti has already reached this.

Inclosure 2 in No. 429.

Danish Effendi to Mr. Monson.

(Télégraphique.) VEUILLEZ, je vous prie, assurer à M. Duby que j'ignorais la nouvelle entente Ragusa, March 19, 1877. intervenue pour le ravitaillement de Nichsich. Comme vous avez méné cette négociation je vous serais reconnaissant de me faire connaître les dispositions que vous avez prises pour les vivres entreposés à Risano, qui nous ont occasionné de grands frais pour transport, emmagasinage. manutention, débarquement et autres. Il serait à désirer qu'on les fît aussi passer à Nichsich en considération surtout des prolongations successives de l'armistice.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Ragusa, March 19, 1877. PRAY be good enough to assure M. Duby that I was ignorant of the new understanding arrived at for the revictualling of Nichsich. Since you have conducted this negotiation I should feel obliged by your informing me of the arrangements which you have made as to the provisions deposited at Risano, which have caused us great expenses for transport, storage, preservation, landing, &c. It would be desirable that they should be introduced into Nichsich, especially in view of the successive prolongations of the armistice.

Inclosure 3 in No. 429.

M. Duby to Mr. Monson

Cher Monsieur,

Cettigné, le 19 Mars, 1877.

SON ALTESSE me charge de vous prier de télégraphier à Mr. Green que M. Stefan Radonich part à l'instant pour Riéka afin de s'y embarquer pour Scutari à bord du vapeur Turc. Le Prince lui donne l'instruction de s'entendre avec Dervish Pacha pour la marche aussi prompte et facile que possible des convois de vivres à destination de Nichsich, par le territoire Monténégrin. Le Prince ne peut mettre plus de 200 chevaux aux service des Turcs pour ces convois, parcequ'il n'en a pas davantage à sa disposition. Les Turcs du reste avaient proposé de faire tout le transport à leur frais.

Son Altesse vous sera obligé si vous voulez bien charger Mr. Green d'exprimer de sa part à son Excellence Dervish Pacha la satisfaction qu'elle a éprouvée de cet échange de

bons procédés et de la manière franche dont ces pourparlers ont été conduits.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé)

R. DUBY, Secrétaire de Son Altesse.

P.S.—En réponse à votre lettre de tout à l'heure je vous prie de vouloir bien assurer à Danish Effendi qu'on ne doute nullement qu'il fût, en me télégraphiant hier, dans

l'ignorance du changement de projet de son Gouvernement.

Quant à l'objet principal de sa dépêche il semble à Son Altesse que les vivres amenés à Risano par le Gouvernement Ottoman, et qu'il renonce à faire transporter à Nichsich parcequ'ils sont de trop mauvaise qualité, ne nous concernent nullement. Nous regretterions fort pour Danish Effendi qu'il en résultât pour lui un surcroît d'ennuis; mais après tout c'est une affaire entre les autorités Ottomanes et leurs fournisseurs, qui leur ont livré des marchandises impossibles à utiliser.

(Translation.)

R. D.

Dear Sir,

Cettigné, March 19, 1877.

HIS Highness directs me to beg you to telegraph to Mr. Green that Mr. Stephen Radonich is just starting for Riéka, in order to embark there for Scutari on board the The Prince has instructed him to come to an understanding with Turkish steamer. Dervish Pasha for the transport of the convoys of provisions to Nichsich with the greatest possible promptitude and facility by Montenegrin territory. The Prince cannot put more than 200 horses at the disposal of the Turks for these convoys, because he has no more at his disposal. Besides, the Turks have proposed to manage the whole transport at their own expense.

His Highness will be obliged to you if you will be good enough to instruct Mr. Green to express on his part to his Excellency Dervish Pasha the satisfaction which he has experienced from this exchange of benefits, and from the frank manner in which

the negotiations have been conducted.

Be good enough, &c.

R. DUBY, His Highness' Secretary. (Signed)

P.S.—In reply to your recent letter, I beg you to be good enough to assure Denish Effendi that it is not questioned that, when he telegraphed to me yesterday, he was ignorant of the change of intentions on the part of his Government.

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As to the principal object of his telegram, it seems to his Highness that the provisions brought to Risano by the Ottoman Government, which he declines to transport to Nichsich because their quality is too bad, do not in any way concern us. We should much regret that this should give excessive trouble to Denish Effendi; but after all it is a question between the Ottoman authorities and their contractors, who have delivered to them articles which it is impossible to utilize.

R. D.

Inclosure 4 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

Cettigné, March 19, 1877, 7 P.M. (Telegraphic.) PRINCE NICHOLAS requests me to state that M. Stefan Radonich has started for

Riéka to embark on board the Turkish steamer for Scutari. The Prince instructs him to concert with Dervish Pasha for the quickest and easiest transport of the stores for Nichsich over Montenegrin territory. The Prince cannot lend more than 200 horses, having no more at his disposal, and besides the Ottoman Government proposed to perform the transport service itself.

The Prince begs that you will express on his behalf to Dervish Pasha his satisfaction at this interchange of good offices, and at the frankness with which the pourparlers have

been conducted.

Inclosure 5 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Danish Effendi.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, le 19 Mars, 1877, 7 heures soir.

M. DUBY me prie de vous assurer que l'on a bien compris que lors de votre

télégramme d'hier vous ignorez le changement de projet de votre Gouvernement.

Quant à l'objet principal de votre dépêche il semble au Prince Nicholas que les vivres amenés à Risano par le Gouvernement Ottoman, et que ce Gouvernement renonce à faire transporter à Nichsich parcequ'ils sont de trop mauvaise qualité, ne concernent nullement son Altesse. On regretterait beaucoup pour vous qu'il en résultât un surcroit d'ennuis, mais après tout c'est une affaire entre les autorités Ottomanes et leurs fournisseurs, qui leur ont livré des marchandises impossibles à utiliser.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 19, 1877, 7 P.M. M. DUBY begs me to assure you that it was well understood that when you sent your telegram of yesterday you were ignorant of the change of intentions on the part of your Government.

As to the principal object of your telegram, it seems to Prince Nicholas that the provisions brought to Risano by the Ottoman Government, which that Government declines to have transported to Nichsich because their quality is too bad, do not in any way concern his Highness. It would be much regretted that this should cause you excessive trouble, but after all it is a question between the Ottoman authorities and their contractors, who have delivered to them articles which it is impossible to utilize.

Inclosure 6 in No. 429.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 20, 1877. DERVISH PASHA begs me to telegraph that all the grain-vessels have already

arrived at Medua, that half of them have already transhipped their cargoes, and the other

half will have finished in four or five days.

Three hundred horses are waiting at Spuz to pass to Nichsich, and orders are requested for Montenegrin authorities at Danilograd to immediately put themselves in communication with those at Spuz.

I strongly recommend an effort being made to fall in with Dervish Pasha's request that the loan of horses should be somewhat increased.

Inclosure 7 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 20, 1877, 4 P.M.
PRINCE NICHOLAS has telegraphed immediate orders to Natchaluik at Danilograd,
to send word to Spuz that the passage stands open over Montenegro for the Turkish

convoys.

Please state on my behalf to Dervish Pasha that I am sorry that it has not been clearly explained to him from Constantinople that the loan of horses is a purely voluntary act of courtesy on the part of the Prince; and that as His Highness assures mehe has no more at his disposal, it is impossible for me to press this subject any more.

Inclosure 8 in No. 429.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 21, 1877, 10.5 P.M.

M. RADONICH and I succeeded last night in making Dervish Pasha understand that the Azarian arrangements have been suspended. All ought now to go smoothly.

Hope you will receive in due course three letters, dated 18th, 20th, and 21st instant, sent vià Riéka.

Inclosure 9 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.)

YESTERDAY'S telegram received, and also letter of 18th. Have answered by post.

Am glad that your energetic representations have been successful, and that the principles of the new arrangement are now thoroughly understood.

Inclosure 10 in No. 429

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

Extract.)

DERVISH PASHA is most anxious to increase the amount of provisions to be sent to Nichsich by 100,000 okes, and he has asked me to see whether you could obtain this favour from Montenegro. He says that the Turkish Government has showed itself very liberal to the Principality, and when the delay in the arrival of the maize took place it purchased here 100,000 okes, of which 15,000 were sent yesterday. Dervish Pasha would be prepared, if the increase for Nichsich is granted, to hold ready here 100,000 okes of maize to be forwarded to Riéka on your demand though me, should any delay owing to the weather stop the transit of the Montenegrin grain. This stoppage may easily occur if the

weather continues in its present humour.

Inclosure 11 in No. 429.

Danish Effendi to Mr. Monson.

(Télégraphique.)

Ragusa, March 22, 1877, 1.20 P.M.

SON Excellence Suleiman Pacha me télégraphie que les vivres entreposés à Risano étant d'excellente qualité il n'a jamais été question de les mettre de côté. Que l'approvisionnement de Nichsich se fait actuellement par l'Albanie sur la demande que vous avez bien voulu formuler au nom du Prince en invoquant le cas de force majeure. Cela étant notre situation pour les approvisionnements de Risano reste le même, et il serait convenable

que l'on s'entendit une fois pour toutes pour leur acheminement. Je vous serais très reconnaissant d'insister là dessus et de provoquer les ordres nécessaires pour que l'or emporte à Nichsich pour commencer sept charges d'objets pharmaceutiques que l'on me réclame urgement. J'attends impatiemment votre réponse. Les patrons des voiliers qu' ont transporté de Raguse les farines déclarent que des Monténégrins leur avaient hautement déclaré que les vivres étaient entreposés en pure perte à Risano, ou que l'entente intervenue ne recevrait pas son exécution. Je ne veux pas un instant m'arrêter à ces rapports, connaissant combien Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas est soucieux de son autorité et combien sa parole est sacrée. Aussi je me complais à l'idée que les démarches que vous voudrez bien faire aboutiront certainement.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Ragusa, March 22, 1877, 1.20 P.M. HIS Excellency Suleiman Pasha telegraphs to me that the provisions deposited at Risano being of excellent quality there has never been a question of abandoning them. That Nichsich is at present being provisioned through Albania in accordance with the request which he had been good enough to make in the name of the Prince invoking the force of circumstances. This being the case, our situation as regards provisioning from Risano remains the same, and it would be advisable that an understanding should be come to once for all as regards their transport. I should be much obliged to you if you will insist on this, and ask for the necessary orders for the conveyance to Nichsich as a beginning of seven loads of medicinal articles for which I am being urgently pressed. I await impatiently your reply. The captains of the sailing-vessels which brought the grain from Ragusa declared that the Montenegrins had strongly declared to them that the deposit of provisions at Risano was a pure loss, as the agreement made would never be carried out. I do not wish for an instant to dwell on these reports, knowing how careful of his authority Prince Nicholas is, and how sacred his word is. I also like to think that the steps which you will take will certainly succeed.

Inclosure 12 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 22, 1877, 9 P.M. I REGRET that extra supplies requested in your letter of the 21st cannot be accorded, it being considered here that the amount originally fixed is ample.

Danish Effendi telegraphs requesting that the stores already at Risano may be transported to Nichsich. Prince Nicholas considers that this is purely a question for the Turkish authorities, who have now undertaken the transport themselves. He only declares

that the original amount agreed upon with Azarian must not be exceeded.

All your letters received.

Inclosure 13 in No. 429.

Mr. Monson to Danish Effendi.

(Télégraphique.) Cettigné, March 22, 1877, 9 P.M. PRINCE NICOLAS croît que c'est purement l'affaire des autorités Ottomanes décider par quelles voies vivres seront transportés à Nichsich, la Porte ayant rénoncé au transport Monténégrin et entrepris faire transporter à ses propres frais. Son Altesse ne saurait pourtant consentir à une augmentation de la quantité stipulée avec Azarian, de sorte que si vous expédiez vivres de Risano il faudra diminuer du côté de Scutari. aux objets pharmaceutiques le Prince consent à leur expédition immédiate.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 22, 1877, 9 P.M. PRINCE NICHOLAS considers that it is purely a question for the Ottoman authorities to decide by what channels of communication supplies are to be transported to Nichsich, the Porte having declined Montenegrin transport and having undertaken the transport at its own expense. His Highness, however, cannot consent to an increase of the quantity stipulated with Azarian, accordingly if you expedite supplies from Risano

you will have to make a decrease on the side of Scutari. As to the pharmaceutical supplies the Prince consents to their immediate dispatch.

No. 430.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

Belgrade, March 21, 1877. My Lord, PERTEW EFFENDI called upon me to-day, and informed me that he had yesterday presented the Sultan's Firman to Prince Milan, in the presence of all the Ministers. The

Prince, he said, appeared satisfied with the wording of the Firman, and made a reply to

that effect.

The question of saluting the Turkish flag on the occasion created some difficulties, as Pertew Effendi had received instructions to see that ceremony carried out; but on its being pointed out to him that the custom had fallen into disuse, and a revival of it would cause a good deal of ill-feeling among the Servian population, he telegraphed to Constantinople, and the ceremony was not exacted.

The question of the island on the Drina, to which the Servians lay claim, he says will

be settled by a Commission.

I have, &c. C. ST. JOHN. (Signed)

No. 431.

Sir A. Bachanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

Vienna, March 29, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE been informed that the number of refugees from Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Austrian territory amount to 110,918. Of these 31,634 are in Dalmatia, 25,810 in Croatia, and 53,474 on the military frontier.

I am told also that inquiries have been made on this subject by the Porte, with a view to the measures which it proposes to take for facilitating the return of the refugees

to their homes.

I have, &c. ANDREW BUCHANAN. (Signed)

No. 432.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

Vienna, March 29, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to Mr. Monson's despatch of the 23rd instant, reporting the measures which he has taken, in concert with Mr. Consul Green, for promoting an arrangement between the Montenegrin and Turkish authorities for provisioning Nichsich and providing food for the refugees on Montenegrin territory, I think it right to inform your Lordship that Mr. Monson has called my attention to the indefatigable exertions by which Mr. Consul Green succeeded in preventing dangerous disputes between the two parties to the arrangement.

I have, &c. ANDREW BUCHANAN. (Signed)

No. 433.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

Vienna, March 29, 1877. My Lord, SEVERAL reports having recently appeared in the newspapers of a renewal of insurrectionary movements in Bosnia, I have endeavoured to ascertain whether any reliance can be placed upon them, and I have been told at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs

that, in consequence of the province being almost without troops, marauding parties from the mountains on the frontier may have made inroads into some districts of the interior, but that no political importance can be attached to such incidents, and that, as far as the Government are informed, there is no appearance whatever of an organized attempt at insurrection.

I learn also from the Turkish Ambassador that the Austrian authorities have taken effective measures to prevent the foreign adventurers, who have served as volunteers in the Servian army, and have recently been discharged, from passing into Bosnia, and that means had been taken for obliging them to proceed towards the coast, with a view to their return to their homes.

I have, &c. (Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 434.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

REPLIES received from principal Consulates that arms have not been distributed to Mahomedan population. At Scutari and at Erzeroum Mussulmans are habitually armed; at the former place some Christian mountaineers have received rifles.

The calling out of the last reserves has probably given rise to the report of a general

arming.

No. 435.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

My Lord, Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

I TRANSMIT to you, herewith, copies of the Protocol, signed by me and the Ambassadors of Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia, this day, together with a procès-verbal of the declarations made by me and by the Russian and Italian Ambassadors before signature.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 435.

Protocole.

LES Puissances qui ont entrepris en commun la pacification de l'Orient et ont participé dans cette vue à la Conférence de Constantinople, reconnaissent que le moyen le plus sûr d'atteindre le but qu'elles se sont proposé, est de maintenir avant tout l'entente si heureusement établie entre elles et d'affirmer de nouveau ensemble l'intérêt commun qu'elles prennent à l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie, et aux réformes à introduire en Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie que la Porte a acceptées sauf à les appliquer elle-même.

Elles prennent acte de la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie.

Quant au Monténégro les Puissances considèrent comme désirable, dans l'intérêt de la Boïana.

Les Puissances considèrent les arrangements intervenus ou à intervenir entre la Porte et les deux Principautés comme un pas accompli vers l'apaisement qui est l'objet de leurs communs désirs.

Elles invitent la Porte à le consolider en replaçant ses armées sur le pied de paix, sauf le nombre de troupes indispensable pour le maintien de l'ordre, et en mettant en œuvre, dans le plus court délai possible, les réformes nécessaires pour la tranquillité et le bien-être des provinces, de l'état desquelles la Conférence s'est

* Identic despatches were addressed to Lord Lyons, Lord O. Russell, Sir A. Paget, Sir A. Buchanan, and

préoccupée. Elles reconnaissent que la Porte s'est déclarée prête à en réaliser une partie importante.

Elles prennent acte spécialement de la circulaire de la Porte du 13 Février, 1876, et des déclarations faites par le Gouvernement Ottoman pendant la Conférence

et depuis par l'entremise de ses Représentants.

En présence de ces bonnes dispositions de la Porte et de son intérêt évident à y donner immédiatement suite, les Puissances se croient fondées à espérer que celle-ci profitera de l'apaisement actuel pour appliquer avec énergie les mesures destinées à apporter à la condition des populations Chrétiennes l'amélioration effective unanimement réclamée comme indispensable à la tranquillité de l'Europe, et, qu'une fois entrée dans cette voie, elle comprendra qu'il est de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement et efficacement.

Les Puissances se proposent de veiller avec soin, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Représentants à Constantinople et de leurs Agents locaux, à la façon dont les

promesses du Gouvernement Ottoman seront exécutées.

Si leur espoir se trouvait encore une fois déçu et si la condition des sujets Chrétiens du Sultan n'était pas améliorée de manière à prévenir le retour des complications qui troublent périodiquement le repos de l'Orient, elles croient devoir déclarer qu'un tel état de choses serait incompatible avec leurs intérêts et ceux de l'Europe en général. En pareil cas elles se réservent d'aviser en commun aux moyens qu'elles jugeront les plus propres à assurer le bien-être des populations Chrétiennes et les intérêts de la paix générale.

Fait à Londres, le 31 Mars, 1877.

(Signé)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Protocol.

THE Powers who have undertaken in common the pacification of the East, and have with that view taken part in the Conference of Constantinople, recognize that the surest means of attaining the object, which they have proposed to themselves, is before all to maintain the agreement so happily established between them, and jointly to affirm afresh the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, and in the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted on condition of itself carrying them into execu-

They take cognizance of the conclusion of peace with Servia.

As regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Boïana to be desirable in the interest of a solid and durable arrange-

The Powers consider the arrangements concluded, or to be concluded, between the Porte and the two Principalities, as a step accomplished towards the pacification which is

the object of their common wishes.

They invite the Porte to consolidate it by replacing its armies on a peace footing, excepting the number of troops indispensable for the maintenance of order, and by putting in hand with the least possible delay the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces, the condition of which was discussed at the Conference. They recognize that the Porte has declared itself ready to realize an important portion of them

They take cognizance specially of the Circular of the Porte of the 13th of February, 1876, and of the declarations made by the Ottoman Government during the Conference

and since, through its Representatives.

In view of these good intentions on the part of the Porte, and of its evident interest to carry them immediately into effect, the Powers believe that they have grounds for hoping that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian populations which is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe, and that having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honour as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously. $2 \mathbf{Q}$

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The Powers propose to watch carefully by means of their Representatives at Constantinople and their local Agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government are carried into effect.

If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace.

Done at London, March 31, 1877.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 435.

Procès-Verbal d'une Réunion tenue au Foreign Office, le 31 Mars, 1877.

M. LE COMTE DE MÜNSTER, Ambassadeur de l'Allemagne, M. le Comte de Beust, Ambassadeur de l'Autriche-Hongrie, M. le Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassadeur de la France, M. le Comte de Derby, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, M. le Général Comte de Menabrea, Ambassadeur de l'Italie, et M. le Comte de Schouvaloff, Ambassadeur de la Russie, se sont réunis aujourd'hui au Foreign Office pour signer le Protocole proposé par la Russie, relatif aux affaires de l'Orient.

M. le Comte de Schouvaloff a fait la déclaration suivante en en remettant un pro-

memorid entre les mains du Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique:-

"Si la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix, et à entreprendre sérieusement les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Pétersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

"Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation."

M. le Comte de Derby a lu et remis à chacun des autres Plénipotentiaires une

déclaration, dont copie est annexée au présent procès-verbal.

M. le Général Comte de Menabrea a déclaré que l'Italie n'est engagée par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

Il a été ensuite procédé à la signature du Protocole.

(Signé)

MÜNSTER. BEUST. L. D'HARCOURT. DERBY. L. F. MENABREA. SCHOUVALOFF.

(Translation.)

Minutes of a Meeting held at the Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

COUNT MÜNSTER, Ambassador of Germany, Count Beust, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary, the Marquis d'Harcourt, Ambassador of France, the Earl of Derby, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, General Count de Menabrea, Ambassador of Italy, and Count Schouvaloff, Ambassador of Russia, met together this day at the Foreign Office, for the purpose of signing the Protocol proposed by Russia, relative to the affairs of the East.

Count Schouvaloff made the following declaration, placing, at the same time, a promemoria of it in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State:

"If peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburgh a Special Envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also on his part consent.

"If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization."

The Earl of Derby read and delivered to each of the other Plenipotentiaries a declara-

tion, copy of which is annexed to the present proces-verbal.

General Count de Menabrea declared that Italy is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date, so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

The signature of the Protocol was then proceeded with.

(Signed)

MÜNSTER.
BEUST.
L. D'HARCOURT.
DERBY.
L. F. MENABREA.
SCHOUVALOFF.

Annexe au Procès-Verbal du 31 Mars, 1877.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, makes the following declaration in regard to the Protocol signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and Russia:—

Inasmuch as it is solely in the interests of European peace that Her Britannic Majesty's Government have consented to sign the Protocol proposed by that of Russia, it is understood beforehand that, in the event of the object proposed not being attained—namely, reciprocal disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them—the Protocol in question shall be regarded as null and void.

(Signed) DERBY.

London, March 31, 1877.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur de Russie avant la signature du Protocole.

SI la paix avec le Monténégro est conclue, et que la Porte accepte les conseils de l'Europe, et se montre prête à se remettre sur le pied de paix, et à entreprendre sérieusement les réformes mentionnées dans le Protocole, qu'elle envoie à St. Pétersbourg un Envoyé Spécial pour traiter du désarmement, auquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur consentirait aussi de son côté.

Si des massacres pareils à ceux qui ont ensanglanté la Bulgarie avaient lieu, cela arrêterait nécessairement les mesures de démobilisation.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Ambassador of Russia before the signature of the Protocol.

IF peace with Montenegro is concluded and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburgh a Special Envoy to treat of diarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also, on his part, consent.

If massacres similar to those which have occurred in Bulgaria take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization.

Déclaration faite par l'Ambassadeur d'Italie avant la signature du Protocole.

L'ITALIE n'est engagé par la signature du Protocole de ce jour que pour autant que l'entente heureusement établie entre toutes les Puissances par le Protocole lui-même sera maintenue.

(Translation.)

Declaration made by the Italian Ambassador before the signature of the Protocol.

ITALY is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

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No. 436.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, April 2, 1877. Sir.

I H VE received your telegraphic despatch dated to-day, asking whether you were to communicate the Protocol to the Porte, and informing me that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has received instructions to do so, when a similar permission had been given to his colleagues by their respective Governments.

In reply to your inquiry, I have this day informed you by telegraph that I have already communicated confidentially to Musurus Pasha a copy of the Protocol, and of the declarations made on its signature, with a view to his telegraphing them to the

I added that you should also communicate them to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and point out that the Protocol, as now signed, contains nothing to which the Porte could reasonably object.

> l am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 437.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received March 31.)

(l'elegraphic.) Cettigné, March 31, 1877.

PRINCE has received intelligence this morning of the signature of the Protocol by the Great Powers. His Highness gives me to understand that in consequence he will not yet recall his Delegates from Constantinople, as he was on the point of doing.

No. 438.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, March 31, 1877.

I HAVE to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have thought it necessary that England should be represented during the present state of affairs in the East by some one holding the rank of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

Mr. Layard has accordingly been selected to hold the appointment temporarily, and he will proceed to Constantinople with as little delay as possible, after coming to London in order to receive instructions regarding his duties.

You will inform the Porte of the arrangement thus made, and you will express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the choice of Mr. Layard as Her Majesty's temporary Ambassador at Constantinople will be agreeable to the Sultan.

I take this opportunity of expressing to you my complete satisfaction at your conduct whilst in charge of Her Majesty's Embassy, and I have to convey to you the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government of the manner in which you have carried out their instructions.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 439.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 1.)

My Lord, Salonica, March 20, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I addressed to Mr. Jocelyn on the 14th instant, reporting the arrival here of Constantinidi and Wassa Effendis, Mustechars, Christian Sub-Governors, for the Vilayets of Salonica and Cossova respectively.

I should report that the Mustechar of the Vilayet of Salonica has been appointed by the Porte as Extraordinary Commissioner to inquire into the outrages at Potzarsko, and that he left Salonica early this morning for that village.

> I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 439.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir. Salonica, March 14, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that Constantinidi Effendi, the newly appointed Mustechar, Christian Sub-Governor, of this Vilavet, arrived here yesterday morning, and was received with the honours due to his office and rank.

Immediately after landing he waited on the Governor-General, and later in the day

the principal members of the local administration called on him.

This afternoon he paid a visit to Her Majesty's Consulate, and I availed myself of the opportunity to refer to the Potzarsko outrages, when he told me that he was the bearer of instructions from the Grand Vizier to attend seriously to the case, and that he was determined to do so.

Wassa Effeudi, the Christian Sub-Governor of the new Vilayet of Cossova, also arrived here in the same steamer as Costantinidi Effendi, and will leave this by to-morrow's

train for Pristina, the head-quarters of this vilayet.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 440.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch with one inclosure, which I have this day addressed to Mr. Jocelyn, relative to the alleged enrolment of Bashi-Bazouks in the district of Veria, and to the movements of Greek.

brigands in that district.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 440.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Salonica, March 20, 1877.

HAVING heard on the 16th instant that the Kaïmakam (Sub-Governor) of Veria was enrolling Bashi-Bazouks to send in pursuit of the brigands, I immediately communicated the report to the Mustechar of this vilayet, in a letter, of which I inclose a copy; and I have since received from the Pasha of Salonica the copy of a telegram which reached him on the 17th instant from the Kaïmakam of Veria, in answer to the inquiry his Excellency addressed to him in reference to this subject. I also inclose a translation of this telegram.

We have no recent news of the movements of the Greek brigands. Captain Synge,

my correspondent in the district of Veria, writes to me as follows on the subject:-

"There is no fresh news of the brigands. A patrol of forty men (volunteers from Yenidjé) were quartered in this village (Tricovista) a few days ago. They were very orderly and well-behaved, although they are all away from their work, and I believe receive

no pay whatever.

"Their commander wanted to billet his men in parties of ten per house, but when I said that it was rather hard on the villagers, and there being nothing to authorize such excessive precaution, he scattered them in smaller parties. This party patrols this side of the marsh, and a similar party to the north-western side; but there is no reason to believe that there are any brigands in these parts, but that they are confined to the hills.

"To-day they (the authorities) collected an extra tax from the village of some 900 piastres, for which they gave papers for various sums to be redeemed in future.

"Every one hopes for peace, and I sincerely trust that it may so end."

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 440.

Consul Blunt to Costantinidi Effendi.

Chère Excellence.

JE viens d'apprendre d'une source que je crois bonne, qu'à Veria on est à inscrire de Bashi-Bazouks pour expédier contre les brigands; que ces irréguliers seront placés sous les ordres d'un certain Mustapha Comata; et qu'il y a deux jours, trente Bashi-Bazouks,

Gheghas, Albanais, sont arrivés à Veria de Selfidjé pour être enrollés aussi.

L'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique m'avait télégraphiée, il y a quelques jours, que le Gouvernement Impérial avait transmis des ordres au Pacha de Salonique de ne pas avoir recours aux Bashi-Bazouks dans la poursuite de brigands; ainsi, j'ai peine à croire que le Kaïmakam de Veria a été autorisé d'en faire usage des services de ces irréguliers.

Inutile que j'indique à votre Excellence l'imprudence et tout le mal qui résultera de la conduite du Caimacam, et je m'impresse de vous prier de vouloir en parler au Gouverneur-Général, qui je suis sur invitera le Caïmacam en question de se conformer strictement aux ordres du Gouvernement Impérial.

> Agréez, &c. (Signé) J. E. BLUNT.

(Translation.)

Dear Excellency,

I HAVE just heard, from a source which I consider trustworthy, that at Veria Bashi-Bazouks are being enlisted to be dispatched against the brigands; that these irregulars are to be placed under the orders of a certain Mustapha Comata; and that two days ago thirty Bashi-Bazouks, Gheghas and Albanians, came to Veria from Selfidjé to be enrolled also.

I had had a telegram some days ago from Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy to the effect that the Imperial Government had sent orders to the Pasha of Salonica not to have recourse to Bashi-Bazouks for the pursuit of brigands; so I can hardly think that the Kaïmakam of Veria has been authorized to make use of these irregulars.

It is useless for me to point out to your Excellency the imprudence and all the probable evil results of the Kaïmakam's conduct, and I hasten to beg you to be good enough to mention it to the Governor-General, who, I am sure, will call upon the Kaïmakam in question to conform strictly to the orders of the Imperial Government.

Receive, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 440.

The Kaïmakam of Veria to the Governor-General of Salonica.

(Traduction., (Télégraphique.)

Veria, le 17 Mars, 1877.

EN réponse au télégramme de votre Excellence en date d'hier, j'ai l'honneur de rapporter qu'il est inexact que l'on soit en train d'enroller des Bashi-Bazouks à Veria.

Pourtant, en conformité des ordres télégraphiques du Ministre de l'Intérieur, et que votre Excellence m'a transmis, l'autorité locale a fait des annonces pour faire inscrire des zaptiehs (gendarmes) temporaires, mais jusqu'à ce jour personne ne s'est présenté.

En outre vingt Bashi-Bazouks, sous les ordres d'Abdullah Agha, expédié ici par le Gouverneur de Monastir, avant hier, ont été renvoyés avec défense de sejourner dans ce

Je dois ajouter que la Garde Nationale de Yenidjeh n'est nullement propre au service de police contre le brigandage, et qu'à l'heure qu'il est une parfaite tranquillité existe dans

(Signé)

CAIMACAM DE VERIA.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Verá, March 17, 1877. IN reply to your Excellency's telegram of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that it is not the case that the enrolment of Bashi-Bazouks is taking place However, in conformity with the telegraphic instructions of the Minister of the Interior, transmitted to me by your Excellency, the local authority has issued notices calling for the enlistment of temporary zaptiehs (gendarmes), but up to now no one has responded to the call.

Moreover, 20 Bashi-Bazouks, under the orders of Abdullah Agha, sent here the day before yesterday by the Governor of Monastir, have been sent back and forbidden to

remain in this caza (district).

I should add that the national guard of Yenidjah is in no way fitted for police duties as against brigandage, and that at the present time perfect tranquillity exists in this district.

(Signed)

KAIMACAM DE VERIA.

No. 441.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

Salonica, March 21, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the telegram which the Committee of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" at Salonica addressed on the lst instant to the Grand Vizier, upon the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Servia.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 441.

The Committee of "Alliance Israélite Universelle" at Salonica to Grand Vizier.

Salonique, le $\frac{1}{13}$ Mars, 1877.

LES Soussignés membres du Comité de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle à Salonique félicitent votre Altesse pour la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie; expriment sincère reconnaissance pour avoir obtenue égalité de traitements des Israélites Serbes; et prient votre Altesse de vouloir déposer aux pieds de Sa Majesté le Sultan l'expression de notre respectueux devouement et les vœux que nous formons pour la prospérité et la gloire de Sa Majesté et de son Empire.

(Signé)

MISRACHI.
ALLATINI.
Dr. PERERA.
SAIAS.
FERNANDEZ.
ABRAMINO.
MODIANO.
MORPURGO.
NEHAMA.
LEON MODIANO.
MATALON.

(Translation.)

Salonica, March $\frac{1}{13}$, 1877.

THE Undersigned members of the Committee of the Universal Jewish Alliance at Salonica congratulate your Highness on the conclusion of peace with Servia; we express sincere gratitude for your exaction of equal treatment for the Servian Jews, and we pray your Highness to lay at the feet of His Majesty the Sultan the expression of our respectful devotion, and the wishes which we entertain for the prosperity and glory of His Majesty and of his Empire.

(Signed)

MISRACHI.
ALLATINI.
Dr. PERERA.
SAIAS.
FERNANDEZ.
ABRAMINO.
MODIANO.
MORPURGO.
NEHAMA.
LEON MODIANO.
MATALON.

No. 442.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord. Athens, March 24, 1877.

I TOOK an opportunity of mentioning to M. Deligeorges, when he was with me this morning, that your Lordship had within the last few days instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to call the attention of the Porte to the turbulent conduct of the Circassian colonists in the Greek Provinces of Turkey, and to point out the impolicy of arousing the resentment of the Greeks and the indignation of Europe by establishing colonies of persons of such lawless character.

M. Deligeorges expressed his gratitude to your Lordship for the advice which Her Majesty's Government had thus given to the Porte. He reminded me that when he was in office four years ago he had requested me to endeavour to prevent the establishment of such Circassian colonies, and that Sir Henry Elliot had then obtained a promise from the Porte that no more would be sent, but that this promise had been disregarded.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. STUART.

No. 443.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

Canea, Crete, March 14, 1877. 1 HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Saturday last, the 10th instant, was the day fixed by the authorities for the election of the Cretan Deputies to the Ottoman General Assembly. The votes were to be given by those members of the different Administrative Councils who are elected by the people, of whom three of either community sit in each Council. The authorities had for a long time been bringing all their influence to bear on the Christian members in the hope of overcoming their repugnance to vote, but it was well known that those sitting in the Councils at Canea and at the four sandjaks would prove obstinate, and the event showed that not only these but ten out of the thirteen Kaza Medilises refused to record their votes. The total result was fifty-one Mussulman to seven Christian voters, and two of the latter subsequently resigned, protesting that they had been deceived by the authorities as to the nature of the election. The Christians are somewhat elated at having thus thrown obstacles in the way of the new Constitution, which from the beginning had no chance of being accepted by them. They have now so little faith in the stability of their Government, and seem so to count upon the outbreak this summer of an insurrection in their midst, that I am told that, contrary to their usual custom, they are disposing of nearly all their olive oil and converting it into ready money, keeping only a few months' instead of a year's supply for their own consumption. At the last insurrection they lost most of their family stores when they were driven from their villages, and they are unwilling to expose themselves to similar losses again. They show a feverish anxiety to know what will be the upshot of the present estrangement between Russia and Turkey, feeling certain that a rupture between them will be the signal for a rising here.

I have, &c. (Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 444.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Extract)

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a telegram addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to-day,* detailing the atrocities perpetrated by some soldiers on the Christians of three villages in the district of Gumushané.

I inclose also a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Governor-General on the

It oppears that a band of Rediffs, belonging to the districts of Melet, Iskiasor, and

* See Nos. 367 and 368.

Ebesk were marching to Ezeroum under the orders of a certain Shukri Effendi; they reached the village of Ghelin Pertek on the 7th February. This village is composed of Christians and Mussulmans, and, as is the custom where any part of the population is Mussulman, the heads of the village are Turks. These quartered 125 men on the Christians, and 45 were taken into Mussulman houses. A demand for food was at once made on the Christians, and was complied with; money was then asked for and given. The troops then got hold of the priest of the village and maltreated him. Afterwards they began abusing and beating all the male Christians they could find, and entering the women's portion of the houses commenced outraging the women and violating the girls. Three young women were so brutally treated by about sixty soldiers that they were reported dying when the letters, which I have seen, relating these atrocities were sent to the authorities here.

From this village the soldiers proceeded to the village of Kielakhboor. There they perpetrated similar excesses, desecrated the Greek church, pulled down the church bell and called to Mussulman prayers from the place where it stood.

The village of Hosberek received similar treatment as regards the ill-usage of the men

and the ravishing of women.

Reports of these atrocities would have probably reached this many days earlier had the villages not been under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Trebizonde, to whom Gumushané belongs; and the victims appealed for justice to the authorities at Gumushané, and it was only on being told that the case must go before the authorities at Erzeroom, as the culprits were at Erzeroom, that they sent their complaints hither.

Inclosure 1 in No. 444.

Consul Zohrab to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Telegraphic.)

ONE hundred and seventy-five recruits, commanded by officer named Shukri, on way to Erzeroom, stopped at Ghelinpertek, Kilaboor, and Hosberek, villages of Gumushané district, desecrated church, maltreated priest, beat the Christians, outraged women and girls. Three women violated by about sixty soldiers were left dying. Gumushané authorities refuse protection; villages are deserted. Christians, fearing massacre, have fled. Military authorities here supine. Christians begin to suffer severely; dread opening their shops. Acts of oppression and cruelty occur daily.

Inclosure 2 in No. 444.

Consul Zohrab to the Governor-General of Erzeroom.

Excellence, Erzeroom, le 2/14 Mars, 1877.

J'AI appris avec bien du regret qu'une compagnie d'environ 170 soldats venant de Sivas, en arrivant aux villages de Hosberek, Ghelinpertek, et Kielaboor, dans le district de Gumushané, le ²⁶ Févier, se sont livrés à des excès et à des cruautés qui ne peu ent êtres appelées que des atrocités les plus horribles.

Il paraît que ces soldats à leur arrivée dans ces villages ont commencés leurs méfaits par un acte de sacrilège en désécrant une église et en détruisant le clocher; ensuite ils ont saisi le prêtre, qu'ils ont maltraité cruellement. Après cela ils ont outragés plusieurs femmes et filles, parmi lesquelles se trouvait trois jeunes femmes qui ont été violées par

60 soldats, qui n'étaient relachées que quand elles étaient mourantes.

Je voudrais bien croire que cette accusation est une calomnie et que l'on fut dans le cas de prouver que les soldats Turcs ne furent point capables de telles horreurs; mais malheureusement l'accusation faite est basée sur des fondements trop solides pour être répoussées, et je ne peux qu'exprimer mon vif regret que votre Excellence ait consideré cette accusation d'un caractère si trivial que l'investigation par un Binbashi fut assez et qu'un seule officier de ce grade veint d'être ordonné de se rendre sur le lieu pour faire l'enquête.

Agréez, &c. (Signé) J. ZOHRAB.

(Translation).

Erzeroom, March $\frac{2}{14}$, 1877. Excellency.

I HAVE learned with much regret that a company of about 170 soldiers coming from Sivas, on reaching the villages of Hisberek, Ghelinpertek, and Keilaboor, in the district of Gumushané on the 26th February, gave themselves up to excesses and to cruelties which can only be described as the most horrible atrocities.

It seems that these soldiers, on their arrival at the villages in question, began their misdeeds by an act of sacrilege in desecrating a church and destroying the belfry; they then seized the priest, whom they cruelly maltreated. After this they outraged several women and girls, amongst whom were three young women who were violated by

sixty soldiers, and who were not released until they were on the point of death.

I would fain think that this accusation were a calumny and that it might be proved that Turkish soldiers were incapable of such horrors; but, unfortunately, the accusation is based on too solid foundation to be rejected, and I can only express my lively regret that your Excellency has considered the accusation in question to be of so trivial a character that an investigation by a Bimbashi was deemed sufficient, and that but a single officer of that rank has been ordered to proceed to the spot to conduct an inquiry.

> I have, &c. J. ZOHRAB. (Signed)

No. 445.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

My Lord, Erzeroom, March 15, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that four members for the Turkish Parliament have They are Hadgee Raouf Bey, Mussulman, Ahmet Effendi, Mus-

sulman, Daniel Effendi, Armenian, Hamazas Effendi, Armenian.

These members have been elected by the Medilises (Councils) of Erzeroom, Kars, Bayezid, Van, Moosh, Ottee, and Erzingjian; the people have had no voice in the The elections were made by vote of the members of the Medjlises, each individual giving on a paper the names of two persons—a Christian and a Mussulman. No person having less than ten votes could be eligible.

I am not in a position to offer any remarks on the persons elected, as they are

unknown to me.

I have, &c. (Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 446.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

(Extract.) Erzeroom, March 15, 1877.

IN my telegram to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople of the 14th instant I refer to the supineness of the military authorities at Erzeroom, and I report that the Christians of the town begin to suffer severely at the hands of the military.

It would have been unreasonable to expect perfect tranquillity to reign at such a time as the present, when towns and villages are crowded with half-wild men in soldiers' uniforms; and the Christians would bear with much hard treatment under these exceptional circumstances without complaining were it not that cruel treatment and oppression originate, not with the men, but with the officers, who thus set the evil example to the men, and this example is very naturally followed.

In this town ill-usage of the Christians is daily increasing. Officers go to shops, and take goods at their own prices; the least remonstrance on the part of the owners results in abuse and blows; people are beaten, and the Christian religion is openly cursed. This is done in the presence of the soldiers who crowd the streets, and they follow the example. On the part of the Government nothing is done to check these abuses, and the impunity allowed to lawlessness must soon bring great suffering on the Christians.

In the villages officers and soldiers act just as they please, and the accounts of

injustice and cruelty daily brought to me are most revolting.

No. 447.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

Scutari, March 20, 1877. My Lord,

DURING the last few days I have been busily engaged in inducing the Commanderin-chief here to act up to the arrangements, effected through Mr. Monson's mediation at Cettigné, for the revictualling of Nichsich by way of Spuz, and for the rapid transit up

the Lake of Scutari of the Indian corn intended for Montenegro.

Having found Dervish Pasha greatly indisposed to facilitate either of these objects, I telegraphed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople explaining that the Commander-in-chief here ought to be made to understand that he should not oppose the execution of the mutual concessions made by Turkey and Montenegro, and that the recent boisterous weather having delayed the transit of the grain it would be well if the Turkish Government would lend Montenegro sufficient maize to relieve its immediate pressing wants.

The action evidently taken by Mr. Jocelyn, I am happy to say, produced the desired change in Dervish Pasha's conduct, and he has since enabled me to inform Mr. Monson that the authorities here are not only hastening the transit of the maize, but have, furthermore, dispatched from their own stores 15,000 okes of grain to Rieka.

Dervish Pasha has been very anxious to obtain greater facilities than those accorded from Montenegro in the shape of pack animals for the conveyance of the provisions from Spuz to Nichsich, and is indisposed to believe that Prince Nicholas cannot supply him

with more than 200.

At his request I telegraphed to Mr. Monson that the Pasha would be glad if Prince Nicholas would depute M. Stefan Radonich to come here and make all arrangements concerning the revictualling of Nichsich, and His Highness has immediately fallen in with this wish.

If I find that the Commander-in-chief, after his meeting with M. Radonich, is still disposed to resent what he considers a mere act of ill-will on the part of the Prince in not supplying more than 200 pack animals, I shall proceed to Rieka to put myself in direct communication with Mr. Monson, and I have no doubt we shall be able to find a means of satisfying Dervish Pasha, whose personal vanity is perpetually interfering with the course of matters which would otherwise run smooth.

I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

No. 448.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 2.)

My Lord, Scutari, March 20, 1877.

WITH reference to the Mirdite affairs, I have the honour to report that, although apparent quiet exists, the Turkish authorities are evidently meditating some active measures, as the troops at Miet have been considerably increased within the last few days. There are now there six battalions of infantry and a battery of six mountain guns.

As yet no Turkish troops have ventured to try whether the high roads in Mirdicia are open, and only two very insignificant convoys of provisions have reached the garrison of Puka, one from Prisrend and one from this side, through the assistance of Mirdites, who have been employed for the service.

I have, &c. W. KIRBY GREEN. (Signed)

No. 449.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

Trebizond, March 20, 1877. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday the news reached this town that serious abuses had been committed on Christians in the district of Gumushané by Rediffs. on their march from the neighbouring provinces to Erzeroum. **[376]** 2 R 2

After useless inquiries from the Greek and Armenian communities, who knew nothing on the subject, I applied to the Governor-General himself, who was kind enough to place before me all the documents he had received by yesterday's post. I have extracted from these papers the following full details, which show that the sufferers are Christians as well as Mussulmans:—

1. A letter dated ^{3rd} March addressed to the Governor-General by the Greek Archbishop of Erzeroum, under whose jurisdiction are the villages which have suffered. He states that on the ^{26th} January at the village of Ghelin Pertek in the Caza of Kelkit, a dependency of Gumushané, a company of 170 Rediffs, under the command of a certain Shukri, carried away five sheep, forty fowls, eighteen pair of stocks, and 275 piastres, and smashed the doors and windows of houses for the purpose of outraging women; that after having been given to eat they thrashed the priest, deprived him of his cap, passed the entrails of a sheep round his neck, and used him as a beast, a soldier having mounted on his back, in which coudition he was paraded in the streets of the village; that these same soldiers proceeded afterwards to the village of Kilaboor, where they attacked the church, pulled down the bell, and otherwise misbehaved themselves; that the inhabitants having uselessly applied to the Mutessarif of Gumushané for redress, the matter was brought before him (the Archbishop of Erzeroum), who referred it to the Governor of that town; and that this functionary had given immediate orders, and sent a major to make an investigation in the affair.

The Archbishop adds that in the village of Lermonné, district of Cavatir, three Mussulmans outraged the wife of a certain Theodori, for which act he was unable to obtain satisfaction from the Mutessarif of Gumushané, and that he conveys these facts to

the knowledge of the Governor-General of this town in order to obtain redress.

2. A report (Masbata) dated land March from the Kaïmakam and Council of Shiran to the Mutessarif of Gumushané, stating that four days previously, at the village of Oulon Shiran fifty or sixty Rediffs under Hussein and Sulieman Isaoushes (belonging to a body of 460 Rediffs commanded by Osman Aya, a Uzbashi), broke open the doors of seven or eight Greek and Armenian houses, and robbed 1,535 piastres, 35 pair of stocks, 12 pair of sandals, 40 fowls, and 3 cows, which they slaughtered, a Persian shawl, and a horse, on which a soldier named Mehmed rode away; and that they burned, at the same time, books for a value of 300 piastres, belonging to the Christian schools. The report ends by saying that similar disorders are perpetrated by all the Rediffs passing through their villages, and that the sufferers are Christian as well as Mussulmans, and that if the recruits, instead of being sent several hundred together, were dispatched only 100 at a time, these disorders would perhaps be avoided.

3. Another report dated 21st February (5th March) from and to the same authorities as above, reporting that fifty or sixty Rediff escorted by a mounted policeman named Kara Sherif having arrived at the village of Bayash, in the Caza of Shivan, a few of the men got up in the night, entered some Christian houses either by forcing the doors, or through the chimneys, and carried away a sholvar (breeches), an aba (country cloth jacket), four pair of stocks, three pair of sandals, and three pair of gaiters; that they proceeded afterwards to the village of Keubator, half an hour distant, and entered the house of a Christian, who treated them well, provided them with food, but on leaving they robbed him of a shawl, of a shirt, and of a gown; and that the authorities were com-

pelled to turn the Redifs out of the village by the zapties at their disposal.

4. A third report from the Kaïmakam and Council of Kelkit, complaining of disorders perpetrated at all times by the Redifs on their passage through their district, especially at Hozberek, and two other villages. They then report that on the 27th February (11th March), as 180 Redifs, under the command of a certain Kassan Aga were nearing the village of Tashova, the chief of the municipality went to meet them outside, and begged them, as there was scarcity of provisions, to proceed to another village, but as it was late, and as the Redifs were tired and hungry, they entered the village, plundered a baker's shop of its bread and money, thrashed the owner, and as the Kaïmakam wanted to oppose these acts of violence, the Redifs called out that they were going to give him a sound correction, a threat, however, which was not carried out; but they pillaged the shops in the bazar, breaking open the doors of those which were shut up; they possessed themselves of all the sheep, fowls, and geese which they met in the streets, and as most of the inhabitants, the women especially, ran away from the village, they entered the houses and rifled them of their contents; they thrashed all the men they met on their way, amongst others Hussein Aga, a Government functionary, whose son in trying to defend his father was severely wounded; they forced their way into Topal Agadji's house, which they despoiled entirely, so maltreating the owner that he now lies seriously ill; that the young men of the village formed into a body and compelled the soldiers to evacuate the

village; and finally that they beg that a squadron of cavalry, or a company of regulars be sent to protect them in future against similar acts of violence on the part of the Redifs.

The Governor of Erzeroom has sent a major, and the Governor-General of Trebizond is forwarding the Colonel in command of the police forces in this province to investigate the real state of things, with the assistance of a Mixed Commission to be appointed on the

I shall not fail to communicate to your Lordship the result of the inquest when it is

finished.

It appears from official information that a soldier has died lately in the hospital of Barbourt, in consequence of wounds received in one of the above-mentioned villages, perhaps at Tashova.

I have, &c. ALFRED BILIOTTI. (Signed)

No. 450.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

Cettigné, March 24, 1877. My Lord, WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, inclosing copies of correspondence respecting the provisioning of Nichsich, and the transport of grain to Montenegro, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of further telegrams, exchanged yesterday between Mr. Consul Green and myself, from which your Lordship will see that I have assured Dervish Pasha that I am convinced that on the side of Montenegro the terms of the compact are being carried out in good faith.

Your Lordship will also perceive that Mr. Green will probably be here to-day, and that Prince Nicholas has been so good as to make arrangements for his journey hither

from Riéka.

Mr. Green consulted me last week in a private letter as to the expediency of his coming, and I replied that, if no objection were made by higher authority, I for my part

should be glad of the opportunity of an interview with him.

Last night I received from Sir Andrew Buchanan a telegram conveying a message from Mr. Green, which, in consequence of the want of means of private communication, to which I have before adverted, had been telegraphed from Scutari to Vienna. This message warns me that Dervish Pasha may make difficulties about the transport of the Montenegrin grain, in revenge for the Prince's refusal to allow the Turks to increase the amount of stores for Nichsich about threefold, as your Lordship will have learned was their intention from the correspondence transmitted in my despatch above referred to. Now that the weather has become mild, and other routes practicable, I do not think that Prince Nicholas would so much mind the temporary success of Dervish Pasha's retaliation, especially as it is impossible to believe that his Excellency's malice would extend beyond the interposition of delays, the final impounding of the Montenegrin grain being an act of unjustifiable disregard of obligations contracted, of which I can hardly bring myself to imagine that even he would be capable.

I have, &c. EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 450.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

Scutari, March 23, 1877, 4:35 P.M. (Telegraphic.) DERVISH PASHA begs me to telegraph that the authorities at Danilograd replied three days ago that they knew nothing about 200 horses, and that no one has since returned to Spuz to conduct first convoy of 300, which has been waiting all this time, whilst from this side grain is daily sent to Rieka.

Inclosure 2 in No. 450.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 23, 1877, 6.20 P.M. SHALL probably start early to-morrow for Rieka, but telegraph here answer to previous telegram.

Inclosure 3 in No. 450.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 23, 1877, 10 P.M. I HAVE inspected all the telegrams which have been sent by the Prince's orders to Danilograd, and am in a position to assure Dervish Pasha that the most explicit instructions have been given and acted upon.

The Prefect at Danilograd has been in communication with Hussein Pasha at Podgoritza, and has offered to send him an officer as intermediary. The most precise orders have been given respecting the horses, escorts, and every essential detail; and the money to pay horse hire was sent to-day. News has been received here to-day that the first convoy will start to-morrow.

I have satisfied myself that the agreement is being carried out with most perfect good faith, and that the orders of the Prince were received, understood, and acted upon by the 20th.

Your probable arrival at Rieka to-morrow has been notified to the Prince, and I am requested by His Highness to assure you that you will be welcome. He will send a horse and two guards to Rieka to bring you to Cettigné.

No. 451.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 2.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 25, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, inclosing one from the Vice-Consul at Cavalla, containing further particulars with respect to the outrage committed upon a Christian family at Bouloustra near Xanthi.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 451.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Salonica, March 20, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th instant, relative to the murders committed at Bouloustra, near Xanthi, I have the honour to inclose a further report, with one inclosure, which I have just received from the Acting British Vice-Consul at Cavalla upon this subject.

> I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 451.

Vice-Consul Pecchioli to Consul Blunt.

Monsieur. APRES ce que je vous ai écrit à la hâte du bord du "Swiftsure," j'ai reçu de Bouloustra de nouveaux renseignements par lesquels le caractère de l'assassinat vient d'être

Ahmet Keaja possédait des terres confinantes avec la propriété d'Anastas. Il tacha à plusieurs reprises de s'approprier de quelques arpents de terre appartenants à son voisin. Il eut des querelles dans lesquelles le fils d'Anastas lui tint front vaillamment; et Ahmet, très-mauvais sujet, lui en garda rancune; il s'associa à d'autres malfaiteurs et dans la nuit du Bairamme fit le coup depuis longtemps médité.

La mort d'un des assassins leur empêcha de piller la maison et vider la caisse du mal-

heureux Anastas, qu'on croyait dans le voisinage très-bien fournies.

Kalil Aga, auquel j'ai fait parler par une personne consciencieuse, nie d'avoir employé son influence pour sauver Ahmet, qui n'est pas à son service, l'ayant renvoyé cinq années auparavant comme mauvais sujet et serviteur infidèle.

Il regrette comme tout autre l'assassinat de l'innocente famille d'Anastas, tout en

désirant que la justice suive son cours et que les assassins soient punis.

Il sait que Ahmet habitait dans une ferme confinante avec les propriétés d'Anastas, mais lui, Kalil, n'est pas le propriétaire de cette ferme, et il croit qu'elle appartienne à Ahmet lui-même.

Quant à lui, le témoignage de tous les Chrétiens du village de Bouloustra, avec lesquels il est en aimables rapports, possédant un chiflick tout près, pourrait servir dans un moment donné pour prouver qu'il est, et il a été toujours, le défenseur de leurs droits, le secoureur de leurs besoins.

Je crois, M. le Consul, que les déclarations de Kalil soient conformes à la vérité; au

moins j'en ai la conviction morale.

En attendant, voyant que la justice more solito s'endorme, j'ai cru de mon devoir d'écrire au Mutessarif de Drama pour le reveiller un petit peu, s'il est possible, et je vous envoi une copie du Takrir que je lui ai envoyé, en me réservant de vous faire connaître la réponse aussitôt que je la recevrais.

> Agréez, &c. (Signé) D. PECCHIOLI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Cavalla, March 19, 1877.

SINCE I wrote to you in haste on board the "Swiftsure," I have received from Bouloustra fresh information, by which the nature of the assassination seems to be revealed in an almost authentic manner.

Ahmet Keaja possessed some property bordering on the estate of Anastas. He tried several times to appropriate to himself some acres of land belonging to his neighbour. He had some quarrels in which the son of Anastas held his own bravely; and Ahmet, a very troublesome fellow, owed him a grudge for it; he joined with some other bad characters, and during the night of the Bairam struck the blow which had long been premeditated.

The death of one of the assassins prevented them from pillaging the house and emptying the coffer of the unfortunate Anastas, which had the reputation in the neigh-

bourhood of being very well filled.

Kalil Aga, whom I caused to be questioned by a reliable person, denies having used his influence to save Ahmet, who is no longer in his employ, having been sent away five years ago as a troublesome fellow and a dishonest servant.

He regrets, as every one else does, the assassination of the innocent family of Anastas, but at the same time is desirous that justice should run its due course and that

the assassins should be punished.

He knows that Ahmet dwelt on a farm bordering on the estate of Anastas, but he, Kalil, is not the owner of this farm, and he thinks that it belongs to Ahmet himself.

As to him, the evidence of all the Christians in the village of Bouloustra with whom he is on friendly terms, owning a chiffick close by, would have served as proof in a moment that he is, and has always been, the defender of their rights and the helper of their needs.

I believe, Mr. Consul, that Kalil's assertions are worthy of credence; at least I

have a moral conviction that they are so.

In the meanwhile, seeing that justice more solito is dormant, I have thought it my duty to write to the Mutessarif of Drama to stir him up a little if possible, and I send you a copy of the Takrir which I have sent him, and shall communicate to you his reply as soon as I receive it.

Accept, &c. (Signed) D. PECCHIOLI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 451.

Acting Vice-Consul to Mutessarif of Drama, Bouloustra.

Excellence, Cavalla, le 15 Mars, 1877.

LES regrettables événements de Bouloustra ont vivement ému l'opinion publique

d'Europe.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, que j'ai l'honneur de représenter par interim à Cavalla, me fait des demandes pressantes pour savoir si on a encore découvert le caractère de cet assassinat et à quel point se trouve le procès intenté contre les assassins.

Dans cet état de choses, moi, ayant pleine confiance dans votre honorable caractère, plutôt qu'employer des moyens indirects d'investigation, j'aime mieux m'adresser franchement à vous, et je viens vous demander les renseignements que vous serez à même de me

donner sur cette malheureuse affaire.

J'espère, Excellence, que vous ferez tous vos efforts afin que ce procès ne traîne pas en longueur selon les mauvaises habitudes des administrations passées, mais pour tranquilliser les Chrétiens de Bouloustra, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité et de la justice, vous ferez tout ce qui est possible afin que le Tribunal de Drama fasse la lumière au plus vite dans ce procès.

Excellence, les amis de votre Gouvernement désirent bien ardemment que dans ces occasions les autorités puissent prouver à l'Europe attentive que l'inauguration de la liberté et la régénération politique de l'Empire Ottoman a, dès à présent, commencé par la bonne

administration de la justice.

Agréez, &c. (Signé) Le Gérant du Vice-Consulat.

(Translation.)

Your Excellency, Cavalla, March 15, 1877.

THE deplorable occurrences at Bouloustra have keenly excited public opinion in

Europe.

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, which I have the honour of representing, for the moment, at Cavalla, are urging me to let them know if the nature of this assassination has yet been discovered, and how far the projected trial of the assassins has proceeded.

In this position of affairs, I, who have full confidence in your honourable character, prefer, rather than employ indirect means of investigation, to address myself frankly to yourself, and I now appeal to you to supply me with evidence in regard to this unfortunate

affair.

I hope, your Excellency, that you will strain every effort to prevent this trial being spun out according to the bad habits of recent administrations, and that, in order to tranquillize the Christians in Bouloustra, in the interests of humanity and of justice, you will do all that is possible in order that the Tribunal of Drama may as quickly as possible in this trial throw light on the subject.

Excellency, the friends of your Government most warmly desire that on such occasions the authorities should be able to prove to expectant Europe that the inauguration of liberty and the political regeneration of the Ottoman Empire has from henceforth commenced by the good administration of justice.

Accept, &c. (Signed) The Acting Vice-Consul.

No. 452.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 2.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 25, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica, reporting the appointment of the new Christian Mustechar to act as Commissioner upon the inquiry now being made into the recent outrage at Podzarsko near Vodena.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 452.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Salonica, March 20, 1877.

WITH reference to my cyphered telegram of the 19th instant I have the honour to report that the Mustechar of this vilayet, Costaninidi Effendi, left Salonica this morning for Podzarsko, to which village he has been ordered to proceed by the Grand Vizier, as Extraordinary Commissioner, to inquire into the outrages said to have been committed on the Christians in that village.

His appointment for this service has produced the best possible impression here.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. E. BLUNT.

No. 453.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 2.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 27, 1877.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 21st instant,* I have the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis, giving some account of the outrages committed near Adrianople.

Since writing the above-mentioned despatch Mr. Dupuis has visited the scene of the

outrages, though I have not yet received a detailed report from him.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 453.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Adrianople, March 20, 1877.

WITH reference to the alleged recent outrage in a village near Adrianople, mentioned in your telegram of this morning, I beg leave to state, that on the 14th instant my assistant Dragoman told me that about fifteen days before, or the end of last month, two Mussulmans, Katrandji, of the village of Bektegides, and Pehlivan of the village of Hantapli, went to the former place and extorted by means of threats a money payment from its inhabitants, and seeing with what facility they were able to obtain the money insisted upon receiving a larger sum. To this second demand the villagers refusing compliance, they were set upon by their assailants, who killed two of the villagers. My informant added that he had this intelligence from a relative, a resident in Ortakeui, near Bektagides.

I made it my business to inquire of his Excellency the Governor-General what he knew of the affair, and whether it had come to his knowledge, to which he replied that he was not aware of any such circumstance having happened, and appealing to the Mollah

for information I received the same reply.

On the receipt of your telegram I made further diligent inquiries, when the brother

of my dragoman and others contradicted the reported outrage.

The Italian Consul, however, who, I believe, has business connections with that part of the country, gave me the following version of the affair, viz., that on or about the 1st instant Katrandji and Pehlivan with some others, went armed to the village of Bektegides, when the latter individual in a jocular manner drew his yataghan, and hitting the Chief of the village a blow on the head with it, threatened to kill him if he did not give him money.

In this manner the assailant extorted some 100 piastres from their victims, when it would appear that they left the place, but regretted they did not obtain more. The Italian Consul added that he thought these miscreants were in prison for this offence, either here or in Moustafa Pasha, the district where the occurrence took place, but that at the same time he did not attach much importance to the affair.

I then again called on the Governor-General, and relating to him all I had heard, he urged complete ignorance of the whole transaction, and put it down to the malevolence of

certain parties in Adrianople. He however sent for the Ali Bey or Chief of the Zaptiehs, and asked him whether any such occurrence had been reported to him, and also the Chief

Kiatib, but they both ignored all knowledge.

This is all that seems to be known here about the affair, but as it is difficult, amidst conflicting statements to arrive at anything positive as to what really did occur, or to get at the truth of the matter, I would suggest that I be authorized to visit the locality to make personal inquiries.

Bektegides is a small Greek village on the Arda, near Ortakeui, and some twelve

hours from Adrianople, out of this Vice-Consular district.

Í have. &c.

(Signed)

T. H. DUPUIS.

No. 454.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 3, 4.30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 24th ultimo, Governor-General of Trebizond reports that Mussulmans and Christians suffered equally from the excesses of the redifs who passed through the district of Gumushhane. A Mixed Commission is to be sent to make inquiries on the spot. Both the Delegate of the Metropolitan and the the Chief of the Erzeroum police are on this Commission.

No. 455.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 4.)

My Lord, Scutari, March 24, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant, I have the honour to report that as soon as M. Radonich arrived here I was able to assist him in dispelling from Dervish Pasha's mind certain misconceptions about the obligations assumed by Montenegro

regarding the revictualling of Nichsich.

M. Radonich having proceeded the day before yesterday to Podgoritza and Spuz, in company with Brigadier-General Ali Pasha, in order to assist in facilitating the passage of the Turkish convoys of provisions through the Montenegrin territory, and which Mr. Monson had reported to me as open to the Turks, I was in hopes that no further difficulties would arise.

But, yesterday Dervish Pasha sent to inform me that the Montenegrin authorities on the frontier, although they had been notified three days before that 300 horses were collected at Spuz ready to pass to Nichsich, had failed to fulfil their promise of sending a proper escort to conduct them over Montenegrin territory.

His Excellency begged me to announce this delay by telegraph to Mr. Monson, and to explain that he, on his part, was executing faithfully all the engagements undertaken by

his Government.

Dervish Pasha said that he had perceived the Montenegrins were evidently bent upon getting as much as possible of their Indian corn passed through the Lake without allowing the revictualling of Nichsich to be carried out, and that, therefore, he would seek reasonable excuses for suspending the rapid transit of the grain, so that his Government should not find itself at a disadvantage through his misplaced activity.

I endeavoured to combat the Pasha's ideas as to the bad faith of the Montenegrins, and expressed myself ready to proceed to Rieka and Cettigné to see Mr. Monson, and obtain, through his means, explanations which I was convinced would prove satisfactory.

His Excellency promptly accepted my offer, as, he assured me, it was his most earnest wish to conciliate the Prince of Montenegro by affording his people even greater facilities than had been authorized by the Porte; for he was fully aware that, at the present moment, very delicate negotiations were in progress, which could be materially forwarded if the Turkish military authorities showed they shared the benevolent intentions of their Government.

A telegram, however, received by me this morning from Mr. Monson, in reply to the one addressed to him yesterday, proved so satisfactory, and convinced Dervish Pasha that the delays that had hitherto occurred were unavoidable, that I decided to defer my visit to Montenegro, there being now no need to communicate to Mr. Monson vivá voce (we are

unprovided with a cypher) the retaliatory measures that were meditated when the belief

existed that Montenegro was evading its engagements.

I have informed Mr. Monson of Dervish Pasha's willingness to allow the Montenegrins who may be employed in the operation of revictualling Nichsich to receive their remuneration from the Turkish authorities in corn instead of in money, a favour which ought to be highly appreciated if the scarcity of grain in Montenegro is as great as it is reported.

I have, &c. (Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 456.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 4.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 2, 1877.

I HAVE this morning had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram of last night, directing me to inform the French Government that Mr. Layard is to take charge of Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople as Special Ambassador.

I inclose a copy of a note which I have in consequence addressed to the French

Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 456.

Lord Lyons to the Duc Decages.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, April 2, 1877.

SIR H. ELLIOT, Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, is obliged to remain in England on leave of absence; while, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Government consider that the interests of Great Britain require that the rank of the British Representative at Constantinople shall be higher than that of a Chargé d'Affaires.

Her Majesty's Government have in consequence directed the Right Honourable A. H. Layard, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Spain, to go to Constantinople, to take charge of Her Majesty's Embassy there

as Special Ambassador.

I have the honour, in obedience to the instruction of Her Majesty's Government, to make this known to your Excellency, and I avail, &c.

(Signed)

LYONS.

No. 457.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

My Lord.

Foreign Office, April 4, 1877.

I RECEIVED a telegraphic despatch from Mr. Monson reporting an interview which he had on the 2nd instant with Prince Nicholas, during which the negotiations between Turkey and Montenegro formed the subject of conversation.

Mr. Monson supported in the strongest possible manner the advice which had, a short time previously, been given to the Prince by the Austrian Agent, urging him to give way about Nichsich in view of the fact that the Protocol, having been signed, Montenegro could no longer look forward to the event of a rupture between Russia and Turkey.

The Prince, in reply, requested Mr. Monson to inform me that he was willing to wait until Thursday, the 4th instant, in order that he might learn from Russia the exact truth respecting Nichsich; but that on that day he should instruct the Montenegrin Delegates to reiterate the demands contained in his telegram of the 16th March; and if the Turkish Government persisted in their refusal of these conditions, the Delegates would leave Constantinople.

In reply to the further representations made by Mr. Monson, the Prince, while expressing himself very courteously, stated that nothing which could be said on the

subject would alter his determination.

^{*} Substance telegraphed.

As it appeared from the above report that Prince Nicholas' decision now depended upon the advice of Russia, I lost no time in instructing you by telegraph to express to Prince Gortchakow the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Imperial Government will not fail to use their influence towards inducing His Highness to adopt a policy of conciliation, and thus contribute towards the peaceful solution which had been the aim and object of the negotiations recently concluded by the signature of the Protocol.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 458.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

THE Russian Ambassador informed me to-day that Prince Gortchakow was very anxious that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople should be instructed without delay to communicate the Protocol to the Porte simultaneously with the Representatives of the other Powers. The Russian Government, his Excellency said, looked forward with anxiety to the expiration of the armistice, which had only a week more to run, and at the end of which the question of peace or war must be finally decided. They continued to inculcate on the Prince of Montenegro the expediency of a moderate and conciliatory attitude, but instead of understanding its own interests and the opportunity which was offered it of at once concluding peace, the Porte was inclined to take the unfortunate step of protesting against the Protocol.

Count Schouvaloff expressed a hope that we would warn the Porte earnestly against

so suicidal a step.

I informed his Excellency that I had already instructed Mr. Jocelyn to telegraph on Monday last to communicate the Protocol to the Turkish Government and to point out that it contained nothing to which they could reasonably object. I added that I would further instruct him to dissuade the Porte from the step which Prince Gortchakow believes to be in contemplation, and to say that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Sultan will be very unwise if he do not endeavour to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him to arrange a mutual disarmament.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 459.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Foreign Office, April 4, 1877.

I HAVE telegraphed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh the substance of Mr. Monson's telegram of the 2nd instant, in which he stated that, though he had, in concert with his Austrian colleague, used every argument he could think of to induce Prince Nicholas to give way about Nichsich, His Highness had desired him to inform me that he would wait till the 5th instant to learn from Russia the truth about that fortress, respecting which he believed that he had not been fairly treated, but that his decision was unalterable to order his Delegates on that day to reiterate the demands contained in his telegram of the 16th ultimo, and, if these were again rejected, to leave Constantinople.

I have instructed his Excellency to tell Prince Gortchakow that, as the Prince's decision appears to depend on Russia, Her Majesty's Government trust that her influence will be exerted in favour of conciliation, and that she will thus advance the policy of peace

which it was the object of the recent negotiations for the Protocol to promote.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 460.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 4, 1877.

THE Austrian Ambassador has informed me that, in order to proceed in perfect agreement with Great Britain, his Government had instructed their Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to ask Mr. Jocelyn for a copy of the Protocol signed on the 31st ultimo, and of any communication he might be charged to make to the Porte with regard to it, so that the Austrian Government might be enabled to make a similar one.

Count Beust said that Count Andrassy wished to know whether Her Majesty's Government agreed in this course of procedure. In reply, I informed Count Beust of the representations which Mr. Jocelyn had been instructed to make, and I added that I would send that gentleman instructions to give the same information to his Austrian colleague, and to communicate to him a copy of the Protocol if applied to.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 461.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 4, 1877.

COUNT BEUST has informed me that the Austrian Agent at Cettigné had represented to the Prince of Montenegro that Russia was endeavouring to come to an understanding with the Powers and with Turkey; that she must, in consequence, be anxious that an arrangement should be come to between the Porte and Montenegro; that Montenegro could not hope to be able to maintain an attitude which was disapproved by Russia, and that it was therefore the Prince's duty and interest to put an end to a state of affairs which was no longer justifiable, and which could only result in prejudice to the refugees.

The Agent also had proposed to Prince Nicholas to address himself to the Russian Government, in order that, inasmuch as the acquisition of Nichsich seemed impossible, he might obtain at least the south-eastern and south-western corners of that district, as far as Graczanicza and Monetinicza, comprising that part of Piva which is situated to the east of the road from Orsipaczno to Brezna, together with the district of Kuci and the territory offered by the Sultan. It was the Agent's opinion that Montenegro could never consent to cede Vassoyevic. The Prince seemed to receive these remarks favourably. Count Andrassy desired the Agent to continue his efforts in order to pave the way towards a settlement.

I told Count Beust that our Agents both at Constantinople and Cettigné had been instructed to support any representations made by their Austrian and Russian colleagues in the interest of a settlement between Turkey and the Principality.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 462.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received April 4, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, April 4, 1877, 7:40 P.M.

AN immediate attack upon the Mirdites has been ordered by the Porte.

My Italian colleague and I obtained from the authorities a delay of forty hours, granted unofficially.

Efforts might be made during this delay to persuade the Porte to put off its action, and if the French and Austrian Governments would order their Consuls to join us, our representations would have more weight.

No. 463.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.) •

My Lord, Cettigné, March 24, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, reporting that Prince Nicholas had summoned the insurgent Chiefs to Cettigné, I have the honour to state that His Highness sent for me this morning, and informed me that all these Chiefs and the rest of the most important of the disaffected Herzegovinians, to the number of more than one hundred, are now here. The Prince said that he feared that the Porte does not reflect that the destitution of the refugees is excessive; that the spring is advancing rapidly; and that unless they are restored to their homes by the end of April it will be useless to sow their crops for this year's harvest, and the Porte will thus be saddled with the support of an idle population until next year. His Highness has perfected his arrangements with the Chiefs, and undertakes that, if the Porte will agree to his co-operation, and accept his moral and material assistance, all the refugees shall be re-instated in their homes in thirty days, instead of the forty at which he had at first calculated the time necessary. His Highness would furnish the means for transport, and aid in rebuilding the houses and setting the homesteads in order.

After some conversation on this subject, Prince Nicholas sent for Colonel Thömmel. and, on the arrival of my Austrian colleague, His Highness asked us to telegraph to our respective Governments his request that they would jointly press this important

matter upon the serious consideration of the Porte.

I telegraphed the substance of this despatch to your Lordship yesterday evening, and Colonel Thömmel sent a similar telegram to Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

No. 464.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 5.)

My Lord,

Cettigné, March 24, 1877. PRINCE NICHOLAS this morning discussed with me at some length the conduct of the Turks respecting the revictualling of Nichsich, and the transport of the Montene-

grin grain, to which much of my correspondence of the last few days refer.

His Highness remarked that, in fact, the Turks had done but little to forward his grain, a great portion of which had been for more than a month in the Boiana River; while only a very small amount had as yet reached Ricka at the head of the lake. On the other hand they had had the coolness not only to ask that the supplies at Risano, in the Bocche di Cattaro (which the Porte had declared to be of a bad quality), should be forwarded to Nichsich, but that 100,000 okes in addition to the original 153,000 okes, should be sent to the beleaguered town vid Albania over Montenegrin soil, thus almost trebling the original quantity agreed upon.

I told the Prince that I had fears about the safety of the Montenegrin grain now in and near Scutari, as the Turks might find some pretext for seizing it. His Highness replied that nothing of the kind would surprise him; but that, as I had been able to convince myself of his good faith throughout the transaction, he trusted that I should find the means of placing the matter equally clearly before the Turkish authorities in

Albania.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 465.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS sent this afternoon to request my Austrian colleague, the Russian Secretary, and myself, to come to the Palace. Upon our presenting ourselves, His Highness said that he had received a telegram from his Delegates at Constantinople announcing that the Porte refused to make the concessions demanded in his telegram of the 16th instant, and persisted in its demand for the cession of the Vassoïevitchi district. There was no mention in M. Petrovich's telegram of the stipulation about the refugees, but there was a request on the part of that gentleman for instructions as to the presentation of a decisive note.

Prince Nicholas said that he should reflect upon the reply he should return to the Porte. Meantime, he had telegraphed for information as to the views of the Ottoman

Government about the return of the refugees.

The Prince's manner was very calm, and I think that he himself will make some further concessions, even, perhaps, to the extent of relinquishing his claim to the Douga Pass. It is, however, in my opinion, highly impolitic on the part of the Porte to decline the cession of territory which is not only of no value; but a positive weakness to here especially as the Prince, in giving up his pretentions to the extension of the frontier to the Moratcha, has already renounced by far the most important and advantageous of the territorial acquisitions which he desired, and which had been proposed on his behalf by the Conference.

I have, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 466.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, respecting the transport of stores for Nichsich, and of grain for Montenegro, I have the honour to inclose copies of further telegrams, from which your Lordship will see that Mr. Consul Green has not thought it necessary to come to Cettigné; and that I have informed the Turkish Consul-General at Ragusa of my conviction of the good faith with which the Prince of Monte-

negro is executing the stipulations of his agreement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 466.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 24, 1877, 9.25 A.M.
RECEIPT of your satisfactory telegram has suspended my departure. Pray convey my grateful thanks to the Prince for His Highness' polite and kind message.

Inclosure 2 in No. 466.

Danish Effendi to Mr. Monson.

(Télégraphique.) Ragusa, le 25 Mars, 1877, 7.50 A.M.

MERCI pour votre précédent télégramme. Je vous prie, comptant sur votre bonté, d'intervenir pour que la récente Convention concernant le ravitaillement de Nichsich par l'Albanie reçoive sa stricte et immédiate exécution. Suleyman Pacha m'informe que le 23 le convoi Ottoman n'a pu passer ou qu'aucun fonctionnaire ou agent Princier ne se trouvait sur la frontière, et qu'en outre les 200 chevaux Monténégrins promis ont fait complètement défaut. Les autorités Ottomanes ont rempli et exécutent leurs engagements pour le transport du mais Monténégrin avec loyauté et au prix de grands sacrifices dont on devrait nous tenir compte. Il ne faudrait pas que les négociations qui se poursuivent à Constantinople influent sur le ravitaillement de Nichsich, qui ne saurait en aucun cas échouer puisque vous avez la parole de Son Altesse le Prince Nicolas.

Pardon des embarras que je vous donne, connaissant votre esprit d'équité j'ai recours

à vous, persuadé que vous aplanirez toutes les difficultés.

('Translation:)

(Telegraphic.)

Ragusa, March 25, 1877, 7.50 A.M.

THANKS for your preceding telegram. I beg you, counting on your kindness, to intervene to secure the strict and immediate execution of the recent Convention con-

cerning the revictualling of Nichsich by Albania. Suleiman Pasha informs me that on the 23rd the Ottoman envoy could not pass, as no functionary or agent of the Prince was on the frontier, and that, besides, the promised 200 Montenegrin horses had utterly The Ottoman authorities have fulfilled and are executing their engagements for the transport of the Montenegrin maize with loyalty and at the price of great sacrifices, which should be recognized. The negotiations in progress at Constantinople should not influence the revictualling of Nichsich, which should not in any case fail, as you have the word of His Highness Prince Nicholas.

Pardon the trouble I am giving you, knowing your spirit of justice I have recourse

to you, persuaded that you will smooth all difficulties.

Inclosure 3 in No. 466.

Mr. Monson to Danish Effendi.

Cettigné, le 25 Mars, 1877, midi. (Télégraphique.)

AVANT-HIER soir on m'a permis d'inspecter tous les télégrammes qui ont été expédiés par les ordres du Prince à Danilograd, et j'ai immédiatement télégraphié à Scutari que je me trouvais à même de constater que les instructions les plus explicites pour l'exécution de la Convention avaient été données et obéies. Le Préfet de Danilograd s'est mis en communication avec Hussein Pacha à Podgoritza, et a offert de lui envoyer un officier pour servir d'intermédiaire. Des ordres les plus précis ont été donnés pour chevaux, escortes, et tous les détails essentiels; en outre des fonds pour payer le louage des chevaux ont été expédiés. On comptait sur le départ du premier convoi hier. Je me suis convaincu que de ce côté on exécute la Convention avec la bonne foi la plus parfaite; et que les ordres du Prince avaient été reçus, compris, et mis en exécution dès le 20. Ces explications ont été déjà communiquées à Dervish Pacha, et je ne puis qu'attri-

buer l'idée que le Monténégro manque à sa parole à l'insuffisance des renseignements fournis par les autorités subalternes aux deux Commandants-en-chef.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 25, 1877, noon.

YESTERDAY I was permitted to inspect all the telegrams which have been sent by the Prince's orders to Danilograd, and I immediately telegraphed to Scutari that I was in a position to affirm that the most explicit instructions for the execution of the Convention had been given and obeyed. The Prefect of Danilograd had put himself in communication with Hussein Pasha at Podgoritza, and had offered to send an officer to him to act as a medium of communication. The most precise orders had been given for horses, escorts, and all essential details; besides which the funds for paying the hire The departure of the first convoy was expected yesterday. of the horses had been sent. I have convinced myself that on this side the Convention is being executed with the most perfect good faith, and that the Prince's orders have been received, understood, and carried out since the 20th.

These explanations have been already given to Dervish Pasha, and I can only attribute the idea that Montenegro is breaking its word, to the insufficiency of the information furnished by the subaltern authorities to the two Commanders-in-chief.

No. 467.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5, 11.30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Belgrade, April 5, 1877, 10:30 A.M. THE Turks evacuated Yavor, Zvornik, and Bouyouklitch on the 30th ultimo. Difficulties have arisen respecting two adjoining islands on the Drina, which belonged to Servia before the war.

No. 468.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 5, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador has mentioned to me that some apprehension is felt at St. Petersburgh that the Turkish Government intends to protest against the Protocol signed in London on the 31st ultimo.

Such a proceeding on the part of the Porte would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be most unwise; and I have to instruct you to state to Safvet Pasha that Her Majesty's Government were careful, before giving their assent to the Protocol, to obtain the omission or modification of those passages to which they thought that the Porte could with any reason object.

Her Majesty's Government consider that the Protocol, taken in conjunction with the declaration made on behalf of Russia by Count Schouvaloff, gives an opportunity for the arrangement of a mutual disarmament by Russia and Turkey, of which the latter ought

on every account to endeavour to avail herself.

You will state that a contrary course of action will have the appearance of a reckless refusal by Turkey of the overtures made by Russia, and will have the effect of putting her in the wrong in the eyes of Europe.

> I am, &c. DERBY. (Signed)

No 469.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 5, 1877.

I HAVE to instruct you to furnish your Austrian colleague with a copy of the Protocol signed at London on the 31st ultimo; and you will also inform him of the terms in which you were instructed to communicate it to the Porte.

The Austrian Ambassador at this Court has informed me that on being supplied with the necessary information the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople has been instructed to communicate the Protocol to the Porte, accompanied by a similar representation to that made by you.

I instructed you this day by telegraph in the sense of this despatch.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 470.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Rome, April 5, 1877, 5.15 P.M.

ACCORDING to a telegram from the Italian Consul at Scutari, the Ottoman troops intended to attack the Mirdites last night. He, with his English colleague, obtained forty hours' suspension of hostilities; but the other Consuls refused to join.

Italian Government have telegraphed to Constantinople to endeavour to dissuade the Porte from attacking Mirdites, and hope Her Majesty's Government will do the same.

No. 471.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, April 5, 1877, 5 P.M. MINISTER for Foreign Affairs stated to me this morning, in the presence of Grand Vizier, as the expression of his personal opinion, that should Russia consent to withdraw the Declaration, and to leave the question of territorial cession to Montenegro open till later, when he hoped for an amicable arrangement, he would undertake, not only that the required reforms should be seriously carried out, but that the refugees should be [376]

re-established to the satisfaction of Prince Nicholas, and that an Envoy should be sent to St. Petersburgh to treat of reciprocal disarmament.

No. 472.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 5, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, April 5, 1877, 8 p.m.

I AM informed by Prince Nicholas that he does not intend his Delegates to leave Constantinople for the next few days, as he hopes that the Porte may yet accept terms.

I continue to urge moderation, and His Highness promises me that he will do nothing precipitate.

No. 473.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

(Extract.) Scutari, March 27, 1877.

INFORMATION has reached me that the Mirdites have raised up breastworks and other defences of a similar nature across the high road passing through their district, and not very far from Miet.

The considerable force of Turkish troops collected at that place has, no doubt, led the Mirdites to believe that they are about to be attacked; and the return of Salih Pasha to the vicinity of Matia has probably renewed the fear that he has been dispatched to prepare the inhabitants of that district to co-operate with the Imperial troops.

It is stated that the Mirdites are besieging the houses of Capiton Dod Guegah and some of his adherents, as it has been decided to destroy their property, in accordance with the mountain law which prescribes such punishment to all persons who separate themselves from the majority.

No. 474.

Safret Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—((ommunicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 6.)

(Télégraphique.)

LES journaux de l'Europe parlent d'une insurrection à Diarbékir. Il n'y a rien de fondé dans cette nouvelle, la tranquillité la plus parfaite règne à Diarbékir comme dans toutes les autres parties de l'Empire.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, April 5, 1877.

THE European newspapers speak of an insurrection at Diarbekir. There is no foundation for this report. The most perfect tranquillity reigns at Diarbekir, as in all other parts of the Empire.

No. 475.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

(Telegraphic.)

VICE-CONSUL at Adrianople reports that he has personally visited Obroukli and all the villages mentioned in the "Times'" letter of March 16; that the outrages reported to have occurred in those places have been monstrously exaggerated, and some cases are quite false; that no women have been outraged or insulted, nor have people been stripped to their shirts, but that petty oppressions have happened, and the authorities should be more vigilant.

No. 476.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 6.)

Pera, April 5, 1877, 10:30 P.M. (Telegraphic.) I SHALL communicate the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Minister for Foreign Affairs to-night, and I shall also make it known to the Sultan to-morrow morning.

No. 477.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.*

Foreign Office, April 6, 1877. Sir, I HAVE received from Mr. Monson telegraphic information that the Turkish Government has ordered an immediate attack on the Mirdites; but that Mr. Monson, in conjunction with his Italian colleague, has obtained from the authorities an unofficial promise that they would grant a delay of forty hours before undertaking activeoperations.

In view of these circumstances I have to instruct you to advise the Porte to refrain

from commencing any attack on the Mirdites, at all events for the present.

To avoid delay I have sent you instructions this day to the above effect by telegraph.

I am, &c.

DERBY. (Signed)

No. 478.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7.)

Cettigné, March 30, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of further telegrams which have passed between me and Her Majesty's Consul at Scutari, respecting the provisioning of Nichsich, and the transport of Montenegrin grain.

Mr. Consul Green and I have arranged, as your Lordship will see, that further facilities shall be granted to the Turks for the conveyance of their stores; and that, in return, the Kutchi shall be permitted to cross the Turkish lines, without arms, to fetch the supplies of which they are so urgently in need.

I have, &c.

EDMUND MONSON. (Signed)

Inclosure 1 in No. 478.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

Scutari, March 26, 1877. (Telegraphic.) DERVISH PASHA begs me to ask you if you would mind endeavouring to obtain from the Prince the authorization to allow 200 horses, which are known to be at Nichsich, to go to Spuz to help in carriage of provisions, and for twenty loads of such necessaries as calico, threads, buttons, needles, &c., to be sent from Podgoritza to Nichsich. Pasha hopes Prince will stretch a point in this matter in consideration of rapid manner in which transit of Montenegrin grain is being effected by him. If authority obtained for

horses to go to Spuz, notice must be sent to that effect to Nichsich from Cettigné.

Inclosure 2 in No. 478.

Mr. Monson to M. Duby.

Cettigné, le 26 Mars, 1877. 7 P.M. Cher Monsieur, JE viens de recevoir de Scutari le télégramme dont vous trouverez ci-joint la traduction, et je vous prie de vouloir bien le soumettre à la décision de Son Altesse.

Je ne me sens capable de juger de la convenance ou de l'inconvenance des démarches proposées; mais je suis convaincu que le Prince est toujours disposé à traiter de pareilles questions d'une manière à la fois équitable et généreuse.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) EDMUND MONSON.

(Translation.)

Dear Sir, Cettigné, March 26, 1877, 7 P.M.

I HAVE just received from Scutari the telegram, of which a translation is inclosed,

and I beg you to be good enough to submit it for His Highness' decision.

I do not feel myself able to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the proposed steps, but I am convinced that the Prince is always disposed to treat questions of this kind in a manner both just and generous.

Be good enough, &c. (Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 478.

M. Duby to Mr. Monson.

Monsieur, Cettigné le $\frac{15}{27}$ Mars, 1877.

EN réponse à votre lettre d'hier, contenant une dépêche de Mr. Green, je suis chargé par Son Altesse de vous dire qu'elle consentira volontiers à ce que les 200 chevaux présents à Nichsich soient envoyés à Spuz pour aider au transport des provisions, et à ce que les Turcs expédient de Podgoritza à Nichsich les vingt charges de calico, fil, &c., dont vous parlez.

En échange, Son Altesse demande que son Excellence Dervish Pacha permette aux Kutchi de passer sans armes par le Pont du Vizir, pour venir chercher leurs vivres à Rieka,

au lieu de taire le grand détour par le Bielopavlich.

Aussitôt que le Prince aura reçu une réponse favorable de son Excellence, il donnera les ordres pour le passage des chevaux de Nichsich et des vingt charges d'objets de mercerie

Le Prince profite de cette occasion pour vous prier de faire remarquer à Mr. Green que son Excellence Dervish Pacha n'a pas mis à l'envoi des vivres Monténégrins toute l'activité dont il se vante; car sur 30,000 stères (de 40 okes) il n'en est arrivé encore que 1,500 à peine à Riéka.

Veuillez, &c. (Signé) R. DUBY.

(Translation.)

Sir, Cettigné, March $\frac{15}{27}$, 1877.

1N reply to your letter of yesterday, containing a despatch from Mr. Green, I am directed by His Highness to state to you that he will willingly consent that the 200 horses now at Nichsich should be sent to Spuz to assist in the transport of the provisions, and that the Turks should send from Podgoritza to Nichsich the twenty loads of calico, thread, &c, to which you refer.

On the other hand His Highness requests that his Excellency Dervish Pasha will allow the Kutchi to pass unarmed over the Vizier Bridge, in order to fetch their provi-

sions from Riéka, instead of making the long round by Bielopavlich.

As soon as the Prince shall have received a favourable reply from his Excellency, he will give orders for the passage of the Nichsich horses, and of the twenty loads of merchandize.

The Prince profits by this opportunity to beg you to point out to Mr. Green that his Excellency Dervish Pasha has not employed all the activity of which he boasts in sending the Montenegrin provisions, since of 30,000 steres (of 40 okes), scarcely 1,500 have as yet reached Riéka.

Be good enough, &c. (Signed) R. DUBY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 478.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 27, 1877, 11 A.M.

PRINCE NICHOLAS will readily consent to allow the 200 horses at Nichsich to be sent to Spuz to aid in the transport service, and also agrees to permit the forwarding from Podgoritza to Nichsich of the twenty loads of calico, thread, &c.

In return His Highness requests Dervish Pasha to allow the Kutchi to pass without arms by the Bridge of the Vizier, so that they may fetch their provisions from Rieka

without being obliged to make the long detour by Bielopavlich.

As soon as the Prince receives an affirmative reply from his Excellency he will give orders for the passage of the horses from Nichsich, and for that of the twenty loads of haberdashery from Podgoritza.

The Prince at the same time requests me to observe that his Excellency Dervish Pasha has not been quite so active as he flatters himself about the forwarding of the Montenegrin grain, since of 30,000 stères (of 40 okes each) hardly 1,500 have yet arrived at Riéka.

Inclosure 5 in No. 478.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, March 27, 1877, 4.25 P.M.

DERVISH PASHA will permit Kutchi to pass unarmed by the road between the Velje and Malo Brdo, and cross the Zeta at Kulé No. 1, where boats can be prepared. He prefers this route as it is shorter and more isolated than the other; but before orders are given to open the road it is wished to know how many loads are to be passed, in how many days, and how many each time.

Pasha explains that grain is forwarded to Riéka as soon as it reaches Scutari, but he

must not be held responsible for weather and inundations. Await early reply.

Inclosure 6 in No. 478.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.)

Cettigné, March 27, 1877, 9.30 P.M.

PRINCE NICHOLAS requests me to point out that the route proposed, as far as can be understood from the indications given in your telegram, is not only hardly to be considered as a short cut, but necessitates the crossing of the Moratcha as well as the Zeta. The transport would be made chiefly by the people themselves without horses, so that it is quite impossible to estimate the number of loads or the exact time required; but there are in the Kutchi 4,552 souls, and His Highness demands for each 10 okes, that is to say, 45,520 okes of maize.

His Highness must maintain his original demand for the route by the Bridge of the Vizier, and as soon as that is agreed to he will send orders for the passage of the horses from Nichsich to Spuz, and for the forwarding of the haberdashery from Podgoritza to Nichsich.

The Prince would be ready to send an officer to Podgoritza to assist in the preservation of order under the arrangement proposed by His Highness.

Inclosure 7 in No. 478.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

DERVISH PASHA, having yesterday communicated with Hussein Pasha, finds that there is no objection to the bridge route being adopted, and he will therefore give orders for unarmed convoys to be sent under Azizieh Fort, and conducted thence to Kutchi frontier.

Montenegrin officer had better come with first party, and remain till all have passed. Pasha asks that a message by telegraph, as far as possible, may be sent by Prince to Shander Bey of Nichsich, informing him that he may send 220 horses to Spuz-200 for provisions, and 20 for haberdashery; and that an escort will be provided to see them through Montenegrin territory.

Pasha says that if his proposal for an additional 150,000 okes for Nichsich should be accepted, he would consent to convey the 45,000 okes to Zabiak, whence Kutchis could

reach their homes in (?) hours.

Inclosure 8 in No. 478.

M. Duby to Mr. Monson.

Monsieur,

Cettigné, le $\frac{16}{28}$ Mars, 1877.

J'AI soumis à Son Altesse la dépêche de Mr. Green, que vous avez bien voulu me

communiquer en traduction.

Le Prince a vu avec satisfaction le contentement donné par Dervish Pacha au passage des Kutchi, sans armes, par le Pont du Vézir, pour aller chercher leurs convois de vivres. Il envoie immédiatement à Podgoritza un officier parlant le Turc, qui est muni de toutes les instructions et des pouvoirs nécessaires pour s'entendre avec Hussein Pacha, ainsi qu'avec le Commandant des Kutchi, afin de régler, de la façon la plus complète, les transports de grains et la marche régulière de convois.

Son Altesse s'est empressé d'agir suivant le désir de Dervish Pacha quant à l'avis à transmettre à Skander Bey à Nichsich. M. Verbizza, le Chef du Département de l'Intérieur, a déjà télégraphié à Ostrog pour qu'il fût envoyé de suite un message à Nichsich. Les ordres sont donnés pour qu'un officier et une escorte attendent le convoi de 220

chevaux auprès de la Koulé la plus rapprochée de la frontière.

Quant à la suggestion par laquelle Mr. Green termine son télégramme, permettez-moi de lui faire observer, par votre intermédiaire, que le Pacha l'a induit en erreur sur la valeur de la concession qu'il offre en échange de celle qu'il demande de nouveau, d'une augmentation de 100,000 okes pour le ravitaillement de Nichsich. La faveur qu'on nous offre n'en est pas une, car nous pouvons et nous comptons faire transporter le grain destiné aux Kutchi jusqu'à Sirijaz, c'est-à-dire, au delà de Jabliak.

J'allais omettre de vous dire que le transport de la quantité totale de grain destiné aux Kutchi exigera probablement deux ou même trois voyages, suivant le nombre de personnes

qui se trouveront disponibles à cet effet.

Veuillez, &c. Le Secrétaire de son Altesse, (Signé) R. DUBY.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Cettigné, March $\frac{16}{28}$, 1877. I HAVE submitted to His Highness Mr. Green's telegram, which you were good enough to communicate to me in translation. The Prince has seen with satisfaction the consent given by Dervish Pasha to the Kutchi crossing without arms by the bridge of Vezir, in order to fetch their convoys of supplies. He will send forthwith to Podgoritza an officer speaking the Turkish language, who will be provided with all the instructions and the necessary power to come to an agreement with Hussein Pasha, as well as with the Commander of the Kutchi, in order to arrange, in the best possible manner, the transport of grain, and the regular progress of convoys. His Highness has hastened to act according to the desire of Dervish Pasha as to the advice to be transmitted to Skander Bey at Nichsich. M. Verbizza, the head of the Department of the Interior, has already telegraphed to Ostrog, in order that a message might be sent immediately to Nichsich.

The orders are given to the effect that an officer with an escort shall await the convoy of 220 horses near La Koulé, the nearest place to the frontier. As to the suggestion with which Mr. Green finishes his telegram, allow me to call to his notice, through your medium, that the Pasha has inferred wrong as to the value of the concession which he offers in exchange for the one he is now asking for, viz., an increase of 100,000 okes for the revictualling of Nichsich. The favour which is offered to us is not one, for we can and we expect to transport the grain destined for the Kutchi as far as Sirijaz—that is to say, beyond Jabliak.

I was about to omit to tell you that the transport of the total quantity of grain

destined for the Kutchi will require probably two or even three journeys, according to the number of persons who may be available for this purpose.

Be good enough, &c.
The Secretary of His Highness,
(Signed) R. DUBY.

Inclosure 9 in No. 478.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS has learnt with satisfaction that Dervish Pasha consents to the passage of the unarmed Kutchi by the Bridge of the Vizier. He is sending at once to Podgoritza an officer who speaks Turkish, and who has full instructions and the necessary authority, to consert with Hussein Pasha and with the Commander of the Kutchi, the arrangements for the transport of the grain and the regular despatch of the convoys. This transport service will probably require two or even three journeys, according to the number of persons disposable as carriers.

His Highness has hastened to act in accordance with the desire of Dervish Pasha with regard to sending word to Skander Bey at Nichsich. A telegram has been already forwarded to Ostrog, ordering the immediate despatch of a message to Nichsich. Orders are given for an officer and an escort to await the train of 220 horses at the Koulé nearest

the frontier.

With reference to the suggestion at the end of your last telegram, I am asked to point out to you that you are mistaken as to the value of the concession which the Pasha offers in exchange for an increase of 100,000 okes in the provisions for Nichsich. The favour proposed is none in reality, because it is intended by the Montenegrin authorities that the grain destined for the Kutchi shall be carried to Sirijaz, that is to say, beyond Jabliak.

No. 479.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 7.)

(Télégraphique.)

MR. JOCELYN vient de m'annoncer, d'ordre de son Gouvernement, la désignation de Mr. Layard au poste d'Ambassadeur provisoire de Sa Majesté Britannique à Constantinople, et il a exprimé l'espoir que ce choix sera agréable à notre auguste Maître. Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a été très-sensible à cette marque d'attention délicate du Gouvernement Anglais; et vous êtes chargé d'informer Lord Derby que le choix de Sa Majesté la Reine ne peut qu'être agréable à notre auguste Souverain, d'autant plus que Sa Majesté Impériale connaissait de réputation les éminentes qualités de Mr. Layard et ses sentiments d'amitié pour notre pays.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

MR. JOCELYN has just announced to me by order of his Government the selection of Mr. Layard for the post of temporary Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty at Constantinople, and he expressed the hope that this choice would be agreeable to our

august Master.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan is very sensible of this delicate mark of attention on the part of the English Government, and you are charged to inform Lord Derby that the choice of Her Majesty the Queen cannot fail to be agreeable to our august Sovereign, the more so as His Imperial Majesty knew by reputation the eminent qualities of Mr. Layard, and his sentiments of friendship for our country.

No. 480.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7, 12 noon.)

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, April 6, 1877, 6:30 P.M.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF states that troops were attacked last night at Alhamiexter by Mirdites, and that the former returned their fire.

Italian Consul and I offered our good offices, on condition of a suspension of military

operations for restoring order among the Mirdites.

We also stated that our colleagues of Austria and France were prepared to join us in securing tranquillity based on the status quo ante.

Authorities declined.

No. 481.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 7, 1 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, April 7. 1877, 8.40 A.M. ITALIAN Consul and I wished to make a further communication to authorities, jointly with our French and English colleagues, on the subject of our proposed good offices.

Authorities declined to receive any communication whatsoever from Consuls, individual or collective, in connection with Mirdite affairs, and refused peremptorily our visit.

Under these circumstances we are powerless to influence them for good.

No. 482.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby .— (Received April 7, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) Vienna, April 7, 1877, 2.40 P.M. IN consequence of an urgent telegram sent by Count Andrassy to the Prince of Montenegro, His Highness has telegraphed to the Delegates not to leave Constantinople until further orders, and His Highness will remain on the defensive after the expiration of the armistice.

No. 483.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, April 7, 1877, 5 P.M. I HAVE received your telegram of the 5th instant. You may inform Italian Government that Her Majesty's Government have already instructed Mr. Jocelyn to advise Porte in the same sense as Italian Government have instructed their Chargé d'Affaires to do respecting the hostilities against the Mirdites.

No. 484.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 7, 1877. I HAVE learnt with much satisfaction from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, of the steps taken by you in concert with Mr. Monson for the prevention of disputes between the Turkish and Montenegrin authorities respecting the arrangements for provisioning Nichsich, and providing food for the refugees on Montenegrin territory; and I have to express to you my approval of your exertions towards promoting a satisfactory arrangement

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 485.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 7, 1877.
WITH reference to Mr. Consul Zohrab's despatch of the 15th ultimo, copy of which was forwarded to you, I have to instruct you to call the attention of the Porte to the present state of affairs at Erzeroum, where the Christians are stated to experience ill-treatment at the hands of the Turkish military authorities.

J am, &c.

(Signed)

DERBY.

No. 486.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Zohrab.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 7, 1877.

WITH reference to your despatch dated the 14th ultimo, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to express to you his Lordship's approval of the note which you addressed on the 2nd ultimo to the Governor-General of Erzeroum, relative to the outrages committed in three villages in the Gumushané district.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 487.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

Sir,

I APPROVE the steps taken by you, in conjunction with Mr. Consul Green, to carry out the arrangements proposed by the Porte and agreed to by the Prince of Montenegro, for the transport of stores for Nichsich and Montenegro as reported in your despatch of the 23rd ultimo.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 488.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

My Lord,

I APPROVE your proposal, which you report in your despatch of the 19th ultimo, to defer the employment of extreme pressure on the Prince of Montenegro in conjunction with your Austrian colleague until the proper moment appears to have arrived.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 489.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

My Lord, Constantinople, March 30, 1877.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 27th instant, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch from Vice-Consul Dupuis, giving an account of the outrage lately committed on some of the Christian inhabitants of Bektijides.

Your Lordship will observe that, with one exception, all the persons guilty of this

crime have been arrested.

I have also the honour to inclose the copy of a further despatch from Mr. Dupuis, in [376]

which he refers to some alleged outrages at Obroukli; as he states, however, that he has not visited the village, I have instructed him by telegraph to do so.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 489.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir. Adrianople, March 26, 1877.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant, I have the honour to report that I have visited the scene of the late outrages at the Greek village of Bektijides, in the Caza of Mustapha Pasha, and I beg leave to submit the following detailed account of that

On Saturday, the 24th February last, at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, a party of Turks, consisting of Katrangi Halil, of the village of Tchengherli; Zaptieh Hasan Peklivan, of Koumarli; Berber Admet, of Adrianople; Kilitchli, of Faraloglu, of the same place; a man, name unknown, the son of Irasli Mustapha, of Paleocastro; and another man, also name unknown, of the village of Tchirman, went armed to Bektijides, and stayed

in the house of Lambert Stirioghlou, the leading man of the village.

After awhile, Zaptieh Hasan Peklivan went out of the house, and demanded of a villager, named Polemino, two okes of raki, which being given to him, he returned to his companions. They remained drinking till about midnight, and then ordered a supper of fowls, eggs, bread and cheese, to be got ready. While the supper was being prepared, Peklivan demanded 50 piastres of Sterioghlou, which the latter not possessing sent Polemino to the church to bring. After having supped, Katangi Halil (who was in the employ of the villagers to guard their fields, and who, consequently, knew everybody in the place) went to the cottage of another villager named Dimitri Paniotte, also a leading man, and brought him to Lambert's, and demanded of him 50 piastres, but meeting with a refusal, he was first struck by Katrangi with the back of his yataghan, and set upon by the rest. The father, hearing the cries of his son and the shouts and threats of the Turks, paid the money demanded.

The son of Iriash Mustapha then went with Christo, the Kehaya of the village, to the cottage of Panayotti Apostoti, and also brought him to Lambert's. Peklivan making him sit down, asked him if he was owing any money to Katrangi. He replied, "Yes, 4 piastres." "Well, then, pay the money, and 10 piastres more for the supper," shouted the rest of the Turks. The man promised to do so as soon as he had earned some. Katrangi then attacked him, and severely cudgelled him with a stick, but allowed him to

go free without payment.

Katrangi then went out and brought Theohau Polituooghlou, who was several times struck by Katrangi and Zaptieh Hassan with the back part of their yataghans. He was also wounded, being cut on the thigh, and made to pay 150 piastres, 200 piastres having at first been demanded.

Going out again, Katrangi brought in George Stevoghlou, who was struck by one of the gang with his yataghan in the same manner, and ordered to give 100 piastres, but not

possessing that sum, offered 40 piastres. The money, however, was not paid.

The same individual and a companion went out again and called Angheli Apostooghlou, who was asked to pay 50 piastres for himself and another 50 piastres for his brother Thomali. After beating him with their fists and extorting 30 piastres, they let

Katrangi, with the son of Frian Theodoghlou, again sallied out of the house in quest of victims, and brought in Tani Theodoghlou. This man was kicked and struck with yataghans by all the miscreants, Katrangi inflicting a severe thrust with a knife under the left shoulder, and was carried away bleeding by Zaptieh Hassan, and the man's wife forced to give 50 piastres.

For a whole week these people were too frightened to complain to the authorities, lest

the Turks should take revenge.

At the end of that time the local Government of Mustapha Pasha took energetic measures, and dispatched a force of zaptiehs, who secured the whole of the band except Berber, who made his escape, and lodged them in the prisons of Demotica and Mustapha Pasha, to await their trial.

Katangi has since, I am told, confessed his guilt, but being declared insane since incarceration, has been sent to Constantinople.

In conclusion I may observe that some twenty villages, inhabited almost exclusively by Greek Christians, in the Caza of Demotica (the names of which have been given me while on my visit to Bektagides), complain sadly of having been molested, ill-treated, and pillaged by their Turkish neighbours, without being able to obtain redress from the authorities.

I cannot, however, vouch for the accuracy of these complaints, not having visited the villages.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. H. DUPUIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 489.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Adrianople, March 28, 1877.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inform you that, from inquiries made, nothing positive seems to be known here respecting the occurrence at Obroukli, as reported in the "Times."

It is only by visiting the scene of the alleged outrage that any information can be obtained on the subject, and it is my opinion that when the affair is investigated, it will, like the outrage at Bektijides, reported by me yesterday, turn out to be greatly exaggerated.

Having received your telegram that Mr. Blunt is temporarily to take charge of this office, and no further instructions having been forwarded to me, I have not proceeded to Obroukli.

> I have, &c. (Signed)

J. H. DUPUIS.

No. 490.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 8.)

My Lord,

Athens, March 31, 1877.

THE friendly feeling which had sprung up here towards Turkey some three or four

months ago appears to be somewhat suddenly subsiding.

This change has been principally caused by the injustice with which it is considered that the Greeks in Turkey have been treated in the recent elections to the Ottoman Parliament, in which they are not represented in any adequate proportion to their numbers and importance.

I am told that in other respects also the Porte has shown an indisposition to conciliate or to do justice to its Hellenic subjects, whose friendship and loyalty must be of such vital consequence to Turkey in the crisis through which she is now passing.

Nothing seems to have been lately done either by the Porte with a view to facilitate the settlement of the outstanding questions between Greece and Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. STUART.

No. 491.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received April 8.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 7, 1877.

ON receiving last evening your Lordship's telegram respecting the intention of the Turks to attack the Mirdites, † I immediately communicated the substance of it to the French Foreign Office, and suggested that instructions should be sent to the French - Consul at Scutari, in Albania, to join his British and Italian colleagues in endeavouring to induce the Turkish military authorities to refrain from carrying this intention into I mentioned also that your Lordship had directed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to advise the Porte to put a stop to the attack.

This afternoon I received a message to the effect that instructions such as I suggested had already been sent to the French Consul, but that he appeared to have joined his colleagues even before they reached him, for a telegram had been received from him stating that all the Consuls had tendered a communication urging the suspension of the attack to the Turkish Commander-in-chief, but that he had peremptorily refused to receive it or to listen to any remonstrances.

Instructions had moreover been sent to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople to request the Porte to send orders to arrest the threatened hostilities; and the only hope now appeared to be in the Porte's being induced to send to the military

authorities on the spot positive orders to desist.

I have already forwarded to your Lordship by telegram the substance of this despatch.

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 492.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 8.)

Constantinople, April 8, 1877, 10 a.m.

ON receiving from your Lordship the repetition of Lord A. Loftus' telegram,* I communicated substance of it confidentially to the Grand Vizier, urging upon him absolute necessity of declaring his readiness to send Special Envoy to St. Petersburgh in order to avoid war. His Highness stated that Russian Chargé d'Affaires had spoken to him yesterday much in the same sense, but he could see in the pacific solution, which might now be arrived at, nothing more than a truce, which might be broken at any moment by Russia, when Turkey would be at her mercy. A Cabinet Council was to meet at the Palace to-day, when he thought some decision might be arrived at. The Sultan, he said, was peaceably inclined, but would never be willing to compromise the honour of his country.

No. 493.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby. —(Received April 8.)

(Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING telegram sent to Mr. Jocelyn:—

"Military movement against Mirdicia has been resumed since Friday."

No. 494.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that M. Ristich, the Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs, called to inform me that Salik Zequi Pasha, the Turkish General on the Drina, was making difficulties respecting the surrender to the Servians of the island of Boyouklitch, and to request me to endeavour to obtain the good offices of Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

He said that since the conclusion of peace no difficulties had attended the evacuation of their respective territories, and that the conduct of the several commanders had throughout been marked by interchanges of courtesy, with the exception, however, of the Turkish General on the Drina, who not only still continues to refuse to surrender the island in question, which ought to have been evacuated simultaneously with Little Zvornik, but also twenty-one Servian prisoners now remaining at Belina.

The Turks assert that Bouyouklitch should in future be considered neutral ground; whereas the Servians maintain that the island having belonged to them before the war, the non-surrender of it was an infraction of the status quo ante principle, on which alone they had agreed to conclude peace.

Little Zvornik, therefore, still remains in the hands of the Servians, who will continue

to occupy it until Bouyouklitch is evacuated by the Turks.

M. Ristich further complained that in the vicinity of Novi Bazaar raids were continually being made by Turkish soldiers across the frontier, for the purpose of cutting timber on a mountain called Javor, situated in the district of Sienitza; and stated that as the Servian Government was incurring a great expense by having to keep under arms a number of troops all along that frontier, at a time when a general disarmament was going on and the men were being sent to their homes, account would be taken of the loss sustained, and an equivalent sum deducted from the Tribute annually paid to the Porte.

I have, &c. (Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

No. 495.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Bosna-Seraï, March 29, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of this date which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, in answer to a telegram instructing me to be very careful to report and investigate all cases of disorders or outrages which may come to my knowledge, and that I am authorized to visit places,

at the public expense, where such occurrences are reported to have taken place.

This province is a very large one; communications are extremely difficult and slow; and there is so much pure invention in the reports of all such matters, that it is only by a kind of divination, resulting from my long experience of the people and their surroundings, that I can form any idea of whether they are worth attention or not. The Turks are naturally interested in denying them in toto, and the Christians in insisting on them and

exaggerating them, and I have no confidence in either party.

I gathered from the reports of the debates in Parliament that it is the intention of the Government to extend the Consular service in Turkey, and, if this be true, and if it be considered necessary to have better and more certain information of what passes in Bosnia, I would suggest the establishment of a Vice-Consulate at Banialuka for the north and north-west of the vilayet, where the relations and feelings of Turks and Christians to each other are quite different to what they are in these parts.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No 495.

Consul Holmes to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Bosna-Seraï, March 29, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your telegram of the 28th instant, desiring me to investigate and report cases or disturbance or outrage that may come to my knowledge, and informing me that I am authorized to charge in the public accounts the expenses of

visiting places where such occurrences are reported to have taken place.

The great difficulty, when such reports are spread, is to find out whether they are worth attention, as so many of them are pure invention, and, after a certain time, are recognized as such, and, unless they are very strongly confirmed in the first instance, I should feel very unwilling to undertake the expensive and fatiguing journies necessary to ascertain their truth. However, I will use my best judgment in this matter, and will not spare myself in the public service, if the occasion seems to justify the exertion.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 496.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Bosna-Serai, March 29, 1877.

I HAVE telegraphed to your Lordship that orders have been received here from the Turkish Government to hasten warlike preparations, and to call out the Mustafiz. I see that the authorities here have not the least hope of escaping war with Russia, and in their infatuation they seem to think it almost the best thing that could happen. I had a long and rather warm conversation with the Governor-General on this subject yesterday, and I think I left on him the impression that a most fatal ignorance could alone justify his ideas.

I urged upon him the necessity of making an effort to restore tranquillity to the Craïna, and drive out Despotovich and his bands; and mentioned that my Austrian colleague had told me that his Government would give every aid to effect this, and would send troops to disarm these bands, if the Turks would indicate any point at which they would be forced to pass the frontier. His Excellency said that Despotovich and his brigands could not possibly have maintained their position at Grahovo at all, during this winter, if they had not drawn their supplies from Austria, as they could not have obtained a grain of corn in the long-since desolated country in which they have maintained themselves. He assured me, however, that preparations were in progress for driving them out, but he had no confidence that the Austrians would either disarm them or do anything to prevent their reassembling and reorganizing fresh raids.

I have, &c. (Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 497.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, April 3, 1877.

SINCE the opening of the Turkish Parliament, the Second Chamber has been principally occupied with questions relating to internal organization, involving the recognition of the rules of debate and order which have been framed for it by Ahmed Vefyk Pasha, the President.

The discussions upon these points have been conducted with considerable ability and animation; and several of the Arabian and Syrian Delegates have been conspicuous for the energy they have displayed in opposing any measure of the Government which appeared to them an infringement of Parliamentary privilege.

On one occasion, the opinion of the Chamber having been taken with regard to the right of more than one member taking part in an interpellation of the Ministers, the

proposition of the Government was rejected by a majority of three to one.

The debate which took place on the 27th ultimo on the policy of territorial cession to Montenegro is sufficiently interesting to warrant my inclosing a copy of the proceedings to your Lordship, as reported in the Turkish newspaper, the "Hakikat;" and, although the discussion was adjourned, the opinions of those who took part in it were expressed in very decided terms, the President himself joining in, and supporting the views of the majority against any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Empire.

It is scarcely to be supposed that the Ministers will go so far as to plead a popular decision such as this, in favour of continued opposition to the wishes of Prince Nicholas, but it is, I believe, no less true that the Sultan has expressed his warm approval of the debate, which has, I understand, gone far to modify His Majesty's disposition in favour of pacification.

It has evidently come to the knowledge of the Porte that some clause exists in the Protocol, or in the Declaration, menacing cessation of the disarmament of Russia in presence of any disturbance involving outrage upon Christians, and they cannot conceal from themselves the fact that such acts of violence are not unlikely to occur during the demobilization of their own army.

They are well aware that thousands of men, to whom from six to thirty-three months' arrears of pay will remain due, many of them called under arms at a cruel sacrifice to their domestic happiness and their agricultural prospects, will be sent home starving and uncared for; and will, moreover, be certain to come into contact with portions of the Christian populations on the way to their homes.

It is not difficult to foresee what may be the deplorable consequences of such a state of things, and how easily the contingency may arise provided against in the last paragraph of the Russian Declaration.

A dread of such an eventuality evidently prevails among the Ministers, and, in the absence of any real statesman to grapple with the danger, may lead the nation to prefer undertaking a war with a faint chance of success to accepting a position which would leave them entirely at the mercy of their enemy.

I have, &c. (Signed) NASSAU JOCELYN.

Inclosure in No. 497.

Extract from the "Hakikat."

Debate in the Turkish Parliament.

AU paragraphe qui a rapport aux services rendus par l'armée et la nation lors des guerres de Serbie et du Montenegro, le Président ayant demandé à l'Assemblée si elle avait quelque observation à émettre, le député Saïd Effendi se leva pour prendre la parole Le Président lui ayant demandé si son intention était de discuter séance tenante, Saïd Effendi répondit que telle n'était pas son idée, mais qu'il voulait se faire inscrire pour le lendemain.

Relativement à cette phrase d'un paragraphe, "que l'on doit se féliciter de la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie," le Président fait les observations suivantes:—

"Il n'est nullement utile, à mon point de vue, de mettre cette phrase; il faut dire, que nous sommes convaincus que les Serbes reconnaîtront la magnanimité et la générosité de Sa Majesté, attendu que dans cette guerre nous n'avions en vue aucun autre but que celui de la défense légitime.

"Après avoir accueilli favorablement toutes les réclamations des Serbes, nous les avons vus néanmoins se révolter contre leur Suzerain et massacrer cent cinquante créatures innocentes; objets d'une agression injustifiable, nous l'avons repousée. Quoiqu'il en soit, grâce à Dieu, tout est passé.

"C'est dans ces termes, à mon avis, que ce passage doit être revisé."

L'Assemblée approuve.

Le Président.—" Je ne vois pas la nécessité de répondre que nous présenterons en son temps nos conclusions sur la question du Monténégro qui doit nous être reférée. Dès maintenant, refléchissons à ce que nous devons faire, c'est-à-dire étudions attentivement la question, et expliquons clairement quelle est notre opinion à son endroit."

Quelques membres.—" Nous n'avons pas bien saisi le sens de ces paroles."

Le Président ordonne que le passage de l'adresse soit lu une seconde fois, et reprend ses précédentes indications en disant qu'il ne faut pas écrire que la Chambre réserve ses conclusions lorsque la question lui sera soumise; mais, au contraire, elle doit dès maintenant formuler une opinion, soit sur les concessions demandées, soit sur toute autre ligne de conduite.

Un membre.—" Cette opinion devra-t-elle se formuler dans les bureaux?"

Le Président.—"Où vous voudrez. En vertu de la Constitution, les dispositions que compte prend le Gouvernement à l'endroit du Monténégro seront soumises à votre appréciation, mais vous pouvez dès aujourd'hui faire pressentir la couleur de votre décision future."

Se sont fait inscrire pour la discussion sur ce passage de l'adresse:—Rassim Bey, Andrinople; Ahmed Effendi Jenicheirli Zadé, Aidin; Joussef Effendi, Scutari d'Albanie; Ibrahim Bey, Herzégovine; Salem Effendi, Castambol; Mustapha Bey, Janina: Saïd Effendi, Alep; Sami Bey, Ahmet Effendi, Hussein Tchélébi Effendi, Députés de Scutari d'Albanie; Hadji Mustapha Effendi, Cozan; Ibrahim Effendi, Salonique.

Deux membres font remarquer qu'il serait difficile d'émettre une opinion sur la question Monténégrine tant que les détails de la marche des négociations n'auraient pas été

communiquées à la Chambre.

Le Président leur fait observer, en réponse, "que lorsqu'il y aura lieu de discuter, les opposants seront également admis à présenter leurs motions. Il est à désirer," ajoute le Président, "qu'il se manifeste toujours une certaine divergence dans les avis; il en résulte ainsi une discussion qui élucide les questions et en facilite la solution."

Au paragraphe relatif à la Conférence on a substitué le mot "Conférence," à celui qui

avait été d'abord choisi: "Medjlissi-Mukialemé" (Congrès). La plus scrupuleuse attention a été donnée à cette partie de l'adresse.

Après la lecture de chaque paragraphe, le Président consulte la Chambre en deman-

dant s'il a soulevé quelque objection.

Dans un endroit, les mots "Tarik Istikamet" (voie de la loyauté) ont remplacé ceux de "Tarik-Mustekim" (chemin de droit), et "Arz-Istidjal" (prière d'activer) a remplacé "Arz" (prière).

A la phrase suivante:—

"Nous repoussons l'intervention dans les affaires intérieures de l'Etat et entre le Souverain et ses sujets," le Président pense qu'il y aurait lieu d'accentuer sur ce point en mettant: "nous repoussons d'une manière absolue."

La Chambre entière répond, "Oui! nous ne pensons pas autrement; nous repoussons

d'une manière absolue."

Un membre, Ahmet Effendi.—De corps et d'âme nous refusons toute ingérence

étrangère.

Le Président.—Il serait difficile d'en être autrement. Que veut dire l'Etat? Ce n'est qu'avec l'indépendance que l'Etat peut être un Etat; en cas contraire, l'Etat n'est qu'une fiction. Toute intervention de la part de l'étranger est contraire au droit international. Le refus de se prêter à une intervention n'implique pas une opiniâtreté ou un entêtement déraisonnable; c'est le droit et la règle. Néanmoins on doit délibérer sur la matière dans les bureaux.

Un Membre.—Il faut aussi spécifier que nous nous en rapportons et nous nous confions à la justice divine.

Hassan Fehmi Effendi.—Je demande à être inscrit au rôle, ayant à émettre certaines

observations sur l'ensemble du projet de l'adresse.

Rassim Bey et Youssouf Effendi sont portés également au rôle pour parler sur les fonctionnaires de l'Etat.

Le Président félicite la Commission chargée de la rédaction du projet de l'adresse pour la façon avec laquelle a rempli sa mission. Il propose à la Chambre de prendre pour règle de se réunir à 4 heures et de commencer les débats à 6 heures. Les jours s'allongent, dit-il, il est difficile de travailler pendant le moment le plus chaud de la journée. Il convient de venir de bonne heure, de façon à pouvoir travailler trois heures avant midi.

Jeudi nous commencerons à 5 heures.

Tous les membres sont d'accord.

Un Député rappelle que la fête du Mevloud est pour le lendemain.

Au sujet de cette réflexion, le Président dit, " Nous ne pourrons délibérer que plus tard sur cette question lorsque nous recevrons un avis du Ministère. Si je suis seul invité à la cérémonie, je ne me rendrai pas à l'invitation; mais si celle-ci est à l'adresse de toute la Chambre elle sera soumise à la délibération."

A 7 heures la séance est levée. Comme la moitié des Députés étaient déjà sortis, le bruit circule que son Excellence le Président a été élevé au rang de Vézir. Les membres encore dans la salle s'empressent de lui adresser leurs félicitations.

Son Excellence Ahmet Vefik Pacha remercie l'assistance en ces termes: "Depuis vingt ans cette dignité m'a été offerte quatre ou cinq fois et je me suis toujours empressé de décliner cet honneur. Cette fois-ci je l'accepte avec joie, car c'est un signe évident de la sollicitude de Sa Majesté pour la Chambre, qu'elle honore en honorant son Président."

(Translation.)

IN the paragraph relating to the services rendered by the army and the nation during the wars with Servia and Montenegro, the President having asked the Assembly if it had any observations to make, the Deputy Said Effendi rose to speak.

On being asked by the President if it was his intention to proceed to a debate forthwith, Said Effendi replied that such was not his desire, but that he wished to give

notice of a motion for the next day.

With regard to this sentence of a paragraph that "the conclusion of a peace with Servia is a subject of congratulation," the President makes the following observations:—

"In my opinion it is quite unnecessary to insert this sentence; we should rather say 'that we are convinced that the Servians will recognize the magnanimity and generosity of His Majesty,' inasmuch as throughout this war our only object was legitimate

"After having favourably entertained all the claims of the Servians, we nevertheless saw them revolt against their Suzerain, and massacre 150 innocent persons; being the victims of an unjustifiable attack, we repelled it. However that may be, thanks be to God, this is a thing of the past.

"These are the terms in which, in my opinion, this passage should be revised."

The Assembly signifies its approval.

The President.—I do not consider it necessary to reply that we shall set forth in due time the conclusion we have come to on the question of Montenegro, which is about to be laid before us. Let us at once consider how we must act, that is to say, let us attentively study the question and explain clearly our opinion thereon.

Several Members.—We do not quite catch the meaning of these words.

The President orders this passage of the address to be read a second time, and repeats his previous suggestions, saying that it should not be placed on record that the Chamber will reserve its decision until the question is submitted to it, but that it should, on the contrary, at once draw up an opinion, either with regard to the concessions demanded, or to any other course of action.

A Member.—Is this opinion to be drawn up in Committee?

The President.—Wherever you please. By the terms of the Constitution the measures which the Government intends to take with regard to Montenegro will be submitted to your consideration, but you may at once foreshadow your future decision.

submitted to your consideration, but you may at once foreshadow your future decision.

The following Members notified their wish to discuss this passage of the address:
Rassim Bey, Adrianople; Ahmed Effendi, Jenicheirlic, Zadé, Aidin; Joussef Effendi,
Scutari in Albania; Ibrahim Bey, Herzegovina; Salem Effendi, Castambol; Mustapha
Bey, Janina; Saïd Effendi, Alep; Sami Bey, Ahmet Effendi, Hussein Tchélébi Effendi,
Deputies for Scutari in Albania; Hadji Mustapha Effendi, Cozan; Ibrahim Effendi,
Salonica.

Two Members observed that it will be difficult to pronounce an opinion on the Montenegrin question until the details of the progress of the negotiations shall have been communicated to the Chamber.

The President, in reply, calls their attention to the fact that "when the time for discussion arrives non-contents will equally be enabled to bring forward their motions. It is desirable" adds the President, "that a certain divergence of view should always be manifested, the result of which must be a discussion tending to elucidate questions and facilitate their solution."

In the paragraph relating to the Conference, the word "Conference" was substituted for that which had at first been chosen, viz., "Medjlissi-Mukialemé" (Congress). The most scrupulous attention was given to this part of the address.

After the reading of each paragraph, the President consults the Chamber as to

whether any objection is raised to it.

In one passage, the words "Tarik Istikamet" (loyalty), were substituted for "Tarik-Mustekim" (right), and "Arz-Istidjal" (petition for urgency), for "Arz" (petition).

In the following passage:—

"We reject all interference in the internal affairs of State and between the Sovereign and his subjects," the President is of opinion that this point should be emphasized by inserting "we absolutely reject."

The whole Chamber replies, "Yes, that is our firm opinion; we reject it absolutely." A Member, Ahmet Effendi.—We totally and entirely reject any foreign interference.

The President.—It could hardly be otherwise. What is the meaning of the word "State?" It is only by independence that a State can be a State; otherwise the State is but a fiction. All foreign interference is contrary to international law. A refusal to submit to interference does not imply unreasonable obstinacy or stubbornness; it is just and lawful, but the question must be discussed in Committee.

A Member.—It must also be recorded that we appeal and trust to Divine justice.

Hassan Fehmi Effendi.—I desire to be added to the list, as I have some observations to make on the general project of the Address.

Rassim Bey and Youssouf Effendi are also placed on the list of those who wish to

speak on public functionaries.

The President compliments the Commission entrusted with the drawing up of the project of the Address on the manner in which it has fulfilled its duties. He proposes that the Chamber adopt the rule of assembling at 4 o'clock, and of opening the debates at 6. He remarks that the days are lengthening, and that it is difficult to work during the heat of the day. It is desirable to meet early, so as to be able to work for three hours before noon.

On Thursday we shall begin at 5 o'clock.

All the Members are agreed.

A Deputy reminds them that the feast of Mevlono falls on the following day.

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With regard to this remark, The President says: "We shall only be able to discuss this question later, on receiving a notice from the Ministry. If I am invited alone to the ceremony, I shall not avail myself of the invitation; but, if this invitation is addressed to the whole Chamber, it will be submitted for consideration."

The house rose at 7 o'clock. When half the Deputies had left, the news was circulated that his Excellency the President had been raised to the rank of Vizier. The

members still in the House hastened to offer him their congratulations.

His Excellency Ahmet Vefik Pasha thanks those present in the following terms: "Within the last twenty years this dignity has been offered to me four or five times, and I have always refused the honour. This time I accept it with pleasure, for it is an evident proof of His Majesty's anxiety for the welfare of the Chamber which he honours in conferring honour on its President.

No. 498.

Mr. Jocelyn to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Constantinople, April 3, 1877. WITH reference to my despatch of the 25th ultimo, respecting the late outrages at Podzarsko, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a despatch from Consul Blunt on the subject.

> 1 have, &c. NASSAU JOCELYN. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 498.

Consul Blunt to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir,

Salonica, March 29, 1877. A TELEGRAM was received this evening by the Pasha of Salonica from the Musteshar of the vilayet, Costantinidi Effendi, who is investigating the outrages at Potzarsko, stating that the value of the effects plundered from that village by Bekir Pehlivan and his confederates has been estimated by the Commission of Inquiry at about 24,000 piastres (2001.), and recommending that this sum should be at once paid to the villagers of Pozarsko by the Government chest at Vodina, the latter to recover the amount through the authorities from the authors of the outrages.

I regret to say that the telegram in question does not enter into further particulars in

connection with this case.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 499.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, Berlin, April 5, 1877. IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, I informed the German Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government, having determined that the interests of Great Britain required that the English Representative at the Porte should have a higher rank than Charge d'Affaires, and Sir Henry Elliot continuing in England on leave of absence, had appointed Mr. Layard, Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, to proceed to Constantinople, to take charge as Special Ambassador.

In thanking your Lordship for this communication, his Excellency said that the German Government had, for their part, determined to wait before sending the German Ambassador back to his post at Constantinople until the Porte had returned a favourable reply to the communication of the Protocol, and had sent a special Envoy to St. Petersburgh to settle the question of disarmament.

> I have, &c. (Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 500.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha,
April 9.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 6 Avril, 1877.

LE Chargé d'Affaires de Russie m'a donné lecture et laissé copie du Protocole signé dernièrement à Londres. Les Chargés d'Affaires des autres Grandes Puissances sont venus également me voir séparément pour m'annoncer la signature de ce Protocole et pour conseiller à la Sublime Porte de prendre en considération ce document comme une nouvelle preuve des sentiments de conciliation de leurs Gouvernements.

Après avoir écouté leurs vives recommandations et leurs conseils amicaux, je leur ai dit que je ne pouvais pas leur exprimer une opinion ni sur la forme ni sur le fond de ce document, ne l'ayant pas encore bien étudié, et que je ne tarderai pas à leur faire connaître le point de vue sous lequel ce Protocole sera envisagé par le Gouvernement Impérial.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 6, 1877.

THE Chargé d'Affaires of Russia has read to me and given me a copy of the Protocol recently signed in London. The Chargés d'Affaires of the other Great Powers have also been to see me separately to inform me of the signature of this Protocol, and to advise the Sublime Porte to take this document into consideration as a new proof of the conciliatory sentiments of their Governments.

After having heard their strong recommendations, and their friendly counsels, I told them that I could not give them an opinion either on the form or the substance of the document, not having yet sufficiently examined it, but that I would not delay in informing them of the view taken of it by the Imperial Government.

No. 501.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.*

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 9, 1877.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me to-day and stated his conviction that if war was to be averted it would be absolutely necessary that an Ambassador should be sent from Constantinople to treat directly with the Russian Government at St. Petersburgh.

He did not look upon delay as equally fatal, however injurious it might be, in regard to the other question under consideration, namely, the terms of peace between Turkey and Montenegro, but he expressed the most serious apprehension of the consequences that would be likely to ensue if the Porte refused to enter at once upon a negotiation with Russia for mutual disarmament.

I promised Count Schouvaloff that I would telegraph the substance of his communication to Mr. Jocelyn, which I have accordingly done this day, instructing him at the same time to make it known to the Porte.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 502.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 9, 1877.
WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th ultimo, I have to instruct you to convey to Mr. Vice-Consul Pecchioli my approval of his proceedings in connection with the outrage committed upon a Christian family at Bouloustra, as reported in his despatch of the 19th ultimo, addressed to Mr. Consul Blunt.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 503.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Foreign Office, April 9, 1877. Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and spoke to me on the subject of the Protocol which had recently been signed by myself and the Representatives of the five Powers in London. His Excellency said that the Porte felt that the contents of the Protocol were derogatory to the Sultan's dignity and independence, and that rather than accede to its provisions it would be better for Turkey to face the alternative of war, even

if an unsuccessful war, resulting in the loss of one or two provinces.

I observed, in reply, that in thus speaking of an unsuccessful war which might result in the loss of one or two provinces his Excellency seemed to miscalculate the probable course of events if war broke out. A war with Russia would in all likelihood be the signal for insurrectionary movements in various parts of Turkey, and so far from the question being one merely of the loss of a province or two, it seemed to me to be a matter for apprehension whether at the close of the conflict the Ottoman Empire would still be in existence. As Musurus Pasha spoke of the Turks retiring into Asia, if so compelled, and maintaining there their independence of rule, I asked him whether he meant seriously to contend that it would be better, in the interests of the Porte, that the Turks should be driven out of Europe than that the Sultan's Government should tacitly acquiesce in a document to which they were not required or requested to give any formal and express assent, which had been drawn up and signed without their being consulted, for which, therefore, they were in no way responsible, and which, after all, called upon the Porte, as I understood its tenor, to do no more than it had either already expressed itself ready to do, or than it might be presumed to be willing to do, with a view to the well-being and security of Turkey.

Musurus Pasha replied that the Protocol was a virtual abrogation of the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris; that to allow it to pass in silence would, in the opinion of the Porte, be to surrender all that Turkey had fought for in regard to the Sultan's rights of freedom from foreign intervention, and that this was a humiliation to which his Govern-

ment would not at any risk submit.

I said that I very much regretted to hear him express this view, which I could not

conceal from him was, in my opinion, a very unwise one.

His Excellency then spoke to me of the question of sending a Turkish Ambassador to St. Petersburgh, as to which he told me that he had had some conversation with Count Schouvaloff, adding that he had telegraphed to Constantinople strongly urging the expediency of taking this step.

> I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 504.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 9, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) Scutari, April 9, 1877, 9 P.M.

BIB DODA has written me a letter, dated Thursday, stating that the people in the besieged house, who had been allowed to withdraw in safety to the Ghega, will be respected, and expressing a hope that the Consuls would continue to endeavour to prevent a conflict. He was not yet aware of the refusal of the authorities to permit action of Consuls.

Four battalions attacked Mirdites yesterday morning at a place half-an-hour from Narach; five Mirdites wounded.

Turks and Miridites have remained facing each other to-day, but no fighting has taken place.

No. 505.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 10.)

(Extract.) Cettigné, March 30, 1877. PRINCE NICHOLAS told me this morning that he had received information from Russia of the signature of the Protocol yesterday by your Lordship and the Ambassadors of the Great Powers. His Hignness added that he hoped that this signified the security of

European peace.

I asked the Prince whether this information would make any change in his views: and was glad to learn from him, as an indication of pacific sentiments on his part, that it had decided him not to recall his delegates from Constantinople, as he had been on the point of doing. His Highness intimated that, under the circumstances, he trusted that it might be possible that the concerted action of the Great Powers would lead to a fresh departure in the negotiations between himself and the Porte.

No. 506.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 10.)

Cettigné, March 31, 1877. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a telegram which I received at an early hour yesterday morning from Mr. Consul Green, reporting that Dervish Pasha had stated to him that the party of Turks who had accompanied the first convoy of provisions across Montenegro to Nichsich had complained that they had been annoyed by Monte-

negrins.

I went as soon as possible to the Palace, and spoke to Prince Nicholas on the subject. His Highness said that there was no doubt that the Turks had been annoyed by some Herzegovinians; and that, as he was determined to prevent any such occurrences, he had had the chief offenders arrested, and they would be brought to Cettigné, and severely

I lost no time in communicating this information to Scutari, in a telegram to

Mr. Green, of which I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 506.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

Scutari, March 29, 1877, 10.20 P.M. (Telegraphic.)

DERVISH PASHA has begged me to let you know that the party that accompanied the first convoy to Nichsich has returned to Spuz, and complains of having met with many petty annoyances and difficulties from the Montenegrins. In stating the above I wish it to be understood that I merely act as a channel of communication. Pasha also says that but 160 of the 200 horses provided by the Prince have as yet been supplied, and wants to know if it is true that these horses are to make but one journey. May ten cases of medicine be sent to Nichsich, which is without medical stores?

Inclosure 2 in No. 506.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

Cettigné, March 30, 1877, 2.30 P.M. (Telegraphic.)

PRINCE NICHOLAS requests me to say that Dervish Pasha has been quite correctly informed as to annoyances complained of in your telegram of last night, except as to the nationality, the offenders being Herzegovenians. The ringleaders have been arrested. and will be brought here and severely punished. The Prince appreciates the manner in which you have made this communication.

As to the horses, orders shall be given that the remaining forty promised shall be sect if they have not been so already; but it is true that they are only to make one journey,

according to the Prince's spontaneous offer.

Seven loads of medical stores have just been sent to Nichsich from Risano by Danish

Effendi, so that the ten cases you mention will not be required.

His Highness hopes that advantage will be taken of this fine weather to accelerate the transport of the Montenegrin grain to Riéka.

No. 507.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 10, 1877.

COUNT BEUST informed me to-day that instructions to the following effect had

been sent by telegraph to the Austrian Representative at Constantinople:—

It was pointed out to him that Austria-Hungary had no idea of imposing her advice on the Porte, but that it appeared to her to be certain that the Porte would gain nothing by provoking war. The reply which was apparently preparing at Constantinople to the communication of the Protocol would consist in an acceptance of it as it stands, coupled with remarks as to its humiliating character. It was difficult to comprehend how the Porte supposed that its dignity would be preserved by such a step, and why it would not be better to accept with good grace. If the Turkish Government was prepared to listen to disinterested advice, the Imperial Government would suggest an answer in something like these terms:—

"The Porte sees only in the Protocol friendly advice inspired by the wishes of the Powers for the maintenance of peace. The Sultan remains faithful to all his promises, and will introduce the reforms as he has manitested the intention of doing. He will send a Plenipotentiary to treat for reciprocal disarmament." As regards Montenegro, Austria-Hungary had succeeded, by efficacious pressure, in preventing the recall of the delegates from Constantinople; and it was for the Porte to show itself equally conciliatory; all appearance of foreign pressure must vanish if the Porte should, by a spontaneous and generous impulse, decide to conclude promply the Montenegrin negotiation.

The Austro-Hungarian Representative was directed to communicate these observations to Safvet Pasha without losing an instant, as the moment was decisive, and to impress upon him that the advice was that of a friend, and that it was hoped it would be taken.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 508.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Kirby Green.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 10, 1877.

I APPROVE your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 24th ultimo, with a view to promote an arrangement between the Turkish and Montenegrin authorities relative to the revictualling of Nichsich.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 509.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Blunt.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 10, 1877.

I APPROVE of your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 20th of March, with reference to the alleged enrolment of Bashi-Bazouks to operate against the brigands at Veria.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.

No. 510.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby .- (Received April 11.)

My Lord,

THE equinoctial gales, the rapid melting of the mountain snows and consequent freshets in the rivers, and the paucity of native craft on the Bojana and the lake, have

impeded greatly the transit of the grain to Montenegro; and, on the other hand, the difficulty of collecting a sufficient number of pack animals for the transport of provisions to Nichsich from Spuz, have daily raised doubts in the minds of the Montenegrins and the

Turks as to each other's good faith.

The fact also that the revictualling of Nichsich and the carriage of the Montenegrin grain from the Bocche di Cattaro to Rieka has to be effected almost entirely at the expense of the Turkish Government, has helped much to make the authorities here feel that they have been outwitted by the Montenegrins, and they are constantly trying to lessen the

disadvantages of what they term a one-sided arrangement.

The existence of this feeling here, and the knowledge possessed at Cettigné that the Turks must submit to almost anything if they desire to relieve the wants of the starving inhabitants of Nichsich, has made direct intercourse between the two parties almost an impossibility, and for this reason I trust that your Lordship will not disapprove of my having trespassed, perhaps rather freely, upon the time of Mr. Monson, for securing, through his well-assured influence with Prince Nicholas, explanations and concessions such as I also have obtained from the authorities here, so that by this means no serious misunderstanding has yet arisen.

Mr. Monson, in this manner, has induced the Prince to allow 220 horses belonging to the inhabitants of Nichsich to assist in the transport from Spuz, and to permit twenty loads of haberdashery and seven of medicines to be included in the supplies to be intro-

duced into the besieged town.

Dervish Pasha has consented, on his side, that 45,000 okes of maize may pass over the Vizier's Bridge at Podgoritza from Montenegro into the Koutchi district, a facility which saves the carriers an extra two days' journey; and his Excellency has offered to lend Montenegro 40,000 or 50,000 okes of maize, if the unavoidable delay in the arrival of the grain up the Bojana is causing any inconvenience. .

A complaint of the Pasha's that the Turks that accompanied the first convoy to Nichsich had been subjected to petty annoyances by the Montenegrins has been immediately attended to by Prince Nicholas, who has taken steps for the punishment of the

culprits, who, it appears, were refugees from the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 511.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

Scutari, March 31, 1877. My Lord, 1 HAVE the honour to report that, having been informed that the authorities had

availed themselves a few days since of the Mevloud, or Feast of the Birth of Mohammed, to release the two Zeibeks who had been imprisoned for having been implicated in the murder of the Slav priest at Podgoritza, reported in my despatch of the 27th August last,* I immediately sought explanations from both Dervish Pasha and the Vali

The former stated that the men having been handed over by him to the civil authorities, he had nothing further to do with the case, and Mustafa Pasha told me that he had liberated them, much against his will, as the Criminal Court had acquitted them four

months ago, no one having been found willing to bear witness against them.

I pointed out that his Excellency had chosen an unfortunate day for the release of the men, as it was now generally believed that they owed their liberty more to religious reasons than to the sentence of a Court. Their presence, too, in Scutari was only calculated to give rise to an impression that the priest's death had been forgiven or forgotten by the Government.

Mustafa Pasha admitted that the Zeibeks ought not to have been liberated in Albania, and he had them rearrested at once, in order that they may be sent, together

with the whole proceedings of their trial, to Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 512.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

NEWS received of refusal of any cession of territory by Turkish Parliament.

Delegates will see Safvet Pasha to-day.

No. 513.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

A FURTHER advance was made from Miet yesterday, and after a short engagement some more of the Mirdite positions were taken. Troops lost one man; several Mirdites killed and wounded.

No. 514.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby. -- (Received April 11 at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

DELEGATES telegraph that their demands are to be submitted to the Senate, and they propose to ask for a definite answer on Friday the 13th, as the Porte seems inclined to protract the negotiation.

Prince Nicholas telegraphs to-night approving this intention, and bids them, in case of a rejection of their demands or of delay in answering, to leave Constantinople by the first steamer for Odessa and Vienna.

No. 515.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of telegrams between myself and Mr. Green, and of a letter from Prince Nicholas' Secretary, showing the progress made in the execution of the arrangement for the transport of stores to Nichsich and of grain to Montenegro.

Your Lordship will see that both Prince Nicholas and Dervish Pasha seem desirous of being conciliatory.

Inclosure 1 in No. 515.

Consul Kirby Green to Mr. Monson.

(Telegraphic.)

Scutari, March 30, 1877, 7.20 P.M.

PLEASED to have been able to communicate first paragraph of your telegram which gave great satisfaction.

Owing to inundations, delay occurring in passage of provisions up the river. 200 sacks of flour are here and 600 more are expected hourly. When these arrive all will be forwarded together at once. Pasha says, if Montenegro is in immediate want he is prepared to despatch from local stores 40,000 or 50,000 okes of maize. There is great difficulty in procuring horses for Nichsich. Pasha would, therefore, esteem it a favour if Prince would consent to allow his 200 horses to perform a second journey on proper payment by Turkish authorities.

Inclosure 2 in No. 515.

M. Duby to Mr. Monson.

Monsieur, Cettigné, le $\frac{19}{31}$ Mars, 1877.

J'AI soumis à Son Altesse la dépêche de M. Green d'hier soir. Elle vous prie de répondre qu'elle accepte avec remercîments l'offre de Dervish Pacha d'avancer de ses approvisionnements 40,000 ou 50,000 okes de mais, pour s'en rembourser en retenant une

quantité égale sur les arrivages à destination de Monténégro.

Quant à la demande du Pacha de pouvoir louer, pour un second voyage à Nichsich, les chevaux qui lui sont prétés pour un premier, le Prince s'y conformera avec plaisir si cela se peut. Avant de faire une réponse formelle il fait prendre des informations sur les lieux sur le nombre d'animaux disponibles.

Recevez, &c.

R. DUBY. (Signé)

(Translation.)

Sir, Cettigné, March $\frac{19}{31}$, 1877.

I HAVE submitted to His Highness Mr. Green's telegram of yesterday evening. He begs you to reply that he accepts with thanks Dervish Pasha's offer to advance from his stores 40,000 or 50,000 okes of maize, reimbursing himself by retaining an equal

quantity out of the arrivals destined for Montenegro.

As regards the Pasha's request to be allowed to hire, for a second journey to Nichsich, the horses which are lent to him for a first journey, the Prince will agree to it if possible with pleasure. Before replying formally he is making inquiries on the spot as to the number of animals available.

Receive, &c.

R. DUBY. (Signed)

Inclosure 3 in No. 515.

Mr. Monson to Consul Kirby Green.

(Telegraphic.) Cettigné, March 31, 1877, noon.

PRINCE NICHOLAS accepts with thanks Dervish Pasha's offer to advance 40,000 or 50,000 okes of maize, begging his Excellency to recoup himself by retaining an equal quantity of that arriving at Scutari on Montenegrin account.

As to the second journey of the horses to Nichsich, His Highness will have pleasure in acceding to Pasha's request if possible; but before giving a formal answer he must make

inquiry as to the number of animals available.

No. 516.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received April 12.)

St. Petersburgh, March 31, 1877.

AT an interview with Prince Gortchakow this morning, his Highness informed me, with evident satisfaction, that your Lordship and Count Schouvaloff had come to an agreement in regard to the Protocol, and that it would in all probability be signed to-day.

Prince Gortchakow expressed great anxiety that it should be presented to the Porte with the least delay, and he wished me to request your Lordship to telegraph the Protocol in full, with the necessary instructions, to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople.

His Highness observed that it was of great importance that the Imperial Government

should receive the answer of the Porte before the 18th April.

His Highness did not assign any reasons for specifying the above date at which it was of importance to Russia to receive the answer of the Porte; but I imagine that it refers specially to the armistice between Turkey and Montenegro, which expires on that day.

In referring to the peace negotiations with Montenegro, Prince Gortchakow did not speak with much confidence. He observed that the Prince of Montenegro would never subscribe to any terms in which he was treated as a vassal of the Porte, and His Highness

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added that, unless peace should be concluded between Turkey and Montenegro, a pacific solution would be impossible.

His Highness added that Russia will not abandon Montenegro. The feeling of all classes of the Russian nation was strongly in favour of the Christian population of that

Principality, and would never permit it to fall under Turkish rule.

Prince Gortchakow expressed a hope that the influence of Her Majesty's Government at Constantinople—of the exercise of which he was fully aware—would induce the Porte to come to a satisfactory arrangement with Montenegro, whilst Russia had unceasingly urged moderation and concessions on Prince Nicholas.

I have, &c. AUGUSTUS LOFTUS. (Signed)

No. 517.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received April 12.)

(Extract.) St. Petersburgh, April 5, 1877.

ON the receipt last evening of your Lordship's telegram, and not wishing to delay the communication of your Lordship's suggestions to Prince Gortchakow until I could have a personal interview with his Highness, I wrote to him a private note (copy of which I have the honour to annex), expressing the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Imperial Government would use their influence with the Prince of Montenegro in favour of conciliation and peace.

I called to-day at the Foreign Office, and learnt from M. de Giers that Prince Gortchakow has on several occasions urged on the Prince of Montenegro a moderate and conciliatory course in the negotiations with the Porte, but that his Highness has confined

himself to general terms, without entering into any details.

M. de Giers further stated that Prince Gortchakow had telegraphed to the Acting Russian Consul at Cettingé, in the absence of M. Jonine, instructing him to advise the Prince of Montenegro to avoid a rupture of the negotiations, and not to recall the Montenegrin Delegates before the expiration of the armistice.

In further conversation with M. de Giers, his Excellency stated that the intelligence

from Constantinople was far from satisfactory.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires reported that the question of the Protocol was producing much agitation and distrust, and that there were symptoms of an intention, if not to refuse, to evade its acceptance in the Ministerial as well as in the higher circles.

In saying this, I understood that his Excellency did not allude to the disposition of the Sultan, but to that of his immediate attendants, and of Mahmoud Damal Pasha in

particular.

Unless, therefore, the Porte should be happily guided by wiser counsels, it may be feared that any refusal or hesitation to accept the advice tendered by Europe in the Protocol will be followed by immediate coercive measures on the part of Russia.

Inclosure in No. 517.

Lord A. Loftus to Prince Gortchakow.

Mon Prince, St. Petersburgh, April 4, 1877. I AM instructed by the Earl of Derby to inform your Highness that, as it appears from the reports received by Her Majesty's Government from Cettigné that the decision of the Prince of Montenegro in regard to Nichsich now depends upon the answer he may receive from St. Petersburgh, Her Majesty's Government trust that the Imperial Government will use their influence with Prince Nicholas in favour of conciliation, and thus advance the policy of peace, which has been the object of the recent negotiations for the Protocol, and which have terminated so satisfactorily.

I profit, &c. (Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 518.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received April 12.)

My Lord, St. Petersburgh, April 6, 1877.

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this evening at 8 o'clock.

His Highness stated that he had received my private letter expressing the hope of Her Majesty's Government that he would use his influence with the Prince of Montenegro to adopt a conciliatory course in his negotiations with the Porte, and he said that he would send me an answer.

In regard to Montenegro, his Highness observed that it was an illusion to think that Nichsich was the only or real difficulty. He attached no special importance to Nichsich, and for his part should approve of razing the fortress if it should be ceded to Montenegro.

But, said his Highness, there is besides Nichsich the more important and sensitive question of the vassalage, and also that of the counter territorial claims urged by the Porte. Prince Gortchakow stated that, in his communications with the Prince of Montenegro, he has confined his counsels to general terms, exhorting conciliation and moderation without entering into any special questions of detail.

He observed that the last proposals submitted by the Prince of Montenegro were very moderate, and he informed me that, according to his last intelligence, if they were rejected the negotiations would be broken off. The Prince of Montenegro would remain

on the defensive, the basis being that of uti possidetis.

His Highness then referred to the question of the Protocol. He stated that Russia did not require the acceptance by the Porte of the Protocol, but of the conditions contained in the written Declaration made by Count Shouvaloff, and, as a proot of conciliation and sincerity on the part of the Porte, the sending of a special Euvoy to St. Petersburgh to arrange the question of disarmament.

In regard to the intentions of the Porte, his Highness said that the intelligence received

from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires was not satisfactory.

The Porte had received information of the Protocol, as also of the Declarations annexed to it. He regretted that your Lordship's Declaration should have been known to the Porte, as he feared that it might encourage its resistance to the Protocol, and thus

neutralize the good effect which it might otherwise have produced.

Prince Gortchakow then stated in an earnest and decided tone that if the Porte should reply verbally or in unsatisfactory or evasive language, the Imperial Government would consider the period of negotiations as closed, and the time for military action had arrived. It was impossible, said his Highness, for Russia to incur any longer the heavy pecuniary sacrifices which she was now bearing. The mobilization cost her 750,000 roubles daily, and it had continued for several months. Russia would not, therefore, consent to renew the thread of negotiations, which might be dragged on for months, to end only in a profitless result.

Prince Gortchakow observed that we had arrived at the eleventh hour, that it was now a question of days, and that a decision one way or the other must be taken by the later April. He stated that the Emperor could make no further concessions, and that His Majesty would not recede from the position he had taken. The answer, therefore, of the Porte was of the most vital importance, as on it would depend the question of peace

or war.

I have told his Highness of the instructions sent in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday to Mr. Jocelyn, to urge the Porte to accept the Protocol, and to avail itself of the opening thus afforded for the arrangement of a mutual disarmament. His Highness expressed his satisfaction, observing that he regarded it as the result of a telegram he had sent to Count Schouvaloff.

On his Highness referring to the coercice measures which Russia would adopt in the event of a refusal on the part of the Porte to accept the Protocol, I thought it right to remind his Highness of the engagement taken by the Powers severally in the concluding paragraph of the Protocol.

Prince Gortchakow replied that your Lordship's Declaration rendered the Protocol null and void in the event of the object proposed not being attained. viz., reciprocal

disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them.

I expressed my regret that any step should be taken by Russia which should destroy the European concert. As a means of gaining time, and possibly of maintaining peace, I venture to suggest that the Porte should announce its readiness to send a special Envoy to St. Petersburgh for the purpose of arranging a mutual disarmament. This act would give

proof of a conciliatory spirit on the part of the Porte, and may be the means—perhaps th only means—of averting serious complications.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 519.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, April 12.)

(Télégraphique.)

LA Sublime Porte a reçu communication du Protocole signé à Londres le 31 Mars, 1877, par le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et par les Ambassadeurs d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, d'Italic, et de Russie, ainsi que des déclarations y annexées du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et des Ambassadeurs d'Italie

En prenant connaissance de ces actes, la Sublime Porte a éprouvé le regret très vif de voir que les Grandes Puissances amies n'ont pas cru devoir faire participer le Gouvernement Impérial à des délibérations dans lesquelles on a pourtant agité des questions ayant trait aux intérêts les plus vitaux de l'Empire. L'entière déférence dont le Gouvernement Impérial a fait preuve en toute circonstance aux conseils et aux vœux des Grandes Puissances, l'intime solidarité qui unit si heureusement les intérêts de l'Empire à ceux du reste de l'Europe, les principes d'équité les plus incontestables, enfin, des engagements solennels autorisaient la Sublime Porte à croire qu'elle serait appelée, elle aussi, à concourir à l'œuvre destinée à rendre la paix à l'Orient et à établir l'entente entre les Grandes Puissances à ce sujet, sur une base juste et légitime.

Mais, du moment qu'il n'en a pas été ainsi, la Sublime Porte se voit dans l'obligation impérieuse de réclamer contre l'autorité d'un tel précédent et de signaler les funestes conséquences qui pourraient en résulter dans l'avenir aussi, pour les

principes tutélaires de la sécurité des relations entre Etats.

et de Russie.

Passant à l'examen de ces actes, la Sublime Porte a acquis la conviction que, si les Puissances Signataires avaient tenu un meilleur compte de l'échange de vues qui s'était établi lors des Conférences de Constantinople, des résultats obtenus dans l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé depuis, et de la nature des dangers nouveaux qui menacent la paix, il eût été peut-être facile d'arriver par une pondération équitable des grands intérêts en cause à un accord définitif qui ne fût subordonné ni à de graves lésions de droit ni à des conditions irréalisables.

Pendant les Conférences de Constantinople la Sublime Porte, s'appuyant sur la Constitution que Sa Majesté Impériale venait d'octroyer spontanément, et qui réalisait la réforme la plus large qui ait été vue dans cet Empire depuis son établissement, s'était efforcée de démontrer l'injustice de toute mesure qui, sous l'apparence de réforme, prendrait son développement dans des distinctions de provinces, de croyances ou de classes de sujets, ainsi que l'impossibilité pour elle de rien accepter de contraire à l'intégrité ou à l'indépendance de l'Empire. Ce double point de vue répond pleinement aux conditions du programme Anglais accepté par les Puissances. Ce programme posait en principe le maintien de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance de l'Empire, et demandait pour certaines provinces un système d'institutions offrant des gages contre la mauvaise administration et des actes d'autorité arbitraire. Or, le système d'institutions réclamées se trouvait naturellement réalisé en droit comme en fait par la nature même de la nouvelle organisation politique donnée à l'Empire sans distinction de langues, de croyances ou de provinces. Depuis lors, le Parlement Ottoman a été convoqué, et une Assemblée, issue d'un système d'élections libérales, et qui sera prochainement arrêté de manière à ne laisser prise à aucune critique fondée, siége actuellement à Constantinople et discute en pleine liberté les affaires les plus importantes de l'Etat. Si l'on a objecté contre ce système de réformes qu'il était encore trop nouveau pour porter immédiatement ses fruits, on peut faire remarquer en réponse que c'est là une objection qui aurait pu être tout aussi bien soulevée contre les réformes recommandées par les Plénipotentiaires étrangers et en général contre toute réforme qui, par cela même qu'elle constitue une innovation, ne saurait posséder dès le principe l'efficacité que la consécration du temps fait seule

D'un autre côté, la sécurité intérieure était solidement rétablie. La Servie

était rendue à la tranquillité, et des négociations, dans lesquelles la Sublime Porte continue de faire preuve de la plus grande modération, ont été entamées avec le

Monténégro.

Malheureusement un fait nouveau se produisait dans l'intervalle, et les armements extraordinaires qui ont lieu depuis quelques mois dans toute l'étendue de la Russie, en obligeant la Sublime Porte à pourvoir à des mesures de défense, non seulement n'ont pas permis d'arriver à un apaisement complet des esprits, mais ont même fini par amener une situation pleine de dangers. La Sublime Porte se rendra la justice de constater qu'elle n'a rien négligé de ce qui était de nature à dissiper les doutes, à calmer les inquiétudes, et à ménager les susceptibilités les plus délicates.

A peine sortie des longs et dures épreuves que les menées révolutionnaires avaient cherché à déchaîner sur toutes les provinces de l'Empire, il était naturel qu'elle n'aspirât qu'au repos, et qu'elle n'eût d'autre désir que de se consacrer un moment plus tôt au travail fécond de sa régénération intérieure. Elle n'a pu, dès lors, que plus vivement déplorer de voir cet objet constant de ses vœux s'éloigner tous les jours davantage, au fur et à mesure que les nécessités majeures qu'on cherchait à lui imposer ne lui laissaient d'autre alternative que d'exiger de ses populations des sacrifices onéreux, d'épuiser ses finances par de grands dépenses improductives, et de s'occuper avant tout de la manière dont elle parviendrait à détourner un conflit de nature à troubler profondément la paix du monde.

Il est naturel que les Grandes Puissances se soient préoccupées de cette situation. La Sublime Porte, pour des raisons qui ne demandent pas à être développées, avait évité jusqu'à présent d'appeler officiellement l'attention des Puissances sur cette nouvelle phase de la question, la plus grave de toutes assurément. Mais les déclarations dont leurs Excellences Lord Derby et le Comte Schouvaloff ont fait précéder la signature du Protocole lui fournissent à elle aussi, aujourd'hui, occasion de saisirl es Cabinets amis de l'urgence qu'il y a de mettre un terme à cette complication si dangereuse, et dont il n'est pas au pouvoir de la Sublime Porte de retarder le denoûment longtemps

En conséquence, et en réponse à la déclaration de Son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie, la Sublime Porte, de son côté, notifie aux Puissances Signataires du Protocole la déclaration suivante :-

1. Adoptant envers le Monténégro la même ligne de conduite qui a amené la pacification de la Servie, la Sublime Porte avait fait connaître spontanément au Prince, il y a déjà deux mois, qu'elle ne s'épargnerait aucun effort pour arriver à une entente avec lui, même au prix de certains sacrifices; considérant le Monténégro comme faisant partie intégrante du territoire Ottoman, elle a proposé une rectification de la ligne de démarcation qui assure au Monténégro des avantages, et il dépend désormais entièrement des conseils de modération qui prévaudront, la Sublime Porte aime à l'espérer, à Cettigné que cette affaire soit considérée comme terminée.

2. Le Gouvernement Impérial est prêt à mettre en application toutes les réformes promises; mais ces réformes, conformément aux dispositions fondamentales de notre Constitution, ne sauraient avoir un caractère spécial et exclusif; et c'est dans cet esprit que le Gouvernement Impérial persévérera dans sa pleine et entière liberté à la

mise en application de ses institutions.

3. Le Gouvernement Impérial est prêt à remettre ses armées sur le pied de paix, aussitôt qu'il verra que le Gouvernement Russe prend des mesures dans le même but; les armements de la Turquie ont un caractère exclusivement défensif, et les relations d'amitié et d'estime qui unissent les deux Empires font espérer que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg ne persistera pas seul en Europe dans la pensée que les populations Chrétiennes en Turquie soient exposées de la part de leur propre Gouvernement à des dangers tels qu'il soit nécessaire d'accumuler contre un Etat ami et voisin tous les moyens d'invasion et de destruction.

4. Pour ce qui est des désordres qui pourraient éclater en Turquie et arrêter la démobilisation de l'armée Russe, le Gouvernement Impérial, qui repousse les termes blessants dans lesquels cette pensée a été exprimée, croit que l'Europe est convaincue que les désordres qui ont troublé le repos des provinces étaient dus à des excitations venues du dehors, que le Gouvernement Impérial n'en saurait être tenu responsable, et que, dès lors, le Gouvernement Russe aussi ne serait pas justifié à faire dépendre la

démobilisation de ses armées de pareilles éventualités.

5. Quant à l'envoi à St. Pétersbourg d'un Envoyé Spécial chargé de traiter du désarmement, le Gouvernement Impérial, qui n'aurait aucune raison de se refuser à un acte de courtoisie que les convenances diplomatiques imposent à charge de réciprocité, ne voit aucune connexité entre cet acte de courtoisie internationale et le désarmement,

qui ne saurait être retardé pour aucun motif plausible, et qui pourrait être effectué

sur un simple ordre par télégraphe.

En faisant parvenir les déclarations qui précèdent aux Cabinets Signataires, la Sublime Porte les prie d'en prendre acte, d'apprécier l'esprit qui les a dictées, et de vouloir bien y attacher l'importance à laquelle elles ont droit dans la situation présente, situation dont le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait trop proclamer les dangers, et dont il décline formellement la responsabilité.

A la suite de ce qui vient d'être exposé plus haut sur les efforts que le Gouvernement Impérial a consacrés au rétablissement de la tranquillité, aussi bien que sur les causes qui en ont réellement prévenu les effets, les Cabinets Signataires du Protocole du 31 Mars n'auront pas de peine à se rendre compte du sentiment pénible que ce

document ne pouvait manquer de produire sur le Gouvernement Impérial.

Il serait inutile de revenir ici sur les passages du Protocole relatifs aux deux

Principautés et à la question du désarmement.

Mais ce qu'on ne saurait réellement assez regretter, c'est le peu de cas que les Puissances semblent avoir fait aussi bien des grands principes d'égalité et de justice que le Gouvernement Impérial cherche à faire prévaloir dans l'administration

intérieure, que de ses droits d'indépendance et de souveraineté.

Il y a lieu de s'étonner en effet que dens ce Protocole les Puissances amies aient jugé nécessaire d'affirmer de nouveau "l'intérêt commun qu'elles prennent aux réformes à introduire en Bosnie, Herzégovine, et Bulgarie, que la Porte a acceptées sauf à les appliquer elle-même;" d'inviter la Porte à mettre en "œuvre dans le plus court délai possible les réformes à l'état des provinces dont la Conférence s'est préoccupée; d'exprimer l'espoir que la Porte prendra avec énergie les mesures destinées à apporter à la condition des populations Chrétiennes l'amélioration effective unanimement réclamée, et qu'une fois entrée dans cette voie elle comprendra qu'il est de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement et efficacement."

de son honneur, comme de son intérêt, d'y persévérer loyalement et efficacement."

La Sublime Porte n'a pas accepté de réformes spéciales à la Bosnie, à l'Herzé-

govine, et aux localités habitées par des Bulgares.

Elle n'en est pas à douter qu'il est bien de son intérêt et de son devoir de satisfaire aux droits légitimes de ses sujets Chrétiens; elle ne saurait admettre que les améliorations qui lui sont recommandées doivent s'adresser exclusivement à l'élément Chrétien. Au lendemain des preuves de loyauté et de dévoûment que tous les sujets de Sa Majesté ont données, et en présence de réformes qui tendent à unir toutes les populations de l'Empire en un seul corps politique, la Sublime Porte se doit à ellemême de repousser la suspicion que les expressions du Protocole voudraient jeter sur la sincérité de ses sentiments envers ses sujets Chrétiens, et, en outre, de réclamer contre l'indifférence, tout au moins, dont ces mêmes expressions témoignent à l'égard de ses sujets Musulmans et autres. Il n'est pas admissible que les améliorations tendant à assurer aux Musulmans aussi la tranquillité et le bien-être soient, aux yeux de l'Europe éclairée, tolérante et juste, dépourvues de toute importance. Des mesures ou plutôt des institutions propres à assurer à tous et partout également le libre développement moral et matériel des droits de chacun, c'est là le but que la Turquie se propose aujourd'hui; elle tiendra à honneur de persévérer dans cette voie; la Constitution en est la meilleure et plus sûre garantie.

Mais, si le Gouvernement Impérial se voit réduit à repousser toute idée par laquelle on essaierait de semer des germes d'antagonisme entre les divers éléments de ses populations et d'inspirer la méfiance de quelques unes d'entre elles vis-à-vis de leurs autorités légitimes, il ne saurait non plus souscrire, à aucun titre, à la sanction que le Protocole a entendu donner à l'application des amélicrations ci-dessus énoncées. Ainsi, lorsque le Protocole dit que "les Puissances se proposent de veiller avec soin et par l'intermédiaire de leurs Représentants à Constantinople et de leurs Agents locaux à la façon dont les promesses du Gouvernement Ottoman seront exécutées," lorsqu'il ajoute " que, si cet espoir se trouvait encore une fois déçu, elles se réservent d'aviser en commun aux moyens qu'elles jugeront les plus propres à assurer le bien-être des Chrétiens et les intérêts de la paix générale," il est évident qu'il doit provoquer les protestations les plus légitimes du Gouvernement Impérial et son opposition la plus La Turquie, en sa qualité d'Etat indépendant, ne saurait se reconnaître comme placée sous aucune surveillance collective ou non. Entretenant avec les autres Etats amis des relations réglées par le droit des gens et les Traités, elle ne peut reconnaître aux Agents ou Représentants étrangers, chargés de protéger les intérêts de leurs nationaux, la mission de surveillance officielle. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne voit pas enfin en quoi il aurait démérité de la justice et de la civilisation au point de se voir faire une position humiliante et sans exemple dans le monde.

Le Traité de Paris a explicitement consacré le principe de non-intervention. Ce Traité, qui lie les Puissances qui y ont pris part aussi bien que la Turquie, ne saurait

être aboli par un Protocole auquel la Turquie n'a pas co-opéré.

Et, si la Turquie en appelle aux stipulations du Traité de Paris, ce n'est pas parce que ce Traité aurait créé en sa faveur quelques droits qu'elle n'aurait pas sans ce Traité, mais bien pour rappeler les graves raisons qui dans l'intérêt de la paix générale de l'Europe avaient amené les Puissances, il y a vingt ans, à placer sous la garantie d'une promesse collective la reconnaissance de l'inviolabilité du droit de souveraineté de cet Empire. Quant à la clause qui, en cas d'inexécution des réformes promises, voudrait attribuer aux Puissances le droit d'aviser aux mesures ultérieures, le Gouvernement Impérial y voit une atteinte de plus à sa dignité et à ses droits, un procédé d'intimidation destiné à priver de toute mérite de spontanéité ses propres actes, et la source de graves complications pour le présent aussi bien que pour l'avenir.

Aucune considération ne saurait donc arrêter le Gouvernement Impérial dans sa résolution de protester contre les énonciations du Protocole du 31 Mars et de le considérer, pour ce qui concerne la Turquie, comme dépourvu de toute équité et par consé-

quent aussi de tout caractère obligatoire.

En butte à des suggestions hostiles, à des soupçons immérités, et à des violations manifestes de ses droits qui sont en même temps des violations du droit des gens, la

Turquie sent qu'elle lutte aujourd'hui pour son existence.

Forte de la justice de sa cause et confiante en Dieu, elle déclare ignorer ce qui a pu être décidé sans elle et contre elle : décidée à conserver dans le monde la place que la Providence lui a destinée à cet égard, elle ne cessera d'opposer aux attaques qui sont dirigées contre elle les principes généraux du droit public et l'autorité d'un grand acte Européen qui engage l'honneur des Puissances Signataires du Protocole du 31 Mars, lequel n'a pas d'exigibilité légale à ses yeux; elle en appelle à la conscience des Cabinets qu'elle est en droit de croire animés envers elle des mêmes sentiments de haute équité et d'amitié que par le passé. Le désarmement immédiat et simultané serait le seul moyen efficace de conjurer les dangers dont on menace la paix générale.

La réponse que le Gouvernement Impérial vient de faire plus haut à la déclaration de M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie offre aux Puissances les éléments propres à amener ce résultat, que bien certainement elles ne voudront pas chercher à obtenir en persistant à imposer à l'Empire Ottoman des sacrifices de droit et d'honneur auxquele il ne consentira pas.

Vous êtes chargé de donner lecture de ce Mémoire à M. le Ministre des Affaires

Etrangères et d'en laisser copie à son Excellence.

(Translation,)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, April 9, 1877.

THE Protocol signed at London on March 31, 1877, has been communicated to the Sublime Porte by the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty, and by the German, Austro-Hungarian, French, Italian, and Russian Ambassadors, as also the declarations of the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty, and of the Italian and Russian Ambassadors which are annexed to it.

In taking note of these documents, the Sublime Porte has experienced deep regret at perceiving that the Great Friendly Powers did not consider it necessary to admit the Imperial Government to participate in deliberations in which, nevertheless, questions affecting the most vital interests of the Empire were treated. The complete deference which the Imperial Government has, under all circumstances, evinced for the advice and wishes of the Great Powers, the close connection which so happily unites the interests of the Empire to those of the rest of Europe, the most incontestable principles of equity, and, lastly, solemn engagements, authorized the Sublime Porte to believe that it, too, would be called to take part in the work destined to restore peace to the East and to establish an agreement on this subject amongst the Great Powers on a just and legitimate basis.

But, from the moment that this has not been the case, the Sublime Porte sees itself imperiously obliged to protest against the authority of such a precedent, and to call attention to the fatal consequences which might also result therefrom in the

future to the guiding principles of the security of international relations.

Passing to the examination of these documents, the Sublime Porte has come to the conclusion that if the Signatory Powers had taken better account of the exchange of views which took place at the time of the Constantinople Conferences, of the results obtained in the interval which has elapsed since then, and of the nature of the new

angers which threaten peace, it would perhaps have been easy to have arrived, by a just consideration of the great interests in question, at a definitive agreement, which would not have been dependent either on serious infractions of law or on conditions

which were impossible of realization.

During the Constantinople Conferences the Sublime Porte, relying on the Constitution which His Imperial Majesty had just spontaneously granted, and which realized the most comprehensive reform which had been seen in this Empire since its establishment, had taken care to point out the injustice of any measure which, under the appearance of reform, developed into a division of provinces, creeds, or classes; as well as the impossibility of its accepting anything contrary to the integrity or independence This double point of view answers fully to the conditions of the of the Empire. English programme which was accepted by the Powers. This programme laid down in principle the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Empire, and demanded for certain provinces a system of institutions which should afford guarantees against bad administration and acts of arbitrary authority. Thus, the system of institutions demanded was naturally realised in law, as well as in fact, by the very nature of the new political organization given to the Empire, without distinction of language, creeds, or provinces. Since then the Ottoman Parliament has been convoked, and an Assembly, founded on a system of free election, which will shortly be arranged in a manner which will give no ground for any well-founded criticism, is actually in session at Constantinople, and discusses with perfect freedom the most important State affairs. If the objection be made that this system of reforms is too new to bear fruit immediately, it may be remarked in reply that that is an objection which could just as well have been made to the reforms recommended by the foreign Plenipotentiaries, and in general against every reform which, from the very fact that it is an innovation, cannot possess at its birth the efficacy that time alone can impart.

On the other hand, internal security was solidly re-established. Tranquillity was restored to Servia, and negotiations, in which the Sublime Porte continues to give

proof of the greatest moderation, have been commenced with Montenegro.

Unfortunately a new incident arose in the interval, and the extraordinary armaments which have been going on for some months through the length and breadth of Russia, while compelling the Sublime Porte to provide for measures of defence, have not only prevented a complete tranquillisation of feeling being arrived at, but have, in the end, brought about a situation fraught with danger. The Sublime Porte will do itself the justice of declaring that it has neglected nothing which was calculated to dissipate doubts, to calm disquietudes, and to soothe the most delicate susceptibilities.

Seeing that the Porte was hardly freed from the long and difficult trials which the revolutionary plots had sought to let loose on all the provinces of the Empire, it was natural that it should only long for repose, and should have no other desire than to devote itself as early as possible to the fruitful work of internal regeneration. It could consequently only the more keenly deplore the sight of the further removal every day of this constant object of its wishes, in proportion as the restraint which it was sought to impose on it, left it no other alternative than to demand weighty sacrifices from its people, to exhaust its finances by large and unproductive expenditure, and above all to devote its attention to the way in which it could succeed in averting a conflict which was calculated to disturb deeply the peace of the world.

It is natural that the Great Powers should turn their attention to this state of things. The Sublime Porte, for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain, had up to the present time avoided drawing officially the attention of the Powers to this new phase of the question, assuredly the gravest of all. But the declarations with which their Excellencies Lord Derby and Count Schouvaloff prefaced the signature of the Protocol give it also, at the present moment, an opportunity of pointing out to the friendly Cabinets the urgent need there is to put an end to a complication so dangerous, and of which it is not in the power of the Sublime Porte much longer to delay the result.

Consequently, and in reply to the declaration of his Excellency the Ambassador of Russia, the Sublime Porte on its side, notifies the following declaration to the Powers who signed the Protocol:

1. The Sublime Porte, following as regards Montenegro the same course which had brought about peace with Servia, spontaneously informed the Prince, two months ago, that no effort, even at the price of certain sacrifices, would be spared to come to an understanding with him; viewing Montenegro as an integral portion of Ottoman territory, the Porte proposed a rectification of the line of boundary, which would ensure certain advantages to Montenegro, and henceforth it depends entirely on the counsels of moderation, which the Sublime Porte trusts will prevail at Cettigné, whether this affair

may be considered as terminated.

2. The Imperial Government is ready to carry out immediately all the promised reforms; but these reforms, in conformity with the fundamental dispositions of our Constitution, must not bear a special and exclusive character; and in this spirit the Imperial Government will, while reserving its full and complete liberty of action, persevere in establishing these institutions.

3. The Imperial Government is prepared to replace its armies upon a peace footing as soon as it sees that the Russian Government is taking measures with a similar object; the Turkish armaments are essentially of a defensive character, and the bonds of friendship and esteem which unite the two Empires give reason to hope that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh will not isolate itself in Europe by clinging to the belief that the Christian populations of Turkey are exposed to such dangers from their own Government that it is necessary to prepare against a friendly neighbour and State every possible means of invasion and destruction.

4. As regards the disorders which might break out in Turkey and arrest the demobilization of the Russian army, the Imperial Government, which rejects the offensive terms in which this idea has been expressed, believes that Europe is convinced that the disorders which have disturbed the tranquillity of the provinces were due to external agitation; that the Imperial Government cannot be held responsible for them; and that, consequently, the Russian Government would not be justified in making the demobilization

of its armies depend on such contingencies.

5. As to the despatch of a Special Envoy to St. Petersburgh charged with treating of the disarmament, the Imperial Government, which would have no reason to refuse an act of courtesy which is imposed by diplomatic etiquette on condition of reciprocity, sees no connection between this act of international courtesy and the disarmament, for delaying which there is no plausible motive, and which could be carried into effect by a simple telegraphic order.

In placing the preceding declarations before the Cabinets of the Signatory Powers, the Sublime Porte asks them to take note of them, to appreciate the spirit which has dictated them, and to be so good as to give them the importance to which they are entitled in the present situation—a situation to the dangers of which the Imperial Government cannot too plainly call attention, and for which it formally repudiates the

responsibility.

In connection with what has just been set forth above respecting the efforts which the Imperial Government has devoted to the restoration of tranquillity, as well as respecting the causes which have really baffled them, the Cabinets who have signed the Protocol of March 31st can easily comprehend the painful feeling which this document could not fail to produce on the Imperial Government.

It would be useless to recall here the passages of the Protocol relating to the two

Principalities and to the question of the disarmament.

But what cannot in truth be sufficiently regretted is the small account which the Powers seem to have taken, both of the great principles of equality and justice which the Imperial Government seeks to introduce into the internal administration, and of its rights

of independence and sovereignty.

There is, in fact, cause for surprize that in this Protocol the friendly Powers have thought fit to affirm afresh "the common interest which they take in the reforms to be introduced into Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted, reserving to herself their application;" to invite the Porte to carry into "operation with the shortest possible delay the reforms in the condition of the provinces with which the Conference was concerned; to express the hope that the Porte will energetically take the measures destined to produce in the condition of the Christian population the effectual improvement which is unanimously demanded, and that once entered on this path it will understand that its honour, as well as its interest, is at stake, in persevering loyally and effectually therein.

The Sublime Porte has not accepted reforms exclusively for Bosnia, Herzegovina,

and for localities inhabited by Bulgarians.

It is not a matter of doubt that it is very much to its interest and part of its duty to satisfy the legitimate rights of its Christion subjects; it cannot admit that the improvements which are recommended to its notice should be devoted exclusively to the Christian element. On the morrow of the receipt of the proofs of loyalty and devotion which all His Majesty's subjects have shown, and in presence of reforms which tend to unite all the populations of the Empire into one single body politic, the Sublime Porte owes it to itself to repel the suspicion which the expressions of the Protocol would wish

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to throw on the sincerity of its sentiments towards its Christian subjects, and to protest, moreover, against the indifference, to say the least, which these same expressions bear witness to, with reference to its Mussulman subjects and others. It is not to be supposed that improvements which tend to insure also to the Mussulmans tranquillity and well-being are devoid of importance in the eyes of Europe, enlightened, tolerant, and just as she is. Measures, or rather, institutions, calculated to secure to all, equally, the liberal development, both moral and material, of the rights of each individual, such is the object which Turkey is now aiming at; she will make it a point of honour to persevere in this course; and for this the Constitution is the best and surest guarantee.

But if the Imperial Government sees itself compelled to reject every idea by which attempts might be made to sow germs of antagonism between the different elements of its population, and to inspire certain persons amongst them with mistrust of their legitimate authorities, neither could it see its way on any account to subscribe to the sanction which the Protocol has in view to give to the application of the improvements above set forth.

Thus when the Protocol declares that "the Powers propose to watch with care, and through the medium of their Representatives at Constantinople and of their local Agents, over the way in which the promises of the Ottoman Government shall be executed," and when it adds that "if this hope should once more prove unfounded they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may think best calculated to ensure the welfare of the Christians and the general interests of peace," it is evident that it must provoke the legitimate protestations of the Imperial Government, and encounter its most formal opposition. Turkey, as an independent State, cannot submit to be placed under any surveillance, whether collective or not.

Although she maintains with other friendly Powers relations which are governed by international law and by Treaty, she cannot agree to recognize the foreign Agents or Representatives, whose duty it is to protect the interests of their respective countries, as holding any mission of official surveillance. The Imperial Government cannot either see in what manner they have so far deviated from the path of justice and civilization as to see themselves placed in a position both humiliating and without example in the world.

The Treaty of Paris explicitly declared the principle of non-intervention. That Treaty, which binds the other High Contracting Parties as well as Turkey, cannot be abolished by a Protocol in which Turkey has taken no part.

And if Turkey appeals to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, it is not because that Treaty created in her favour any rights which she did not possess without that Treaty, but only to recall attention to the grave reasons which twenty years ago led the Powers, in the interests of the general peace of Europe, to place under the guarantee of a joint promise the recognition of the inviolable right of sovereignty of that Empire.

As for the clause which, in case of the non-execution of the promised reforms, would give to the Powers the right of concerting uiterior measures, the Imperial Government regards it in the right of a further attack on its dignity and on its rights, a proceeding of intimidation calculated to deprive their action of all merit of spontaneity, and a source of grave complication for the present as well as for the future.

No consideration can arrest the Imperial Government in their determination to protest against the Protocol of the 31st of March, and to consider it, as regards Turkey, as devoid of all equity, and consequently of all binding character.

In face of hostile suggestions, unmerited suspicions, and manifest violations of her rights—violations which are at the same time violations of international law—Turkey feels that she struggles at the present moment for her very existence.

Strong in the justice of her cause, and with confidence in God, she declares that she ignores what may have been decided without her and against her; determined to keep the place which Providence has destined her for, she will not cease to oppose right, and the authority of a great European compact which binds the honour of the Signatory Powers of the Protocol of the 31st of March, which last document has no legal validity in her eyes. She appeals to the conscience of the Cabinets, which she is and friendship as in the past. Immediate and simultaneous disarmament will be the menaced.

The answer which the Imperial Government has just made to the declaration of the Ambassador of Russia gives the Powers a fitting opportunity to bring about this result, which surely they would not seek to obtain by persistantly imposing on the Ottoman Empire sacrifices of right and of honour to which she will not consent.

You are instructed to read this Memorandum to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

and to leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

No. 520.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Jocelyn.

Sir, Foreign Office, April 12, 1877.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and left with me a copy of a Circular despatch addressed by his Government to their Representatives, on the subject of the Protocol of the 31st March and of the Declarations by which that instrument was

accompanied.

Having read this document, I expressed to his Excellency my deep regret at the view which the Porte had taken of a proceeding the principal object of which had been to extricate Turkey from a position of extreme embarrassment and danger. I thought it unnecessary to enter on any further discussion of a step which had been adopted by the Porte after full consideration, and which could not now be retraced. I said, however, that it did not seem to me clear, from the language of the despatch which he had placed in my hands, whether the Porte would or would not consent to send an Ambassador to St. Petersburgh to treat on the question of mutual disarmament.

Musurus Pasha stated that his Government were not prepared to adopt any such measure, and he further expressed an opinion that matters could not be settled in a

satisfactory manner unless the Powers consented to annul the Protocol.

I pointed out in reply, that the divergence between the views of our two Governments appeared so wide as to render discussion useless, and I said I did not see what further steps Her Majesty's Government could take to avert a war which appeared to have become inevitable.

The Turkish Ambassador answered that the attitude of his Government was simply defensive, that they did not desire war, but that they would prefer it to the sacrifice of national independence, which appeared to them to be involved in the acceptance of the Protocol.

I am, &c. (Signed) DERBY.



